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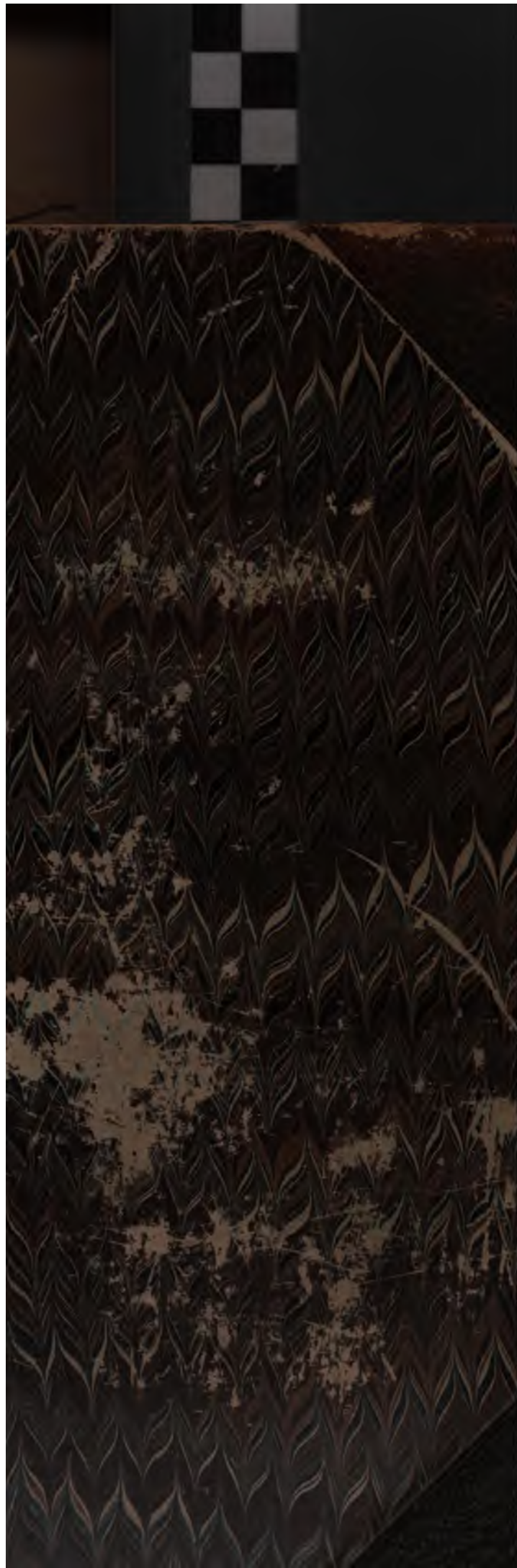
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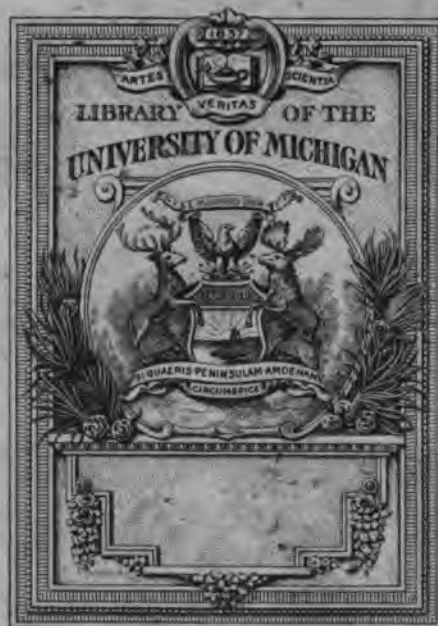
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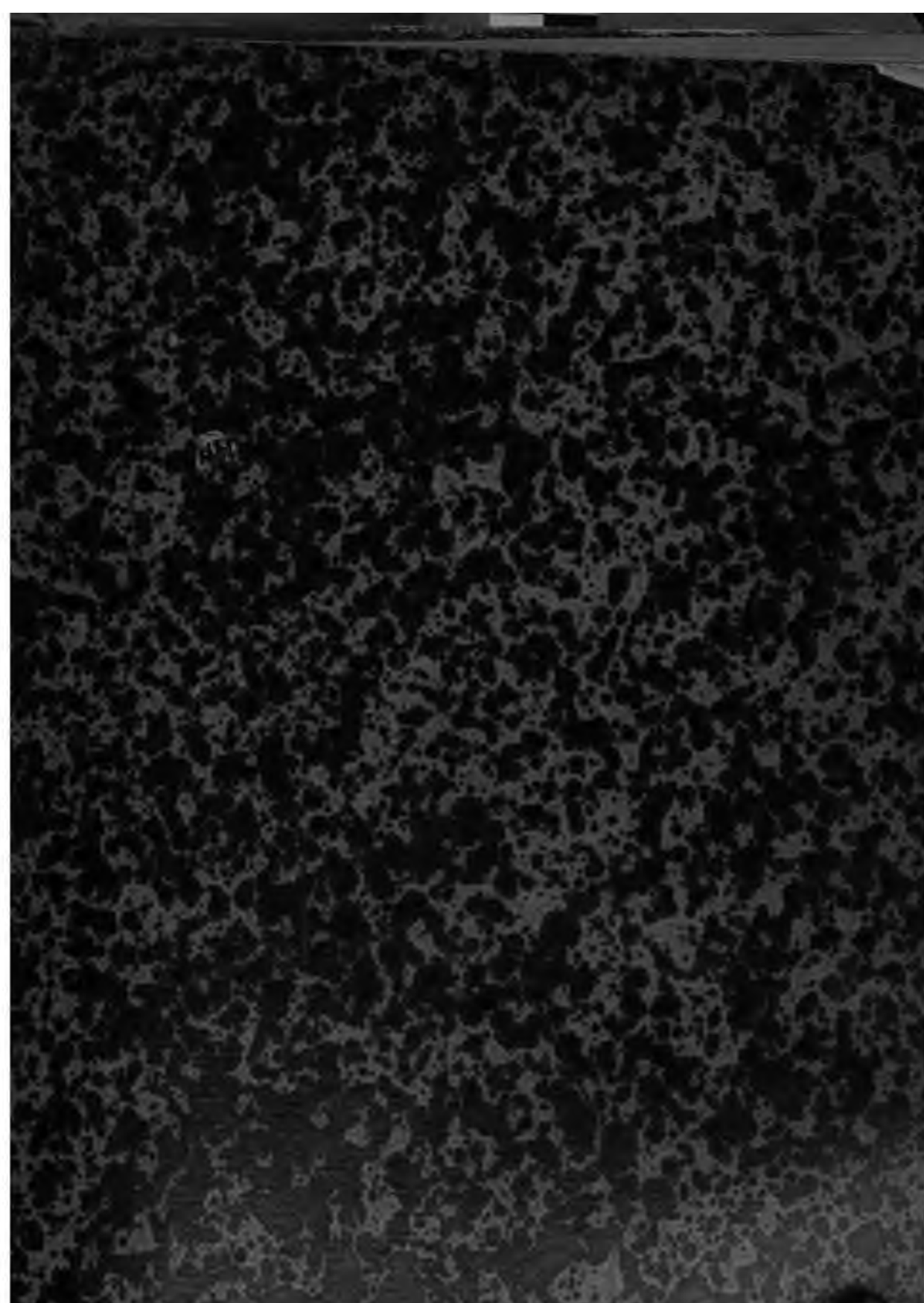
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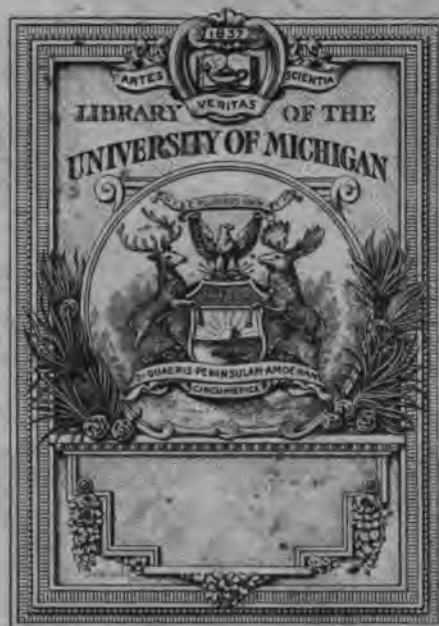
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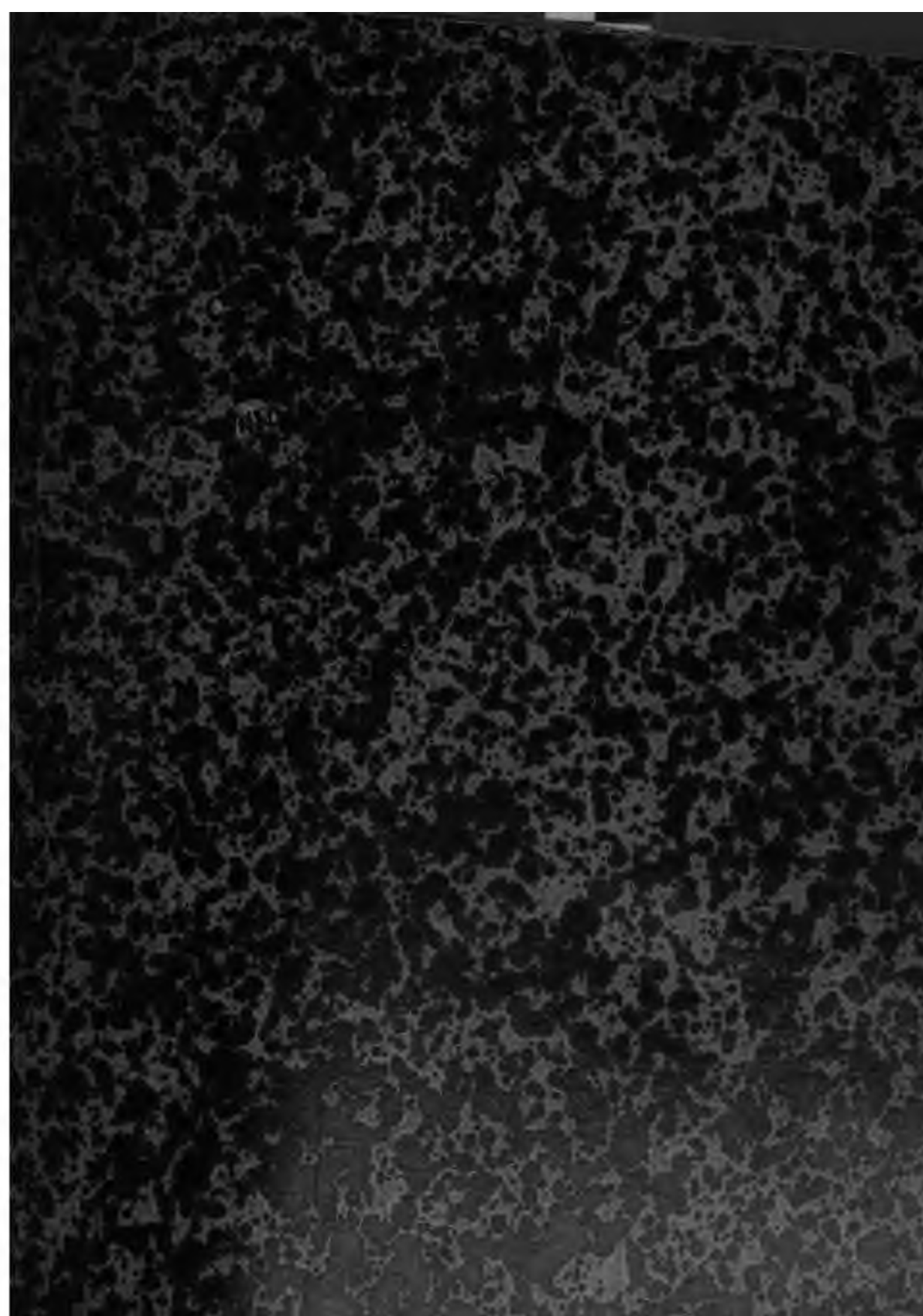
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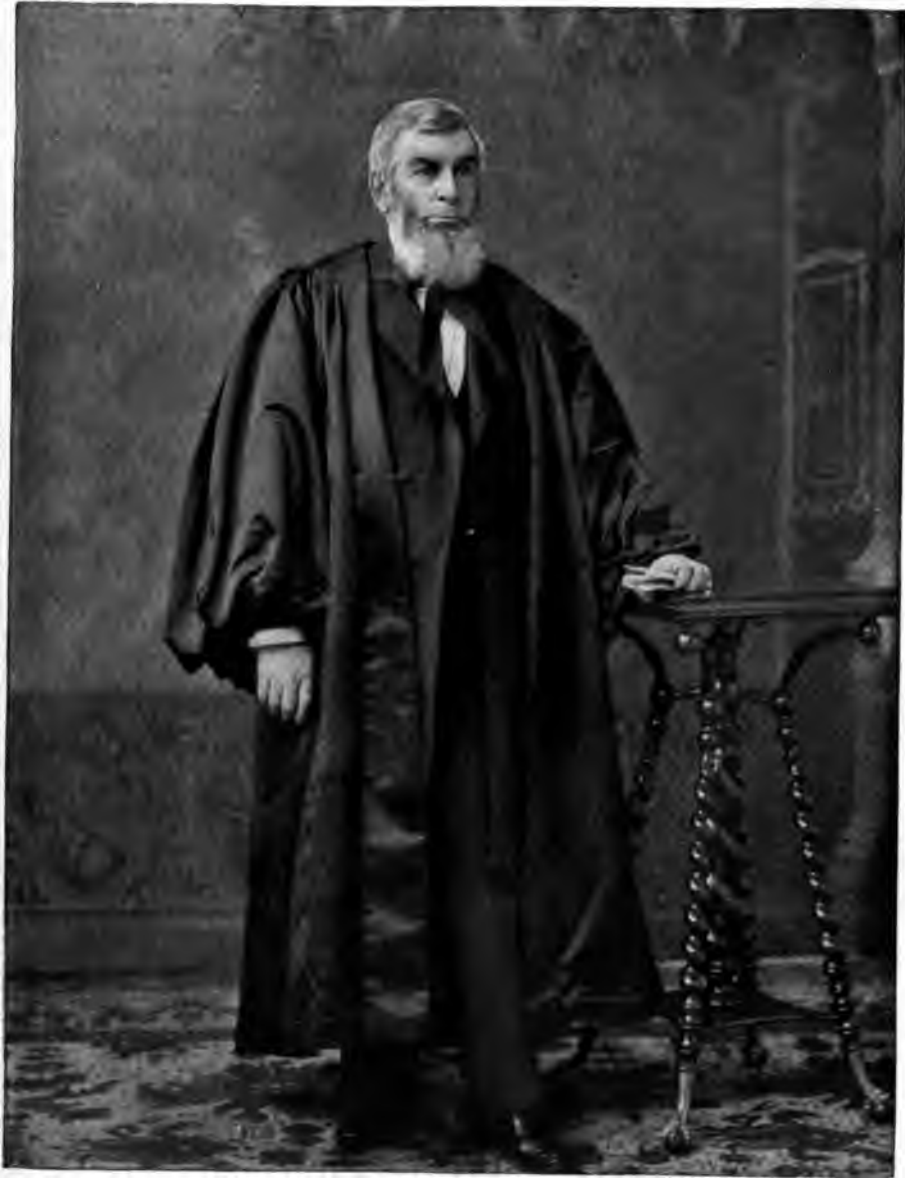
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M. R. Waite

SEVENTH CHIEF JUSTICE OF THE UNITED STATES. 1874-1888.

was chosen without a dissenting vote. This last clause reads like fiction, but it is none the less truth. The circumstances attending so phenomenal an event in American history are invested with unusual charms. Mr. Waite was a lawyer, sensible and studious, with an immense and lucrative practice, and he had been for a series of years the acknowledged leader of the Ohio bar. In the winter of 1874 he was the choice of both political parties as delegate to the Ohio constitutional convention, at Cincinnati, and was elected president of the convention. His nomination on the 19th of January, 1874, to the chief justiceship took the country by surprise. The office had been wholly unsought. When the news reached the Ohio convention, then in session, with Mr. Waite presiding, there was an uproar of applause. One gentleman moved for the appointment of a committee of five to draw up congratulatory resolutions. "The chair rules the motion out of order," said Mr. Waite. During the remainder of the day it was impossible to quell the enthusiasm; but the calm, unruffled demeanor of the presiding officer was never once disturbed. As weeks rolled on it became apparent that neither the inquisitive public nor the newspaper press could find any flaw in his record. In the Senate it was said that "not a breath of suspicion or reproach had ever been cast upon him," and one senator declared that he "did not believe a man existed whose character was more spotless or whose sense of honor and justice was more acute." The nomination was discussed for about an hour in the Senate, during which speeches were made by Mr. Sumner, Mr. Sherman, Mr. Edmunds, and Mr. Thurman. The vote was taken by yeas and nays, and the result was never equaled in its favorable character within the memory of the oldest senator. The nominee received every vote cast. Sixty-three senators voted for his confirmation and not one against him. The new chief justice took the oath of office on the 4th of March, 1874, and immediately entered upon his work. Without a day's experience on the bench he came to preside over the highest tribunal on earth, and met all its demands acceptably. He represented, says one eminent lawyer, the dignity and the public decorum that should exist in such courts, and at the same time exercised every kind courtesy and every generous discretion toward the bar and his associates. He presided, says Melville W. Fuller, with dignity, but with winning courtesy, and though he pushed the business in hand with rapidity, he did this with a grace that eluded all offense. He exhibited no lack of will power whenever the exercise of it was necessary, but unassuming gentleness and the highest manhood without pretense, were uniformly in the ascendant. He was a public surprise in his promotion, and a public benefactor in the discharge



THE HOME OF CHIEF JUSTICE WAITE, IN WASHINGTON.

of his duties. He came to the front at a difficult period in the history of the court, when questions were before it of the widest importance to human rights, quite as knotty and profound and much greater in variety than those which worried his illustrious predecessors. He was no respecter of persons and had no favorites among lawyers. His just conception of our novel and complex theory of government added immensely to its strength in times of great excitement and peril. Few of us appreciate as it deserves the enduring work the Supreme Court performed in the reconstruction period. It aimed to eliminate old issues by settling them. It was the court that saved the country, we are told with emphasis, and not the army or the President. It should be remembered in this connection that there is no question of law, equity, admiralty, or patents that may not come for its final adjudication to this tribunal. In addition to the vast field of constitutional law which is unknown elsewhere, the Supreme Court of the United States has to interpret and enforce the provisions of the thirty-eight state constitutions when they come in question in cases between citizens of different states, and has to interpret and enforce the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, and to keep the legislative powers of thirty-eight states and of the nation within their appointed limits. Legislators may prepare and enact laws, Presidents and their subordinates may execute them, but the judiciary must always interpret and sometimes annul the crystallized wisdom of the nation's assembly, and guide and even direct the hand of the Executive in his efforts to administer.

The first home of Chief Justice Waite at the capital was in H Street, next door to the square stone mansion of Hon. George Bancroft, the historian. A pleasant intimacy sprang up between the two families, which was never interrupted, although the chief justice removed his residence within a year or two to Rhode Island Avenue, and subsequently purchased and took up his abode in the house of the sketch, in I Street, where he spent the remainder of his life. This was a veritable home, roomy, restful, with an air of substantial personal comfort, its appointments so tastefully blended that no one feature fixed itself upon the mind; a home in the highest degree interesting from the fact that it seems in its refined simplicity to reflect the beautiful character of its distinguished occupant. It is a plain brick edifice, vine clad on its two sides, with bay windows in front, commanding a long stretch of street views, shaded by leafy trees. The library and study-room of the chief justice occupies the second floor in the rear. The entire walls to the ceiling are lined with books. Nearly all that genius has created or industry achieved in the way of letters and



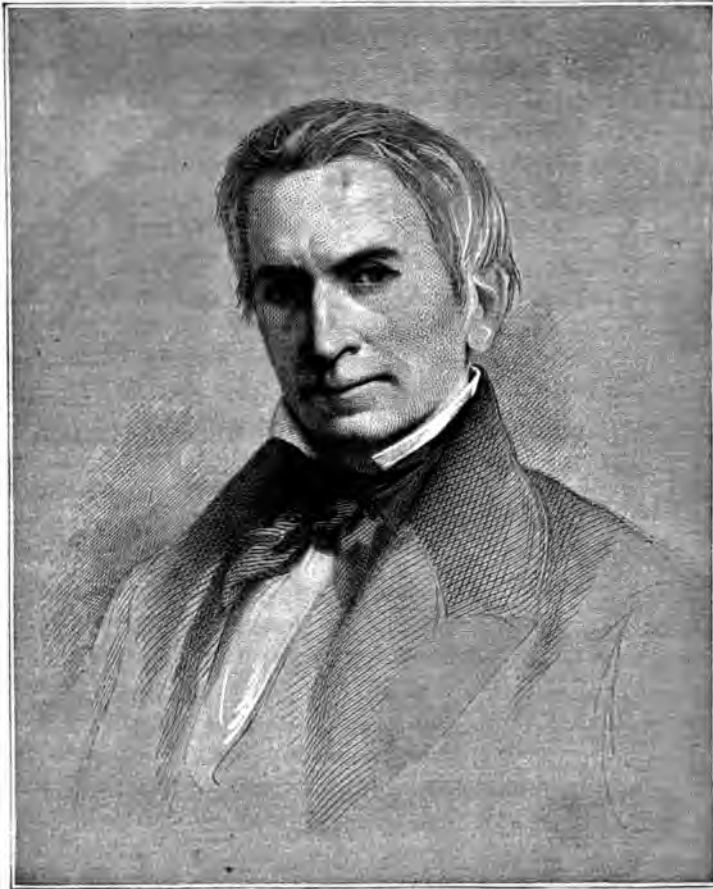
THE LIBRARY OF CHIEF JUSTICE WAITE.

legal lore has found its way to these shelves. The large library table strewn with papers in the centre of the room, remains just as he left it. The empty chair, as shown in the sketch, tells the touching story of a nation's loss. The little case of books to the left of the table belong to the famous Bell telephone suit, to which the chief justice gave unremitting and severest study for months, improving the entire vacation of the court in the work. It is thought by many that application to this case was the stroke of overwork that caused his death. The last public act of his life, as is well known, was to render his important decision on the validity of the Bell telephone patents.

It was the custom of the chief justice to rise at a very early hour every morning, and, with a simple cup of coffee served in his study, devote at least two or three hours to his work before the family breakfast at nine o'clock. It was thus he secured the quiet needful for continuity of mental effort. He was socially inclined, and greeted his friends with a heartiness and cordiality that was captivating. He never allowed social affairs, how-

ever, either at home or elsewhere, to interfere with his unremitting labors; but he possessed the rare faculty of being the cheery, hospitable host, or the delightful guest, without awakening the slightest suspicion in the minds of those about him that he was preoccupied. If he disappeared after a few moments' conversation, the pleasant impression he left behind him forbade the thought that he had returned to his study-table and plunged into the depths of research of the most important kind. It will ever be remembered to the honor of Chief Justice Waite that he allowed no whisperings of ambition to divert his attention from the duties of his exalted position. In 1876, he made it clear to the country, in the most emphatic language, that he would not be regarded as a candidate for President, which was being urged upon him; and so far as in his power he took the Supreme Court out of politics.

The question has often been asked, "By what successive steps did an American citizen acquire such learning and experience in affairs, such symmetry and balance of intellectual and moral qualities, as rendered his fitness for the high trust so unquestionable?" The answer may be found between the lines, while we rapidly survey the simple history of the man. Morrison R. Waite was born November 29, 1816, the year that James Monroe was elected to the Presidency. His father was the Hon. Henry Matson Waite, judge and then chief justice in the courts of Connecticut for twenty-three or more years, and his mother was Maria Selden, granddaughter of Colonel Samuel Selden of Revolutionary memory—a woman of the first order of intellect. The family home was in the town of Lyme, at the mouth of the Connecticut River. The future chief justice was the first-born of his parents, the eldest of eight sons and daughters. He was naturally very near to his father's heart, sharing in all his thoughts and pursuits. Chief Justice Henry M. Waite was a Christian gentleman highly cultivated by study, refined and social in his tastes, a man of stately presence, tall, and yet not tall, with a fair, serious face, keen blue eyes and light hair. Through his entire career as lawyer, legislator, judge, and chief justice, he commanded the perfect confidence of the community. A well-known jurist says of him, "He contributed his full share to the character of a court whose decisions are quoted and opinions respected in all the courts of the United States, and in the highest courts of England." His means were ample, but he preferred to use them for educational and religious purposes rather than in a pretentious mode of living. His eldest boy was bright, clever, and energetic, and in the companionship of such a father, and in the atmosphere of a town famous for its lawyers and statesmen, sufficiently near the metropolis to partake of its literary culture and



Yours truly

H. M. Waite

CHIEF JUSTICE HENRY MATSON WAITE, OF CONNECTICUT.

many-sided opportunities, and far enough distant to escape its dissipating wastes, he grew in stature, mentally and physically, and well prepared at the age of seventeen, entered Yale College, where he stood very high as a scholar, and from which he graduated with honor in 1837—in the class

with William M. Evarts, Edwards Pierrepont, Benjamin Silliman, Jr., and others who have since become eminent and influential.

The name of Waite is both ancient and honorable, dating back many centuries. The coat of arms used by the family was granted in 1512. Thomas Wayte was a member of Parliament, and one of the judges who signed the death-warrant of Charles I. Less than thirty years afterward, in 1677, his namesake, Thomas Waite, was born in Sudbury, Massachusetts, although it does not appear that the family came to this country until after the Restoration. When quite young Thomas Waite removed to Lyme, where he married the granddaughter of Matthew and Annah Wolcott Griswold, thus connecting himself with the most influential families in the province. His son Richard was the father of Remick Waite, and the grandfather of Chief Justice Henry Matson Waite. Richard was a leading man in the county and a justice of the peace, which was a vast honor in those days. He and his wife were severely religious, never allowed any cooking or sweeping in their house on the Sabbath, eating their dinners cold, and always entered church at the precise and proper moment. Their son Remick also had the law in his blood, and served as justice of the peace with great dignity from youth to old age. His wife was Susannah Matson, a sister of the mother of the famous Governor Buckingham, and a lady of superior talents and great worth and strength of character. She named her son Henry Matson, and watched over his education with vigilance. He graduated from Yale College in 1809, and studied law with Judge Matthew Griswold of Lyme and his accomplished brother, Governor Roger Griswold. In 1810 he taught a small select school in New Rochelle, New York, and one of his pupils was William Heathcote De Lancey, afterward Bishop of New York. Whether inheriting these tastes or otherwise, Morrison R. Waite was firmly set upon the profession of the law from earliest boyhood, from which nothing could lure him.

During his life at Yale, he was distinguished for his evenly-developed and well-balanced mind; and he was eminently genial, courteous and unobtrusive. He formally commenced his law studies in his father's office at Lyme immediately after leaving college, but through his vigorous enthusiasm he had already secured familiarity with many of its varied branches. The following year he traveled extensively, and attracted by the signs of promise in the West, arranged to complete his legal education in the office of Hon. Samuel M. Young, then a prominent lawyer in Maumee City, Ohio. In 1839 he was admitted to the bar, and formed a partnership with Mr. Young that continued with marked success for nearly a quarter of a century. Mr. Waite residing a greater part of that period in

Toledo, and Mr. Young residing there also after 1855. The country was new, and litigations of every description flooded the courts. Mr. Waite soon proved himself capable of grasping all the minute details affecting in any way a legal question. His studious habits, his upright character, and his conciliatory manners contributed to his popularity and marked success.

Opposing counsel often said that his assertion on any question of law was accepted as unanswerable. He had no political aspirations, and meddled little with public concerns prior to his appointment as chief justice, although repeatedly urged to accept a nomination to Congress; and he more than once declined a seat upon the bench of the Supreme Court of Ohio. In 1849 he served with ability and credit in the Ohio legislature, but he much preferred the practice and duties of his profession.

The first position in which he attracted national attention was that of counsel to represent the United States before the tribunal of arbitration at Geneva in 1871-1872, his associates being Hon. Caleb Cushing and Hon. William M. Evarts. He took a laboring oar in the preparation of the case, and there and then displayed his wonderful capacity for affairs and his understanding of the principles of international questions. It fell to him to argue the liability of the English government for permitting Confederate steamers to take in supplies of coal in her ports during the late civil war, and the robust clearness and directness of his logic carried conviction on all the points he raised. On his return home after the satisfactory close of his labors in Geneva, his *alma mater* conferred on him the honorary degree of LL.D.

He was married in September, 1840, two months before reaching his twenty-fourth birthday. His bride was his second cousin, Amelia C. Warner, of Lyme, to whom he had long been ardently attached. She was in her nineteenth year, a beauty and a belle, a fair brunette with bewitching dark eyes and glossy black hair, of decided talents, with a careful education acquired in the best schools then extant. Immediately after the wedding the happy pair started for Ohio, where Mr. Waite was already established in business. Mrs. Waite from the first took a prominent place in social affairs in the western community. She was noted for her generosity, independence of character, good sense and refined taste. As time rolled on and Mr. Waite's law practice increased, their home in Toledo became a social centre, and they dispensed the most charming hospitalities. No family in the region had a wider circle of admiring friends; and as Mr. Waite grew by the force of his genius into the leadership of the Ohio bar, Mrs. Waite became as if by common consent the leader in fashion and society. Their children were bright and promising, and were



THE PARLOR-LIBRARY, WITH GLIMPSE OF DINING ROOM, IN CHIEF JUSTICE WAITE'S HOME IN WASHINGTON.

given every advantage of eastern as well as western schools. Three sons and one daughter brought music and sunshine into their dwelling. Their domestic life was not unlike a beautiful poem. They collected a library, choice books and periodicals were strewed lavishly through their house, and both Mr. and Mrs. Waite in their general reading literally kept abreast with the times.

In his frequent business visits to New York Mr. Waite was nearly always accompanied by his wife. When in Europe as counsel at the Geneva arbitration, both Mrs. Waite and his accomplished daughter, Miss Mary Waite, were with him. When he took up his permanent abode in Washington as chief justice of the nation, it was said, and truly said, that no lady in the land was more admirably qualified by breeding, culture and travel for distinguished prominence in the great social structure at the capital than Mrs. Waite, and she has ever since nobly and conscientiously performed, so far as her health would permit, all the exacting public and private social obligations attending her husband's official station—the duties which destiny thrust upon her. Miss Waite has ever through her vivacity and loveliness of character been a special favorite in Washington circles, and the executive ability with which she has systematized and achieved her varied society, charitable and other useful work has been a marvel to all by whom she is best known.

The home of the chief justice has been one of the most delightful in Washington. This was not owing to any superiority in architecture or appointments; it is, as our readers can see, a simple structure, furnished without pretense or elaboration, quietly and tastefully. But its attractive features are independent of costly designs and extraordinary treasures. The parlor-library or middle-parlor, between the parlor and dining-room, was the apartment where the family gathered every evening under the shade of the lamps, and chatted over the day's doings. A glimpse of this home room is given in the sketch made from the point where the parlor and the parlor-library meet, looking into the dining-room. Guests such as were intimate personal friends were received here informally, and animated scenes were of regular occurrence. The chief justice, affable, courteous, and cordial, would enter with spirit into every theme of conversation, with flashes now and then of irresistible humor, but retiring to his work in the library above, unless the visitor had in calling particularly asked for him by name. Senators, members of the cabinet, heroes in warfare by land and by sea, scientists, men of letters, and doctors of divinity and law, were among those who dropped in familiarly for an evening hour and enlivened the brilliant circle in this charmed homestead with wit and anecdote, nuggets

of wisdom and grave discussion. Mrs. Waite's formal weekly receptions were always largely attended, and her special entertainments brought together some of the most effective groupings of brilliant people the world affords. Mr. Foster, former minister to Russia, whose residence is alongside that of the chief justice, says: "The Waite mansion has been one of the most hospitable houses in Washington. No official of the government met the expectations of the social world more generously or with more becoming graciousness than the chief justice. Besides the many State dinners and receptions his home was never free from guests, and was usually crowded with them. He and his family never forgot the friends of their early years, many of whom are gathered in the capital, and some perhaps had seen more prosperous times. Scarcely a day passed that one or more of these was not an informal guest at his table, and certain visitors were regularly expected on fixed days at dinner. One of the noblest traits of the chief justice was the simplicity of his character and the modesty with which he bore the dignity of his high office. While his parlors were thronged with the famous people of the capital at his receptions, there were always found in the same circle many persons of merit occupying the lower ranks of society; and for these he had as warm and hearty a welcome as for the great and titled. He was the same plain and unassuming gentleman to all with whom he came in contact, and had for everyone, high or low, the same frank and cheerful greeting."

Of his faithfulness as a public servant, and the conscientious labor he bestowed on the preparation of his opinions, it was well known that he often hurried away from a State dinner to work late in his library. Mr. Foster says: "Many a winter morning I have looked out from my bedroom window to see him at his table working by the light of his student lamp, and yet he found time to respond to the call of all kinds of benevolent and charitable organizations. His money, his advice or his presence, were cheerfully lent to build up and strengthen almost every society of this character in Washington. "He was," continued Mr. Foster, "the most genial and kindly of neighbors, as tender-hearted as a woman, and with all the great cares of his high office crowding his mind to its utmost tension, he was punctiliously attentive to the amenities of family friendships. He had induced Mrs. Waite in the early part of March to take a trip to California, hoping the change would benefit her. After her departure he called at my house every day punctually on his way home from the sessions of the Supreme Court to inquire after the health of my daughter, who was dangerously ill when Mrs. Waite left. 'For,' said the chief justice, 'Mrs. Waite charged me that I must send her word

every day how your Edith was getting along.' And he always came personally to make the inquiry."

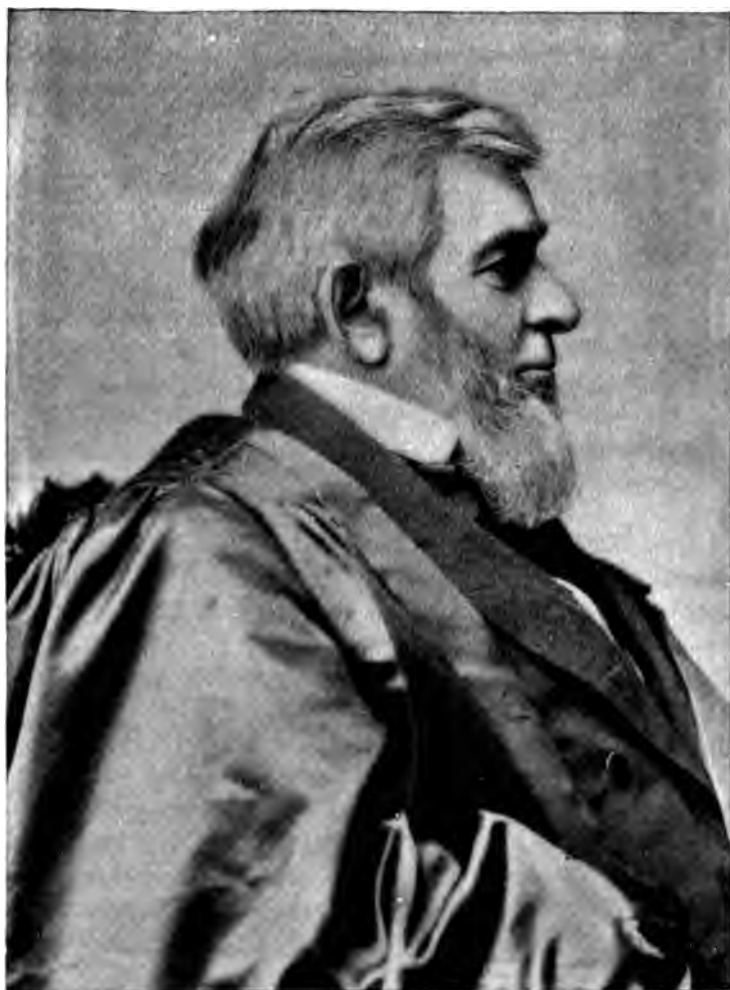
A fine thread of chivalry running through the whole character of Chief Justice Waite, like a bright color in the rainbow, seemed to brighten toward the end. His lover-like devotion to his wife was conspicuous in the unselfish manner with which he persuaded her to take the trip across the Continent with her invalid sister, to visit her uncle in Los Angeles. He received daily despatches from her on her journey, and spoke enthusiastically to his friends of the pleasure she would have in seeing California, and the benefit he hoped it would be to her health.

They expected to celebrate their golden wedding within the next two years, and the chief justice referred to it frequently, revealing to his intimate friends how much it was in his mind. When he became ill he was nervously anxious that no whisper of it should get abroad, lest the news reach his wife in California, and make her unhappy. This reason more than any other determined him, it is thought, to go to the Capitol on that last Monday of his life and attend the session of the court. "If I am not there," he said, "the news will be flashed through the country that I am ill, and it will alarm Mrs. Waite." But he was not able to read his opinion on the Bell telephone case, and asked Justice Blatchford to read it for him, and then immediately returned home.

"In his personal and private life," said Senator Edmunds, "he was one of the most gentle, cordial, and approachable men I ever met, and his kindness of heart was so great that in the midst of affairs and society here where he must have known so many instances of evil and impropriety, I do not remember ever to have heard him make a censorious or unkind remark to any person in the world, or to mention a circumstance, or employ a witticism against or at the expense of another."

Henry, the eldest son of the chief justice, died many years ago, leaving a widow and two interesting boys. These grandsons have been objects of pride and tender interest and exceedingly dear to the chief justice, who has watched over their growth, development, and education with critical care. They were sent to Yale, where the chief justice had been for many years an influential member of the corporation. The Phi Beta Phi Society of the Yale Law School has a Waite Chapter. The two other sons of the chief justice are married, with young families growing up about them; Christopher C. Waite resides in Cincinnati, and Edward T. Waite in Toledo, Ohio. Both the chief justice and Mrs. Waite were active members of the Protestant Episcopal church, of which no one was more regular in attendance than the great jurist.

The only profile portrait of Chief Justice Waite, which we present to our readers on another page, reveals in a remarkable degree that divine quality of good-will toward all men for which he will ever be justly honored. The artist who painted the recent portrait for the Ohio Society of New York says his sitter seemed to be continually studying on his cases, and would frequently excuse himself and go to his library and take down a law book and look up a reference. His industry was untiring. From the beginning to the end of his judicial career his life was one sacrifice of personal ease and pleasure. For fourteen years he was the hardest worked member of the Supreme Court. Every Monday there was a quantity of motions submitted to the court which the chief justice was expected to act upon alone, each requiring more or less looking up of authorities, sometimes involving as much labor as cases calling for more elaborate decisions. He was unwilling to ask his associates to assist him in this class of work, as it was his policy never to shirk any burden, however great, that properly belonged to him. Could he have foreseen in the beginning the number, the variety and the magnitude of the constitutional questions which were to come before the court for consideration and determination during his term of office, he might well have shrunk from the ordeal. The second great period of constitutional interpretation began with his first year on the bench. The post war amendments—thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth—had at the time of his accession but very recently been adopted, and were coming up for judicial exposition. In some respects they were the most important articles in the Constitution, imposing upon the states limitations more radical and far-reaching than are imposed by all the other provisions of the instrument put together. A flood of cases has since arisen, where questions have been raised as to the powers of Congress, the rights of states, and the privileges of citizens. To declare the meaning and determine the scope of amendments that wrought a substantial change in our form of government, enlarging the central power and curtailing state sovereignty, has been the function of the Supreme Court under the chieftainship of Chief Justice Waite; and he met all these obligations, and bore his full share of the responsibilities devolving on this most august of judicial tribunals. One of the associate justices recently said: "His administrative ability was remarkable. None of his predecessors more steadily or more wisely superintended the court, or more carefully observed all that is necessary to its workings. He has written many of the most important opinions of the court—too many to be particularized." Another eminent jurist has said: "He was always on the alert as to the due order and course of business in



M. R. Waite

THE ONLY PROFILE PORTRAIT OF CHIEF JUSTICE WAITE.

[From a photograph taken from life in the early part of March, 1888.]

the court; he kept vigilant watch of the docket, acquainting himself in advance with the character of the causes about to be reached, and rigidly enforced the rules and precedents of the court in all matters of practice.

He presided with great dignity and with absolute fairness and courtesy, always ready to mitigate, never to aggravate, the harshness of the law, leaving nothing to be desired by his associates or by the Bar in his demeanor and bearing as the highest judicial officer in the land. Chief-Justice Waite was able to keep pace with the growth in wisdom, and with the wondrous growth in other directions, of the country. While Taney advanced over Marshall and Story, whom all men admired as the giants of their time, Waite has advanced over and beyond them all."

Few men in any great office in any country have commanded in so universal a degree the confidence of an entire people. Whether because of his grand, strong, broad cultured judicial mind, his profound learning and dexterity of intellect, or his conspicuous integrity, conscientious impartiality, and lovable personal qualities, it will ever be as has been said of him, that he filled his public career with honor—great honor—and with infinite benefit to his country.

The Produce Exchange of Toledo, in their resolutions of respect immediately after the great national bereavement, paid a high tribute to the public services of the lamented chief justice, adding: "But it is the immense circle of friends who knew him in private life, who are most deeply, tenderly touched, and those who knew him longest, loved him the most. Morrison R. Waite belonged to the people of this valley. For nearly forty years he went out and in amongst us. No citizen was ever more widely known or more sincerely esteemed for the purity, gentleness, and uprightness of his character, for the warm grasp of his hand, and the warmer sincere sympathies of his great heart. His history, well written, would be the history of northwest Ohio. Every young man, especially, is indebted to him for having so faithfully illustrated what has been and may again be accomplished by a well-rounded and well-ordered life."

Martha J Lamb

THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS

On the 20th day of January, 1775, in the British House of Lords, the illustrious Lord Chatham delivered a very memorable speech. He was the fast friend and the outspoken defender of the struggling Colonists of America in their protracted controversy with the King of Great Britain and his constitutional advisers. He was no longer the great Prime Minister, who had dominated the counsels of the government with an almost despotic sway. He had descended from power, and had not, as he remarked in his speech, "the honor of access to His Majesty." Age also was creeping upon him with its stealthy tread, and a painful malady racked his once stalwart frame with almost unendurable agony.

But neither age nor infirmity could impair the vigor of his intellect, nor quench the bold, and at times, even the defiant spirit with which he uttered his convictions. He vindicated, in the fullest and clearest manner, the right of the Colonists to refuse to be taxed, in the absence of all representation in the national councils, without their consent. "The spirit," said he, "which now resists your taxation in America, is the same which formerly opposed loans, benevolences, and ship money in England; the same spirit which called all England on its feet, and by its bill of rights vindicated the English Constitution; the same spirit which established the great, fundamental, essential maxim of your liberties, that *no subject of England shall be taxed but by his own consent*." On this great principle, and in this cause, the American Colonists, he adds, "are immovably allied; it is the alliance of God and nature, immutable, eternal, fixed as the firmament of Heaven."

The Continental Congress, of whose members, acts, and their consequences I propose to speak, was at this time in session in Philadelphia, and had barely initiated those plans and purposes which not long afterward found expression in the great charter of our rights and liberties, the immortal Declaration of Independence. Of this body of patriotic and illustrious men, Lord Chatham, in this speech from which I have quoted, made this memorable declaration. "When your lordships look at the papers transmitted to us from America; when you consider their decency, firmness and wisdom, you can not but respect their cause, and wish to make it your own. For myself I must declare and avow, that in all my

reading and observation—and it has been my favorite study, I have read Thucydides, and have studied and admired the master states of the world—that for solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity and wisdom of conclusion, under such a complication of difficult circumstances, no nation or body of men can stand in preference to the General Congress assembled at Philadelphia.”

This is high eulogy; and in the mouth of an Englishman, justly proud of the name and familiar as he was with her grand history and the great men it had given to the world, it is exalted praise. And yet, after a pretty diligent and faithful study of the characters, the acts and the conclusions of that body of men known to us as the Continental Congress, I hardly dare call it an exaggerated estimate. Many circumstances combined to make the assembling together of these men, and the successful outcome of their deliberations, quite remarkable. It was, in many respects, a propitious moment for such a gathering. The ominous outlook of affairs in the Old World, the upheavings that were beginning to shake the apparently well settled foundations of ancient abuses; above all the almost universal corruption that tainted and infected public and governmental life in England, and which generated and fostered the wrongs under which the American Colonists suffered, all conduced to bring about a unity of sentiment, resulting in a unity of action that contained within itself the promise and the potency of success.

It is difficult for us to conceive, or rather it would be difficult, had we not had the good fortune to have revealed to us, in recent days, something of the inner life of those times, how universally corruption, dishonor and base-born selfishness pervaded the counsels and the Court of England. Thackeray, in his lectures on the reigns of the Four Georges, who successively occupied the throne of Great Britain, let in upon us many gleams of light from those years that inflicted many undeserved stains upon the English name, and finally tore from the third George the brightest jewel in his crown. But a still more recent work, the *Life of Charles James Fox*, by Trevelyan, who almost rivals Macaulay in the purity and nervousness of his style, and the incisive power of his invective, has given us a more complete and life-like portrait of those days when patriotism was at a fearful discount, and purity an unknown equation. “Every man in Parliament,” in Walpole’s significant phrase, “had his price.” But not in Parliament alone was venality and greed the rule of public life. Nepotism was unblushing and universal. A single extract from this admirable book will illustrate this point as clearly as many pages of dry nar-

"At a time when trade was on so small a scale that a Lancashire manufacturer considered himself well off on the income which his grandson now gives to his cashier, a Cabinet Minister, over and above the ample salary of his office, might reckon confidently upon securing for himself, and for all who belonged to him and who came after him, a permanent maintenance, not dependent upon the vicissitudes of party, which would be regarded as handsome, and even splendid, in these days of visible and all-pervading opulence. One nobleman had eight thousand a year in sinecures. Another, an auditor of the Exchequer, inside which he never looked, had eight thousand pounds in peace and twenty thousand in war, and still another bowed and whispered himself into four great employments, from which flowed, month by month, fourteen hundred guineas into the lap of his Parisian mistress."

A reversion to an office was reckoned upon as a good investment, sure to come to hand in due time, and as our author sharply and keenly puts it, "a paymaster of the works, or an auditor of the plantations, with plenty of money to buy good liquor, and plenty of time to drink it, did not live forever, and a next appointment to the civil service, in the last century, might be discounted as freely as a next presentation to a living in our own."

With the remarkable fact that the occupant of the throne, unlike some of his immediate predecessors, was pure and faithful in his domestic life, the morals of the Court were fearfully corrupt, and, in some respects (not, indeed, quite as open and shameless), resembled those of the infamous Charles the Second. The Earl of Sandwich, high in office and trusted by his sovereign with great responsibilities, may serve as a type of many more "who carried undisguised and unabashed libertinism to the verge of a tomb," which did not close upon him until he had spent nearly half a century in office.

The bearing which these things which I have faintly outlined have upon the condition of affairs in America is easily seen. To secure and maintain these princely resources, plunder of all sorts, and in all available places, was of course practiced. Ireland, unhappy, misgoverned Ireland, had been ravaged and plucked until but little was left for avarice to covet or greed to secure; and thus it was that attention was turned to America as to "fresh woods and pastures new," where an ample field was opened for these plunderers of a nation's wealth, to enhance their own ill-gotten gains. Trevelyan very distinctly leads us to the conclusion that it was England, governed and controlled as she was by sinecurists, pampered menials in office, and unblushing robbers that lost to Great Britain an empire in America, and with the following passage I close this page of a history full of instruction in regard to the condition of the mother country and the American colonies, at that special crisis that called the Continental Congress into being.

"When Britain had been drained dry, and there was nothing more to be squeezed from Ireland, ministers in an evil hour for themselves remembered that there were two millions of Englishmen in America, who had struggled through the difficulties and hardships which beset the pioneers of civilization, and who, now that their daily bread was assured to them, could afford the luxury of maintaining an army of sinecurists. The suggestion can not be said to have originated on the other side of the Atlantic. 'It was not,' said Junius, 'Virginia that wanted a governor, but a court favorite that wanted a salary.' Virginia, however, and her sister colonies, were not supposed to know what was best for their own interests, or, at any rate, for the interests of their masters; and plenty of gentlemen were soon drinking their claret and paying their debts out of the savings of the fishermen of New Hampshire and the farmers of New Jersey, and talking, with that perversion of sentiment which is the inevitable outgrowth of privilege, about the 'cruelty' of a Secretary of State who hinted that they would do well to show themselves occasionally among the people whose substance they devoured. And yet, in most cases, it was fortunate for America that her placemen had not enough public spirit to make them ashamed of being absentees. Such was the private character of many among her official staff, that their room was cheaply purchased by the money which they spent outside the country. The best things in the colonies generally fell to bankrupt members of parliament, who were as poor in political principle as in worldly goods; and the smaller posts were regarded as their special inheritance, by the raffish of the election committee room, and the bad bargains of the servants' hall."

Nothing need be added to enforce the vividness of this description except to recall, at this point, one of the counts in that indictment of the King of Great Britain, penned by Jefferson in the Declaration, and thus forcibly and truly expressed: "He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people and eat out their substance." Against such exactions, enforced by such a tribe of needy adventurers and remorseless harpies, our fathers faithfully remonstrated, and, at length, most justly rebelled.

It would perhaps be a difficult matter to ascertain, as it would be unprofitable to inquire in whose brain originated the conception of the Continental Congress. Such inquiries usually end where the equally unprofitable and unsolved problem has always terminated, that is in entire uncertainty, whether the thunderous appeals of Patrick Henry at the south, or the lightning coruscations of James Otis at the north, did most to fire the national heart, and combine and consolidate the national sentiment.

As a matter of pretty universal acknowledgment, the two colonies that led in the actual and forcible movement toward resistance were Virginia and Massachusetts. When the first blood was shed in the conflict of arms on the soil of Lexington, Virginia responded to the call for aid and sympathy, by the clarion voice of Henry and the cordial co-opera-

tion of her leading men, and throughout all the subsequent years of struggling hope and despondency they seem never to have been separated either in harmony of sentiment or unity of action. It may, I think, be fairly claimed that the first suggestion of a Council of the Colonies for consultation in regard to the wrongs they suffered, and what remedies were appropriate to the case, was made in a letter from the patriotic merchants of New York, addressed to the General Court in Massachusetts, and asking that body to take the lead in a movement designed to bring the colonies together for mutual counsel and concerted action. As a matter of historical record, it is true that the first legislative resolution which suggested and recommended the assembling of, and actually appointed delegates to a General Council or Congress for mutual consultation, and combined action by the colonists, passed the legislature of Massachusetts on the 17th of June, 1774, the very day which just one year thereafter, and ever since has been made memorable by the battle of Bunker Hill. This is the first resolution passed by any of the colonial legislative bodies, recommending such a convocation to be held on the 1st day of September, thereafter, at the city of Philadelphia, or such other place as should be deemed most suitable, and appointing delegates to represent that colony in the proposed Congress, among whom appeared the subsequently greatly distinguished names of John and Samuel Adams.

The other colonies followed in rapid succession, until on the 2d day of August, 1774, by a resolution passed by the Assembly of South Carolina, eleven colonies had taken the necessary action and appointed delegates to meet, as had been recommended by Massachusetts, in Philadelphia. The delegates from these eleven colonies assembled at Carpenter's Hall, in the city of Philadelphia, on the 5th day of September, 1774. The delegates from North Carolina appeared on the 14th day of that month, while those from Georgia were not appointed until July of the following year, and soon thereafter appeared, and from that time the representatives of the thirteen colonies continued, by changes and renewals, until its final dissolution.

At the first roll call on the 5th of September, 1774, forty-three delegates answered to their names. Some of them had already become conspicuous for the part they had taken in the controversies with the mother country and the provincial authorities, and some afterward obtained immortal renown. This is not the place, nor will the necessary limitations of this paper permit an enumeration of these men, nor allow me to rehearse their varied and acknowledged claims to distinction. It must suffice, now, to say that Massachusetts, besides the Adamses already men-

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tioned, was represented also by the not obscure names of Thomas Cushing and Robert Treat Paine. From Connecticut came the sturdy patriot, Roger Sherman. New York presented, among others, the illustrious name of John Jay and Gen. William Floyd, a gallant soldier as well as an experienced civilian, and whose name and fame is cherished as one to which our own county of Oneida is fairly entitled. Delaware appeared in the person of Cæsar Rodney, South Carolina in those of Henry Middleton and Edward Rutledge, while Virginia indicated her power and pre-eminence in what were then, and ever will be, the distinguished names of George Washington, Peyton Randolph, Patrick Henry, and Edmund Pendleton. Many men still more eminent afterward appeared as members of the Congress. The first act was the election of a president, and the choice fell unanimously upon Peyton Randolph. His was a distinguished Virginia name, and of it he was a worthy representative. He held the position until declining health, followed by his death in May, 1775, compelled his resignation. But for this, his name, instead of the bold signature of John Hancock, would have headed the roll of patriotic men that in the following year signed the immortal Declaration of Independence. This election and that of a secretary, with the presentation of credentials, terminated the meeting of the first day, and the second was devoted to the preparation and passage of some needful rules of order, and a request that on the following day, the 7th of September, when the serious work of Congress was to begin, the session be opened with prayer by the Rev. Mr. Duche.

And here, prefacing it with the remark that I heartily dislike the whole tribe of iconoclasts, from Niebuhr down, who seem to take a grim delight in dissipating our faith in all the innocent and cherished traditions of our childhood and manhood as well, from the apple of William Tell to the hatchet of George Washington, the truth of history and regard for the pious memory of our fathers, seems to require me to correct a popular superstition which has obtained great currency, and secured large credence. The tradition tells us that no prayer had ever been heard in Congress, until after many months of anxious debate, when no conclusion having been reached, Dr. Franklin suggested that they should look for Divine guidance, and proposed that prayer should be offered by the reverend man already named. Unfortunately for the truth of this story, Dr. Franklin, when the Congress assembled, was in England, and did not appear as a delegate until the month of May, 1775. And the record, both of the request and of the prayer offered on the morning of the 7th of September, 1774, appear upon the Journal of the Congress, together with the resolution at once offered and passed, that the thanks of Congress be presented to Rev. Mr.

Duche, "for the excellent prayer which he composed and delivered on that occasion."

It is meet that this record be reproduced, that we may be reminded of the piety and devotion of our fathers. It can be truthfully said of them that they were a race of earnest and God-fearing men, who believed profoundly that there was a Supreme "Divinity that shaped our ends," an Almighty Sovereign that ruled not only in the armies of Heaven but among the inhabitants of the earth, to whom devout thanksgivings were to be rendered when success crowned our arms, and before whom the people were to humble themselves when disaster came or impended. The Journals of the Congress record not less than ten occasions during their deliberations, when days of fasting alternating with days of thanksgiving were ordered by the Congress. The last occasion for the latter was when, on the 24th of October, 1781, the glorious news came of the surrender of Cornwallis, when, as the Journal tells us, the whole Congress went in procession to the Dutch Lutheran Church "to return thanks to Almighty God for crowning the allied armies of the United States and France with success, by the surrender of the whole British army under the command of the Earl Cornwallis." And on the following day they issued a proclamation setting apart the 15th day of December, thereafter, to be observed by all the people as a day of thanksgiving and prayer for this memorable and crowning victory. Our revolutionary fathers did not fail to recognize and adore the "mighty hand and the outstretched arm," that was ever over and around them. May the day never come in all our future history when the sons shall forget their devout gratitude, or fail to imitate their heroic faith.

I do not propose to follow the proceedings of the Congress in its daily or even yearly details. The Journal is in itself but a naked narrative of the resolutions offered and passed, and a record in full of the public documents prepared for and adopted by the Congress. I can only mention, as especially memorable, among the earliest proceedings, the two addresses, one to the people and the other to the King of Great Britain. The first is well known to have been the production of the illustrious New Yorker, John Jay. There are few brighter or purer names than his connected with our colonial or national history. The family of Jay came from France, and was of Huguenot origin, and better blood than this never perhaps has coursed through mortal veins. And that blood still remains with us in living representatives, with its honor untarnished and its purity unstained. This address was one of remarkable power and shadowed forth some of these grievances which subsequently were so powerfully presented in the Declaration. These were among the documents that called forth the admir-

atión of Lord Chatham, but their weighty and ominous words fell upon ears unwilling to listen, and impatient of disturbance in their schemes of outrage and plunder, and so outrage and plunder went on to their legitimate end, resistance, war and successful revolution.

The time had now fully arrived when it was necessary that the army, which had been hastily gathered, should have a systematic organization, and, over and above all, a competent leader, and to this the attention of Congress was anxiously and even painfully directed. Local jealousies and rivalries had to some extent already been developed, and it was needful, above all things, that the choice should fall upon one who could command the confidence of the country, as well as of the army. It so happened that the senior major-general, then in the service, was Artemus Ward, of Massachusetts. He had attained some position, and stood fairly as a patriot and a soldier, and if priority of rank was to be deemed controlling, he had a well-founded claim to consideration. A day was assigned by Congress for action on this matter, and on the 15th of June, 1775, they proceeded to execute the order. The record in the Journal is simply this: "The Congress proceeded to the choice of a general, by ballot, and George Washington, Esq., was unanimously elected." Only this and nothing more is recorded. But much more than this, we may be well assured, preceded and accompanied so notable an event.

It is greatly to be regretted that we possess no authentic report of the debates of this assembly of remarkable and memorable men. They would be much better and more profitable reading than "Congressional Records," that now make their annual appearance in voluminous quartos, and occupy, if they do not adorn our shelves. But in those days there were no stenographers, no reporters, nor any of the tribe of interviewers that are now perpetually dogging the footsteps and extracting the secrets of our great men. What we know outside of the record is to be gathered from contemporary correspondence, and the private memoranda of the men of that day, and well-authenticated tradition. From some, or all of these sources, I am aware that it is claimed that the motion which preceded the action of Congress was made by a delegate from the state of Maryland. By other authorities, it is asserted that the motion was made by John Adams, of Massachusetts. But whether or not he took the initiative in this matter, it is certain from descriptions given by men who were present and heard the debate, that if he did not move, he promptly seconded the motion, and supported it by what was the leading and controlling speech of the occasion. We can imagine the interest with which he was regarded in rising to address the Congress, and the eager curiosity with which the

members hung upon his words. It might well have been supposed, that as a Massachusetts man, he would naturally have been inclined to name their own senior major-general as the man for the position. He proceeded, in well-set and carefully considered words, to set forth what he conceived to be the qualifications of the man to whom was to be confided so great and momentous a trust, and ended by saying, that in his opinion, all these qualifications were fully met in the person of George Washington, of Virginia, whom he cordially supported as commander-in-chief of the American armies. What a happy surprise, and what a perfect solution of the great problem, this must have seemed to many anxious hearts, and we can almost imagine that even that grave and solemn assembly burst, involuntarily, into a shout of glad acclaim, when the name of Washington was pronounced.

It was, beyond all question, a wise and happy choice. Washington was the man for the hour, as clearly raised up—by that Providence which equally heeds the falling sparrow and the overthrow of an empire—for the exigent moment that called for him, as Lincoln was for the next most momentous and trying crisis in our history. The claim of Washington to be placed high up on the roll of the great men of the world has been the subject of much discussion, and his precise position may not even yet be clearly defined. Some things may well be received as established beyond controversy. That he was a prudent, sagacious, and with the means he had at command, a skillful general, cannot fairly be denied; that he was, in counsel, wise, self-contained and conservative, and in administration pure, just and fearless, will assuredly be conceded. To talk of him as a soldier, compared with Napoleon, is one of those questions that school-boys may debate, but grown men will not entertain. When we speak of great men, purely in the light of intellect and achievement, we are obliged to acknowledge, that in force of towering intellect, mastery of men, and extent and splendor of accomplishment, Napoleon was “the foremost man of all this world.” But, on the other hand, we are equally compelled to the admission that with all these claims to supremacy, Napoleon had striking weaknesses developed in those unguarded hours when selfishness, unrestrained passion and unbridled ambition, unchecked by any moral restraints or influences, took full possession and control of his baser nature. Washington had no such weaknesses, and if there was the element of passion in his composition, he held it under wise and dignified control, and was (antagonizing the aphorism of Napoleon) as much a hero to his valet as he was when standing in the full blaze of the public eye.

As a general summing up of the character of Washington, we may well

accept the testimony of Daniel Webster as a competent and trustworthy witness. I quote his own well-considered words:

"The character of Washington is a fixed star in the firmament of great names, shining without twinkling or obscurity, with clear, steady and beneficent light. If we think of our independence, we think of him whose efforts were so prominent in achieving it. If we think of the Constitution which is over us, we think of him who did so much to establish it, and whose administration of its powers is acknowledged to be a model for his successors. If we think of glory in the field, of wisdom in the Cabinet, of the purest patriotism, of the highest integrity, of religious feeling, without intolerance or bigotry, the august figure of Washington presents itself as the living personation of each and all of these high qualities."

If we supplement this testimony with that of Lord Erskine, who deliberately declared that the character of Washington was the only one in all history that, in its contemplation, "filled him with awful reverence," we may safely conclude with Webster that the name and character of Washington are indelibly written "in the clear upper sky," and that his, at least, is securely and forever among

"The few, the immortal names
That were not born to die."

Washington, upon his appointment, immediately vacated his seat in the Congress, and proceeded to the performance of his great and responsible trust. But on the 21st of June, 1775, there appeared in Congress another delegate from Virginia, who has exerted an influence and left an impression upon our national history and character second only perhaps to that of Washington. That man was Thomas Jefferson. He had already made his mark as a public man of great promise in his native state, and was now destined to act upon a larger theatre, and become associated with men and events that led directly in the pathway to independence, confederation, and ultimately to the crowning and glorious result of union and nationality, and with all these the name and fame of Jefferson are inseparably connected.

The time had now arrived when the question of independence of and separation from the mother country could no longer be deferred. The history of the rise, progress, and consummation of this decisive movement is somewhat familiar, and needs not to be dwelt upon minutely. A brief recapitulation, however, will not be inappropriate in this rapid sketch of the prominent doings of the Continental Congress. To Virginia belongs, without doubt or controversy, the honor of the first introduction of the distinct question of Independence. On the 14th day of May, 1776, she instructed

her delegates in Congress to propose to that body to make a declaration that the United Colonies were free and independent states, and absolved from all allegiance to the crown or Parliament of Great Britain. The first appearance of the question in Congress was on the 7th day of June, 1776, when, as the Journal states, "certain resolutions concerning independency being moved and seconded," the consideration of them was deferred to the following day, accompanied by an injunction that the members be prompt in their attendance. On the 8th the resolutions were taken up, but their further consideration was deferred until the following Monday, the 10th of June, and although on that day the consideration of the first resolution was deferred to the 1st day of July thereafter, yet, in order, as the Journal expresses it, "that no time be lost," a committee was appointed to prepare a declaration to the effect "that these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British Crown; and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved." This resolution was the one originally presented by Richard Henry Lee, one of the most distinguished representatives from Virginia, and is now in existence in his own hand-writing. This motion was seconded by "glorious John Adams," as he was afterward styled by Lee, and passed the Congress without a dissenting vote on the 2d day of July, 1776.

Thus was broken the last link in the chain of colonial dependence, and the duty of presenting to the world the reasons which "a decent respect for the opinions of mankind" obliged the Congress to offer, in justification of the great and momentous step, was confided to a committee composed of the illustrious names of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, Roger Sherman, and Robert R. Livingston. To Jefferson was appropriately given the position of chairman, and as such the duty devolved upon him of preparing the declaration. It could not have been assigned to better hands. In addition to a considerable legislative experience, he was thoroughly familiar with the whole course of our colonial history and the grievances under which our fathers suffered, and he held a most facile as well as a powerful pen. In this respect he had no equal in the Congress, unless it was John Jay. Jay would in all probability have been placed upon the committee instead of Livingston, but he had just before left his seat in the Congress to serve his own state in the convention that gave to New York the constitution of 1777, and although he subsequently returned to the Congress, and was its presiding officer, he left it again to discharge in foreign lands the great and important service for the country in the

diplomacy which closed the war and gave us final peace and national recognition.

The decisive resolution that settled the question of independence was, as I have stated, passed on the 2d day of July and without a dissenting vote. This statement is literally true, and yet it requires a few words of explanation and comment. The resolution in the precise words in which it was finally passed was introduced on the 7th of June, but its consideration was by the request of certain colonies who were fully prepared for action postponed from time to time until the 1st day of July, when the debate was fully opened, and as Jefferson stated in 1787, the discussion "lasted nine hours and until evening without refreshment and without pause." Of what was uttered in this momentous debate we have in the Journal of course no record, and but little mention elsewhere except that Jefferson in speaking of it says that Adams was the "Colossus of the Congress," and Richard Stockton declared him to be the "Atlas of Independence." We have however what purports to be, on what authority is not stated, an analysis of the speech of Richard Henry Lee on introducing the resolution. The speech attributed to John Adams in the memorial address of Webster on the death of Adams and Jefferson, although often declaimed by school-boys as the genuine Adams speech, is the product of Webster's own brain and is merely suggested as one quite characteristic of the man. Such a speech might well have been uttered by one so prompt in action, and so admirably trained in debate as he was, and possessing as described by Jefferson himself "a power of thought and expression which often moved the members from their seats."

This debate continued through the 1st day of July and until the 2d, when the final question was taken with no dissent as has been stated, except that the state of New York did not vote, her delegates however expressing their entire acquiescence in the result. The reasons for the New York delegates declining to vote were entirely satisfactory, and consisted in the fact that they were waiting for instructions which they had solicited from their own Provincial Congress which was about dissolving, and therefore postponed action until the meeting of the New Congress, which assembled on the 8th of July, and on the 9th passed a resolution unanimously approving the Declaration of Independence and directing their delegates to sign the instrument, which they accordingly proceeded to do on the 15th day of July, 1776. This roll was subsequently completed as it now stands, and is indeed a most venerable document, but in point of fact it was not signed as it is popularly supposed to have been on the 4th day of July, 1776. Some document of the same import was

doubtless signed on that day by the delegates then present, but there was a subsequent engrossment, and a new signing of all the names which now appear upon the parchment preserved with such scrupulous care among the Archives of the State Department at Washington.

Strictly speaking, then, it is an anachronism to call the 4th as we do "Independence Day." That day was the 2d and it was the day of which Adams spoke in his memorable letter to his wife written at the close of that day, as "the one that would be celebrated by succeeding generations as the *great anniversary festival*," to be solemnized by shows, parades, etc., and concerning which he predicted that through all the gloom that surrounded them he saw "the rays of ravishing light and glory" in which their posterity would bask and participate. The explanation is simply this, that as the Congress sat with closed doors the transactions of the 2d day of July and the absolute passage of the resolution were not publicly known, nor could they be until the report had been acted upon from the committee on the Declaration which was made and adopted on the 4th, when the whole proceedings, with the Declaration, were publicly proclaimed from the steps of the State House.*

It is no part of my purpose to enter upon any eulogy of the Declaration, much less to analyze its doctrines or enforce its lessons. Many of its topics were of temporary interest, and have passed away with the occasion that called them forth. One of the most able and brilliant of our recent scholars and public men, in what I must think was a burst of fancy as well as of rhetoric, once spoke of it as containing little else than "sounding and glittering generalities." If this were true of any portions of a document enshrined in the hearts and memories of all true Americans, it cannot be affirmed of two of its cardinal principles, the corner-stones upon which are erected the solid structures of American, as well as of all other true freedom. They are the absolute equality of all men before the law, and in their political and class relations, and that the true source of all governmental institutions rests in the consent of the governed. These were principles before unknown, or at least unapplied, in all the feudal, hereditary and aristocratic dynasties of the earth. They struck a fatal

* I desire as a matter of justice to state that for the main facts connected with the passage of the resolution on Independence and the signing of the Declaration, I am indebted to the painstaking industry of my friend Wm. L. Stone of New York, who has made our Revolutionary history the subject of the most indefatigable research, and who as the result of many years of earnest and unrequited labor possesses in my opinion in a set of more than eighty bound volumes, a more rare and valuable collection of documents, histories, autographs, etc., concerning the campaign of Burgoyne, the battle and surrender at Saratoga and the concomitant incidents, than is contained in any public institution or the library of any American scholar living or dead.

blow not only to what Jefferson called "the right divine of kings to govern wrong," but to the "*Jus Divinum*" by which they assumed to govern at all, and elevating the people to the proud distinction of sovereigns, put the reins of government substantially into their hands, to be operated by such means and agencies as they had the power and inclination to create. These principles, personal and political freedom sustained and upheld by law and the enthroned empress "the world's collected will," are those that constitute our charter, as they must be the polar star of all the struggling advocates of true liberty, and when they are denied or disregarded, freedom and law together take from this world their everlasting flight.

Among other most encouraging and gratifying incidents connected with our struggle for freedom and independence, was the sympathy and co-operation received from the friends of liberty abroad. I allude not now to the alliance with France, which occurred at a much later period of the contest, and was the result of long-continued and admirable diplomacy conducted by some of our ablest and most sagacious men. From the moment that the spirit of resistance to unjust taxation and remorseless greed in those sent to rule over us was developed, the interest in our cause was awakened in those strong and brave hearts that in other lands had been summoned to action either by similar exactions, or who gladly heard the trumpet-call of freedom and the summons to defend the rights of man. It reached them across the roaring waves of the Atlantic, and called to our aid some of the choicest of Europe's best and noblest sons. The mention of these men in connection with the Continental Congress is entirely appropriate, because each of them, unless my memory fails, reported himself on his arrival to the Congress, and was publicly recognized and received with tokens of distinguished consideration, and all were very soon appointed to positions of high rank in the American army.

Did time and space permit, I should delight to dwell on the history of these men, some of whom had not only a distinguished record, but a chivalrous and even romantic story, that fairly makes the most sluggish blood tingle at its recital. As it is, I can do little more than mention the names of some five or six of the most distinguished, leaving to your own memories or the histories of that period to supply the details which my limited time will not permit. These men were not mere soldiers of fortune, the waifs thrown to the surface of the troubled waters by the love of adventure, the Dugald Dalgettys of their day, who fought under any flag and in any cause where emolument was to be secured or reputation won. They were moved to action in most cases by the highest principle, and inspired with the noblest impulses. Some of them had seen and felt the

wrongs which were the outcome of the abuse of imperial and unchecked power, and some had in their own persons experienced the sharp edge of the sword that tyrants and despots love to wield over prostrate humanity. They hailed the dawn of a brighter hope for that humanity in the new world beyond the sea, and recognized the maxim that "Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God."

Poland gave to us the earliest of these coadjutors, in the persons of Count Pulaski and Thaddeus Kosciusko. It would require a volume to recount their histories, so closely connected as both are with the history of unhappy Poland, whose story has never yet been adequately told, although it is as the poet Campbell emphasized it, "the bloodiest picture in the book of time." It is a story that stamps ineffaceable disgrace upon the three European despots who partitioned the territory between them, and upon Napoleon, who, when he had the power, in 1808, failed to restore the possessions of which Poland had been robbed, and the autonomy she had lost. Both these men came to us before the army had been formally organized, but their services were tendered and accepted, and both performed good and valiant deeds—Pulaski yielding his life to our cause in the attack upon Savannah, in 1779, and America gratefully commemorating the act in a monument there erected to his memory.

Kosciusko came of a noble ancestry, and was a man of princely character and attainments. Soon after Washington's appointment as commander-in-chief, Kosciusko became one of his aids, and in this capacity, as well as others, performed important service for our cause. But a longing desire to aid, if possible, in restoring the lost glories of his native land, carried him back to Europe, before the close of our own struggle, where, in 1794, he headed the brave revolt against the oppressive Russian power, and was, literally, "Warsaw's last champion," and, intrusted with supreme authority, he, with only ten thousand men, resisted and repelled the assault of sixty thousand troops. In the words of another, "he displayed the integrity of Washington, with the activity of Cæsar." But the effort, although almost superhuman, was vain. In the last battle, he fought with scarce one-third the force of the enemy, and covered with wounds, he fell from his horse, exclaiming, "*Finis Poloniae!*" It was, indeed, the end of the dream of Polish freedom. Kosciusko, although a prisoner, was treated by the Emperor Paul with distinguished consideration. He never again wore sword, and, although besought by Napoleon to enter his service, he declined, without an absolute promise that his country should again receive a free constitution, and be restored to its ancient boundaries. There is no nobler name than his, not excepting that of John Sobieski, in

all Polish history. He died quietly, in France, after a life of storm and struggle and vicissitudes, and his body is entombed, by a royal mandate, in the mausoleum of the Kings of Poland, at Cracow, the most honored dust in that sepulchre of departed earthly greatness. The marble column that gleams on the eye of the passing traveler, from the cliffs at West Point, is only a cenotaph erected by a grateful country to remind its sons, in all the coming generations, of one who gave to our infant liberties the strength of a brave arm and the impulse of a generous and noble heart.

Germany sent to us, in 1779, two grand recruits in the persons of the Barons DeKalb and Steuben. They were brave and experienced soldiers, the former having served more than forty years in the armies of France, and the latter in the wars of the great Frederick of Prussia, to whom he became an aid-de-camp. Both were enthusiasts in the cause of American independence, and received distinguished commands in our army. DeKalb gave his life for us at the battle of Camden, and his memory was honored by a monument erected by Congress upon the ground where he fell. Steuben rendered most invaluable service in the organization and discipline of our armies; was rewarded by Congress with a grant of sixteen hundred acres of land in our own county of Oneida, in the soil of which he sleeps beneath a monument which our grateful fellow-citizens recently erected and publicly dedicated, with appropriate ceremonies, to his honored name.

The most distinguished, as he was the most endeared to all Americans, was the Marquis de LaFayette, the most devoted and beloved friend of Washington. Of noble descent, of the most finished manners, the favorite of the kingly court of France, at the age of less than twenty he broke away from all the blandishments of that court and the honors it had in store for him, and gave his means, his whole soul and being to our patriotic colonists in the critical days of their struggle, and identified himself wholly with our fortunes and our cause. His history I need not repeat. It is familiar to us all as household words, and engraven on the heart of every true American, and wherever freedom finds a home and undeviating consecration to principle an honest worshiper, there will his name be found high up on the roll of the world's good and heroic men.

The next work of importance engaged in by the Congress was the preparation of, introduction into, and the passage by Congress, with the subsequent ratification by the states, of the Articles of Confederation. The subject was first brought to the notice of the Congress in the month of August, 1776; was debated from time to time, but the Articles did not finally pass the Congress until July, 1778, and were ratified in the follow-

ing November. They were entered into by the thirteen original colonies proclaimed states by the Declaration of Independence. They were evidently deemed matters of momentous import, and were expected to be of extended duration, for they were entitled "Articles of Confederation and perpetual Union," but in the result it turned out that they were of much less importance than was conceived, and a short experiment demonstrated their practical inutility. They did, indeed, accomplish one object, and in effect that was about all the end they subserved. They brought the states into closer bonds and cultivated the spirit of union, and, therefore, perhaps, fitly preceded the grand work which the Constitution accomplished. They failed for the very reason that rendered the Constitution a necessity as well as a success. They had no inherent vigor and contained in themselves no power of accomplishing what they attempted. Their requisitions upon the states had no force beyond recommendations, and the states were at liberty to disobey without incurring any penalty, and with seemingly little consciousness of self-reproach.

Before proceeding to what was substantially the closing, as it was the crowning act of this Congress, let us spend a moment in refreshing our remembrance of an act followed, perhaps, by larger results and more enduring consequences than have attended any single act of legislation before or since the birth of our nation. I allude to the celebrated Ordinance of 1787, embraced in the scheme enacted by Congress for the government of that vast tract of country that went by the name of the Northwestern Territory. It comprehended a mighty space now filled up by millions of our enterprising pioneers, but then mostly an untrodden as it was an unexplored wilderness, so far as the white man had penetrated, stretching away from the west and north of the Ohio River onward toward the Pacific, with dimensions and capacities equally unknown. It had been acquired, so far as any title could be predicated of it, by loose claims and an occasional random settlement of wandering adventurers from various states, the largest claimants being the states of Virginia, New York and Massachusetts, all of whom ultimately made generous cessions to the confederacy, so that it became the common property of the Union. A scheme was devised for its settlement and regulation forming the organic law which should forever prevail in its government. It was entitled "An Ordinance for the Government of the Territory of the United States northwest of the river Ohio." Into this ordinance was inserted this pregnant provision: "There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory, otherwise than in the punishment of crime, whereof the party shall have been duly convicted." This section was prepared

and offered in the committee by Nathan Dane, of Massachusetts, was adopted by it and reported to Congress, and, to its everlasting honor, passed by the unanimous vote of eight states, five of the eight being at that time slave-holding states. What a beneficent provision, and how far-reaching in its results who is competent to tell? In the memorable words of Webster, "It impressed upon the very soil itself, while it was yet a wilderness, an incapacity to sustain any other than a freeman. It laid the interdict against servitude in original compact, not only deeper than any local law, but deeper than all local constitutions." No child has been or ever will be born, throughout all that vast domain, that will not have occasion to bless the memory of Nathan Dane, and honor the good and the thoughtful men that passed that beneficent ordinance, "to the last syllable of recorded time."

And now came the closing, the supreme, the superlative work of the Congress, without which all its other labors might well have proved vain and fruitless. It did not require unusual wisdom nor a protracted experience for sensible men to perceive that a compact between independent powers each asserting its own sovereignty and perpetually disposed to fly off in its centrifugal orbit, might indeed be a confederacy, but was not a Union such as should weld us together in harmonious relations and constitute us a homogeneous people, an autonomous, a self-sustaining nation.

It is not within the scope of my present purpose to give a history of the great Convention by which that constitution was formed, nor of the various provisions of that instrument, although I must be pardoned if in closing I say a few words concerning the character and functions of that government which it organized. The history of the Continental Congress substantially ends with the act by which in the resolution of February 21, 1787, it called a meeting of that Convention which was to assemble in the following May for the purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation, and in the words of the resolution "render the federal Constitution adequate to the exigencies of government and the preservation of the Union." This Constitution, the result of the labors of this Convention, was reported to the Congress on the 28th day of September, 1787, unanimously approved on the same day, and immediately transmitted to the states, and as we all know subsequently ratified by the nine states whose assent was required, returned to the Continental Congress thus ratified, which by a resolution duly adopted, appointed the first Wednesday in March, 1789, as the time for the new government to commence its organized existence.

And here we may appropriately terminate the history of those several assemblages which altogether constitute the Continental Congress. The

delegates met, indeed, from time to time, until the 2d day of March, 1789, when, only a single member appearing, it quietly terminated its existence. The last roll-call was made on the 10th day of October, 1788, when only twenty members answered to their names, and of those only two are especially notable, to wit: Alexander Hamilton and James Madison, whose subsequent history has given to each a record of service of immeasurable worth to the new government, and to them individually an immortal name. Had the Congress survived another month, it would have had an existence of fifteen years. There was no beat of drums, no waving of standards, no noisy proclamation of heralds, when it went out of life; but what a record has it left of patriotic, self-sacrificing service, and what a legacy of priceless worth in the Constitution which, through its agency, is bequeathed to us and to our posterity forevermore.

And now, let us ask, what is this Constitution our fathers have given us, and what the character, the functions, or, in other words, the real import and the actual value of the government under which we live. Is it a mere compact made by sovereign and independent powers, each one the judge of the extent of the power it has conferred, and the manner and mode of its exercise? A government terminable at the will and subject to the capricious control of each of the high contracting powers that assented to its form, and gave it leave to be? Are we an assemblage of consenting sovereigns to a compact to which at any moment we may put an end in the exercise of that sovereignty; an aggregate of assenting atoms, agreeing indeed to unite, but capable of resolving ourselves into our original elements, and assuming at our own pleasure our primitive form and substance?

These are pregnant questions, put by some with cautious hesitation, by others with bold assurance; and yet the answer to them all seems to me most easy and satisfactory. Our Constitution is not a compact, it was and is not the creation of independent sovereignties, each competent within the very terms and in the spirit of the Constitution to place upon it their own interpretation, and of their own volition without revolution or violence to withdraw themselves from its jurisdiction. Neither the Declaration of Independence nor the Constitution was the offspring of state sovereignty. Both instruments on their very face confute this doctrine. The Declaration affirmed that, not by the authority of the states as corporate bodies politic, but "in the name and by the authority of the good people of these colonies," they declared themselves free and independent states; and the Constitution with equal explicitness declares that "We the people of these United States do ordain and establish this Constitution."

And it is equally clear, to state the proposition in its briefest and most comprehensive terms, that by the Constitution the people of these United States establish a nation supreme over all the lesser sovereignties that constituted the separate states, ordaining a Constitution that operated upon all the states in their corporate capacity not only, but directly upon every individual within the boundaries of the nation, and endowing that Government with legislative, judicial and executive functions, adequate to the enforcement of all its provisions against all resistance, whether that resistance should be by the exertion of individual force, or should arm itself with power attempted to be wielded by instrumentalities derived from any corporate source, be it municipal or state, or assuming to be sovereign under any name whatever. In these respects, if I may use the expression, as I do with the profoundest reverence, the general government is like Deity itself—

“ Sitting serene upon the floods their fury to restrain,
And as such Sovereign Lord supreme forevermore shall reign.”

This is substantially the conclusion to which the great and unanswerable argument of Daniel Webster conducted the people of these United States when he met and overthrew the doughtiest of the champions of states' rights in the great debate of 1830. It is the doctrine which inspired the heart and aroused the unconquerable courage of that sturdy patriot, Andrew Jackson, who by the favor of a gracious Providence was in the Executive chair when nullification raised its head in 1832, and was by his iron will crushed out, as by his iron heel he would have stamped out its aiders and abettors, had they dared to put in actual practice what they proclaimed to be their abstract faith.

But although the snake was scotched, it was not killed, for it required the final and supreme argument to meet the doctrine of secession on its last field, and in agony and blood subdue and overthrow it forever. War is said to be the “*ultima ratio Regum* ;” and so it has often proved, and it is the final argument of republics as well, when the issue presented is that of continued existence or speedy death. Very dear, indeed, should this our freedom and our Union be to us, for with a great price we purchased that freedom, and with a vast sacrifice we preserved that Union. Would you estimate in part that price and sum up that sacrifice? Go, then, and visit the homes and stand by desolated hearthstones scattered through the land, and mark the vacant chairs once occupied by those who went forth to engage in that last great argument, and “whose feet departing ne'er returned.” Walk through the national cemeteries and count, if

you can, the cenotaphs that lift their white heads above the graves of buried heroes, or visit the quiet rural burial-places and note the green mounds, each distinguished by the modest stars and stripes that loving hands with each returning spring have planted there, and ask who sleep beneath, and constitute a portion of that countless host who

" On Fame's eternal camping-ground,
Their silent tents have spread
While honor guards with ceaseless round
The bivouac of the dead ; "

and then tell us what is the meaning of Union and nationality, and what the extent and boundless comprehensiveness of the compensations that give to those sacrifices their priceless value, their inestimable worth.

Shall this government that our fathers gave us, and this Union we have done and suffered so much to maintain, survive and be perpetuated, or shall we follow in the track of many nations—the wrecks and débris of whose existence are strewn all along the shores of time? There are prophets of evil, as well as of good. They have existed in all ages, and do still—ravens, very black and very hoarse, as black and hoarse as were those that sat upon the castle of Macbeth, and croaked the fatal entrance of Duncan, under his battlements. And some of them delight to sit upon the battlements of our Constitution, and hoarsely croak of present evil and coming disaster. Believe no such birds of ill-omen, listen to no such Cassandra lamentations of impending woe. Have faith in your institutions, and have faith in the men that enjoy as well as administer them.

Much as I admire Macaulay, I do not accept his philosophy. I remember that his training, as well as that of most of the foreign thinkers that have undertaken to sit in judgment upon us and our institutions, has been under monarchical and aristocratic influences, and my answer to his prediction that our institutions will fail because we have given to the people too much freedom, and that they will ultimately turn and destroy us with the very instrument we have given them for their and our protection, is the answer that, in a memorable debate in the Forty-fifth Congress, was given by him whom the people have just called to be their chief magistrate for the coming four years. That answer is this: Neither Macaulay, nor any of the other thinkers to whom allusion has been made, have given proper weight to two potent influences that enter largely into our civilization, and give tone and character to our institutions. One of these is our educational forces, that reach through and will ultimately permeate all classes in our community; and the other is, that we have no privileged social or

class distinctions that hold men down in hopeless, abject subjection, but all have liberty by the light of our institutions, to rise to the highest position within the gift of the Republic. To use his own striking illustration, "our society does not resemble the crust of the earth, with its impassable barriers of rock. It resembles rather the waters of the mighty sea, deep, broad and boundless, and yet so free in all its parts, that the drop which mingles with the sand at its bottom is free to rise through all the mass of the superincumbent waters, until it flashes in the light on the crest of the highest wave." This is our answer. Is it not ample, and is it not enough?

For myself, standing upon the verge of three-fourths of a century of our national history, having partaken in a limited degree of the responsibilities attaching to its legislative, judicial and executive functions, and gazing back through that long vista upon its varied fortunes, I avow myself in all that respects our national glory, stability and perpetuity, an optimist in as large a sense as John Milton was in regard to England, when in that grand burst of eloquence in his plea for the liberty of unlicensed printing, he exclaimed, "Methinks I see in my mind a noble and puissant nation rousing herself like a strong man after sleep, and shaking her invincible locks. Methinks I see her as an eagle, mewing her mighty youth, and kindling her undazzled eyes at the full midday beam purging and unsealing her long-abused sight at the fountain itself of heavenly radiance, while the whole brood of timorous and flocking birds with those that love the twilight, flutter about, amazed at what she means, and in their envious gabble would prognosticate a year of Sects and Schisms."

Such was the vision that broke upon the mental eye of one of the profoundest thinkers and noblest patriots of England. If the historian of the mother-land can not truthfully record its perfect fulfillment there, may it not be the hope and aspiration of the nation that broke away from her control, forgetting all our sad past and burying it forever in its grave of blood, and looking cheerfully to the future with its rainbow of promise, to more than surpass the dream of the poet in the peaceful glories that shall crown the coming history of free, united and happy America.

A handwritten signature in dark ink, reading "Wm. J. Bacon". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large, looping initial "W" and a long, sweeping underline.

UTICA, NEW YORK.

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF PRESIDENT JOHNSON

Towards the close of 1867 I found a note one morning on my breakfast table from Senator E. D. Morgan, dated from the senate chamber, Washington, informing me that the President had that day sent in my name to the Senate as minister to a foreign mission—then about to be established—and that the nomination would be unanimously confirmed.

As I had neither applied for nor expected the appointment, and had no personal acquaintance with nor had ever seen President Johnson, I was much surprised at the information; none the less so, as the President was at the time exceedingly unpopular with the party whose principles I espoused. Indeed, so strained were the relations between the Executive and the two houses of Congress that rumors of impeachment were already in the air, and hitherto for some time every nomination sent by the President for confirmation by the Senate had been rejected by that body. Through family considerations it was by no means convenient for me, at the moment, to go abroad for a series of years, but I thought it proper to visit Washington for the purpose of expressing to the President, in person, my sense of the honor conferred, reserving my decision in the matter until my arrival. Circumstances however delayed this visit, during which interval the political relations between the President and Congress had become intensified. All efforts to bring about a reconciliation of interests had signally failed. The burning question was, Should the states lately in rebellion be restored at once to all their political privileges, or restrained by coercive measures until they formally and irrevocably accepted the situation, making oath to their loyalty to the Constitution and the Union? Johnson claimed that "the *status quo ante* was alone constitutional, and was for universal suffrage, and that the Union could be best preserved by the re-establishment of the conquered states on the basis of the equal political rights of *all* the states." He believed the radicals of the North to be blinded by malignant and partisan hatred, which would stifle every throb of loyalty in the Southern breast, and postpone for an indefinite period all attempts at permanent reorganization in the states so lately in active rebellion. The majority of Northern statesmen believed that Johnson was, at least, seeking political popularity with the southerners at the expense of the avowed principles upon which the war for the Union had been carried on, and which alone could maintain its integrity; that the

spirit of disloyalty and insubordination was still rife among the ex-secessionists, and that nothing but a firm hand and determined opposition to their attempts at rehabilitation—until guarantees were afforded of unquestioned loyalty—would restore the union of the states to anything but an empty name.

Finally, the resolution of the House of Representatives of February 24, 1868, to impeach Andrew Johnson, President of the United States, for "high crimes and misdemeanors" brought matters to a crisis. He was charged by his enemies with "being faithless to the people and the administration, and exciting sedition against the liberties of the people and the results of the war."

I confess that I did not relish the prospect of a personal interview with President Johnson; for, apart from political bias, I had imbibed a prejudice against him, and believed that however free he might be from dishonest motives, he was being manipulated by the most disloyal element of the "non-reconstructed" South. This opinion was confirmed by the appearance of the group of men who were awaiting interviews with the President in the ante-room when I entered, and who were certainly not composed of the chivalry and culture of the higher class of Southern gentlemen. Indeed, some among the latter had assured me that they felt no sympathy whatever with a certain body of political intriguers, whose efforts to increase the animosity between the Executive and the two houses served only to defer that peaceful reorganization of the Southern states which, "now that the war was over, all sensible men there heartily desired."

Had not the usher, who had taken in my card, indorsed by the Secretary of State, informed me that the President would see me the moment the person then with him departed, I should have postponed the interview. Whoever "the person" might be, I concluded that the conference was one of importance, as I was kept waiting a considerable time. When at last I entered the President's room, I met a man coming out with head bowed and in tears.

I had expected to find Johnson very ordinary in personal appearance, in spite of his great natural abilities; nor did I forget his heroic stand and his unflinching courage, when even his life was in peril while defending the Union in the very hotbed of secession. He was standing by his table at the upper end of the room, dressed neatly in a suit of entire black, and, in spite of his rather plebeian features, impressed me by his dignified and gentlemanly bearing.

He at once apologized for having kept me waiting, and explained that the individual who had just left had detained him in conversation longer

than he had expected. I remarked that the person referred to, as he passed me in going out, appeared to be suffering from strong emotion. After a moment's hesitation, the President explained that the interview had been a painful one on both sides. The man was an ex-Confederate officer, who having before the war served in the Federal army, now desired to be reinstated. Confessing his political error, he had come as a suppliant to the President to request a favorable recommendation to the Secretary of War. There were exceptional circumstances in this man's case which forbade any act of clemency on the part of the Executive, but the President had given him a moral lecture, and so feelingly appealed to his sense of honor, that the man had broken down with emotion.

Almost at the commencement of our conversation I stated clearly to the President my Republican sentiments, in order that, if he had acted in my case from any misapprehensions on that head, he might be enlightened.

"But," said he, with a smile, "I do not see why you should not be a very good man, if you *are* a Republican." Then, with a grave countenance, he added: "As to party politics, they should I think at a time like this be merged into united support of Constitutional principles, which I am sorry to say are being well nigh forgotten in party rancor."

After this remark the President entered into conversation with reference to the special object of my visit, which requires no further mention here, excepting that his manner and words were in the highest degree courteous and complimentary, and left no shadow of doubt on my mind that he desired to separate party views from the higher consideration of public duty. His allusion, at the commencement of the interview, to the unhappy differences existing between himself and Congress tempted me, before taking leave, to offer with his permission a few observations on the subject. He encouraged me to proceed by leaning forward in the attitude of attention, and he heard me very patiently to the end. He gave me credit, he said, for disinterestedness, when I remarked that having satisfied his official conscience by the clear and forcible enunciation of his political views on the points at issue, would it not be conducive to the best interests of the country to stay the discord now tending to grave results by no longer opposing a policy which met with the approval of the chosen representatives of the people at large?

Rising from his chair, and asking me—as I had risen with him—to resume my seat, the President rested one hand upon the table, and in a slow, modulated tone of voice and with impressive earnestness, as if addressing an audience from the rostrum, declared that he "stood upon the Constitution." That, throwing aside all sectional prejudices, he had

the interests of the whole country at heart, and fearing neither the threats of impeachment nor the mistaken views of popular opinion, he should maintain what he believed to be Constitutionally right, without fear or favor.

I left him with the conviction that, however impolitic or misguided might be his course, a more honest-hearted man did not exist ; nor could I believe that the indomitable courage and persistency in behalf of principle which had characterized his conduct before the war, and had made the country ring with the name of " Andy Johnson," had become debased by truckling to the sycophancy of disloyal Southern politicians.

Meeting, on my way back from the White House, a " reconstructed " friend from the South, I referred to the President's political views, as expressed to me. " A man of higher integrity of purpose than Andrew Johnson," he remarked, " never sat in the Presidential chair. The mistake is that he is several years in advance of the times. We at the South are not yet repentant ; but Johnson don't see it. *That's* what's the matter."

Charles H. Tuckerman.

EAST TENNESSEE ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO

Mr. John Allison, in an address delivered at the seventeenth annual meeting of the Tennessee Press Association on *Roan Mountain*, July 14-16, 1887, claimed that the Watauga pioneers had established the first free government in America ; the first church ; the first institution of learning ; the first newspaper west of the Alleghanies.

All men are interested in the development of society and therefore in the records of history. It is a duty due to the present and the future to correct inaccuracies. The above statement was made by one convinced of the truths he uttered and proud of the honored page that his noble ancestors have written in the annals of human achievement. The labors and deeds of these people are now finding a herald, and the simple story is more captivating than fancy has ever given to romance. They need no plumes plucked from others to wing their flight to fame.

We will consider the claims in the order in which they have been placed in the address. First comes the claim that the government of the Watauga settlement in 1772 was the first free government in America. The same claim was made by the writer several years ago in a sketch of General James Robertson. More careful examination has shown that the opinion was unfounded.

"East Tennessee began to be permanently settled in the winter of 1768-9. Ten families of settlers came from the neighborhood of the place where Raleigh now stands in North Carolina and settled on the Watauga. This was the first settlement in east Tennessee." [Haywood, p. 39.] Daniel Boone, who had been at the place as early as 1760, returned in 1769 or 1770. General James Robertson came in 1770. After the battle of Alamance many of the disaffected left the English rule for the freedom of the Western wilds and joined the Watauga settlement in 1771-2. The community had now grown beyond the dimensions of the hunter's camp and was composed of persons who sought permanent homes and the development of the new and fertile region. They were without any form of government. They well knew that no people could prosper without the restraints of law. To remedy this state of their affairs, they met and formed a regular system of government suited to their circumstances. The settlers believed at this time that they were residing within the boundaries claimed by Virginia. They adopted the laws of that colony,

where their own failed. Haywood, in his volume of the civil and political history of Tennessee, gives a general account of the workings of this government. Ramsey in his *Annals* also describes its operations. The course of these settlers in organizing and working a new state under their own forms and laws was known to the English authorities as was detailed in the letter of the Earl of Dunmere to the Earl of Dartmouth, Secretary of State for Great Britain, written from Williamsburgh, May 16, 1774.

This government must not be confounded with the government of Franklin formed after the Revolution. It had no connection with that movement. North Carolina, always jealous of the new community, erected it into a county in the year 1777. This terminated the Watauga Republic. Its constitution has been lost and is known only from tradition.

The emigrants to the valley of the Connecticut in 1635 and subsequently must claim precedence in the work of establishing a free government. The citizens of Weathersfield, Windsor and Hartford in 1638-9 framed and put in operation a written republican constitution under which they lived and prospered, until their charter was given to them by Charles the Second. This was the first written republican form of government, not only in America but in history. The electors were required to be male citizens of the community, to which position they were elected. Their elections were annual for governor and magistrates, as for members of the assemblies or courts. The governor must be a resident citizen and "a member of some approved congregation." He could not be chosen oftener than once every two years. This government forms the basis of the present constitution of the state. It was a remarkable document for the period. For a full understanding of this instrument the reader may consult Poor's *American Constitutions*, Hollister's *History of Connecticut*, Leonard Bacon's address on the constitutional history of Connecticut.

The next claim is that the first church west of the Alleghanies was established in Washington county, the Salem church by the Rev. Samuel Doak in the year 1777. We have not been fortunate enough to find that the Rev. Samuel Doak reached Tennessee at that early a period. He was licensed to preach in Hanover, Virginia, October 31, 1777. After this he preached for some time in Washington county, Virginia, before he moved to the Holston settlement. In a year or two he moved to Little Limestone, purchased a farm and founded Salem church and an academy. These facts are derived from the *Presbyterian Encyclopedia*, and is the most authentic account that we have been able to find of this remarkable man. It is not probable that he reached Little Limestone before 1780. It

is not known at what period he began his school. The legislature of the state of Franklin, of which body Doak was a member, terminated its first session March, 1785. It passed an act for the promotion of learning in the county of Washington. Under this act Martin Academy was established, and the Rev. Samuel Doak was its first president. For these facts we refer the reader to Ramsey's *Annals*.

The Rev. Joseph Smith received a call from Cross Creek and Buffalo congregations in the county of Washington, Pennsylvania, in the year 1779. He accepted the call in the year 1780. He founded a classical and theological school near Buffalo, where young men could be qualified for the ministry. A number of youths availed themselves of the advantages. Dr. Smith, like Dr. Doak, was a graduate of Princeton, and like him was an eloquent and earnest preacher and an accomplished scholar. Two Presbyterian divines had preceded Smith across the Alleghanies, the Rev. James Power and the Rev. John McMillan. The former was the earliest, and founded the church at Mt. Pleasant as early as 1776. This was in Westmoreland county, Pennsylvania. The Washington Academy was chartered in the year 1787. It is not now possible to ascertain how early Dr. Smith commenced his school. It is probable during the first year of his ministry in the West, in the year 1780 or 1781. Dr. Doak may have begun his school about the same time. This, like the date of Dr. Smith's school, is a conjecture. The biographies of Drs. Smith, Power and McMillan are recorded in *Old Redstone*, a work written by the Rev. Jos. Smith, a descendant of the pioneer. The reader is referred to this work and also to the encyclopedia already mentioned. The first church west of the Alleghanies was the Mt. Pleasant, founded by Dr. Power. It may be that Dr. Doak's school preceded that of Dr. Smith.

The first school established west of the Alleghanies that had the authority of a legislative enactment was Martin Academy. The Nashville Academy was founded the same year by the same authority. The honor of founding the first institution of learning in the valley of the Mississippi must be accorded to the Franklin government.

The churches at Cross Creek and Buffalo in Washington County, Pennsylvania, and the Mt. Pleasant church in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, preceded the church at Salem, Washington County, Tennessee.

The claim to the first newspaper established west of the Alleghanies remains to be considered. The date is fixed in the address in 1791 at Jonesboro or Rogersville. The honor is claimed by both places. Thomas, in his *History of Printing*, says that Mr. Roulston came from Massachusetts and established the *Knoxville Gazette* in 1793. The census report of 1880 sus-

tains this statement. This is the most authentic report that we have found.

Butler in his *History of Kentucky* says that John Bradford issued the first number of the *Kentucky Gazette*, August 18, 1787. Thomas in his work gives September, 1786, as the date of the establishment of this newspaper. The census report of 1880 sustains Butler's date. This report states that March 14, 1789, the name was changed from the *Kentucke Gazette* to the *Kentucky Gazette*. October 27, 1787, the full text of the Constitution of the United States was published in this paper. It had been signed by all the members of the convention September 17, 1787, in Annapolis, Maryland.

Thomas' *History of Printing*, vol. 1, p. 270, states that a press was established in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, by John Scull, July 29, 1786. Among the early papers this author enrolls the *Pittsburgh Gazette*. This was the first newspaper in the valley of the Mississippi, if Thomas is correct. The second was the *Kentucky Gazette*. The date of this paper is better attested than that of the *Pittsburgh Gazette*. From the dates given, it is evident that priority belongs to east Tennessee only in the establishment of an institution of learning by authority of law.

It is by no means certain that Dr. Doak began his school before the establishment of Martin Academy. This early movement in the cause of education manifested the superior character of the founders of the state of Franklin, which was so spitefully overthrown by the state of North Carolina. The founders of the new state were not in revolt, for North Carolina had passed her act of cession which left the new community without the jurisdiction of the parent state. After the formation of the state of Franklin, the act of cession was promptly repealed, as it had not yet been accepted by the United States. So far as North Carolina was concerned, Tennessee was abandoned to the action of the general government, which did accept the territory. It is true that the power still remained in North Carolina, but the act was not the less the result of jealousy of the new and growing community. The formation of the new state was eagerly snatched as a pretext for the repeal of the act of cession before Congress had time to pass upon it. Disappointed rivalry had much to do with the inauguration of this unbecoming haste, which was in a few years corrected by the introduction of the state of Tennessee into the Union.

The early east Tennesseans have no doubt a claim to priority in modern abolition. In the inauguration of the movement looking to the abolition of slavery throughout the Union, she can justly claim precedence. As early as 1814 and 1815 Charles Osborn established abolition societies in

Washington county. In the year 1820 Elihu Embree commenced in Jonesboro the *Emancipator*, devoted to the cause of the emancipation of the slaves. Mr. Embree died early in 1821, and his paper passed into the hands of Benjamin Lundy, was removed to Greenville and the name was changed to *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*. It was published in Greenville till 1824, when he removed it to Baltimore. It was not until 1829 that William Lloyd Garrison, a young Bostonian, joined Lundy in Baltimore. It was in this convention that Garrison first made the reputation for which he suffered in a Baltimore prison. He was induced by Lundy, in Boston, the year before, to give his attention to the question.

The convention that formed the first constitution of Tennessee gave the elective franchise to all free men, and under it free negroes voted till 1834, when they were deprived of that right under the new constitution. This subject forms an interesting chapter in the history of Tennessee, which remains to be written. We have protracted this article beyond the limits we had assigned, and will not enter further into the matter at this period.

Jos. S. Hower

WASHINGTON, D. C.

A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF SPAIN

IN RELATION TO AMERICAN AFFAIRS

The history of Spain, during this century, is a series of ever-appearing, ever-vanishing pictures. It is full of most opposite feelings, sentiments, and acts, abounds in most thrilling romance, surpassing the imagination of the dreamer. Veritable and well-authenticated events have surprised and defeated the speculation of political philosophers, the plans of statesmen, the schemes of adventurers, the hopes of the patriot. The purpose of this paper is the recital of what occurred in a brief period, somewhat of an episode, but illustrating the good and bad points the contradictory characteristics of Spanish character.

Charles IV. was a weak and despicable king, credulous, easily deceived, fond of gossip, and controlled by his favorites. In the latter part of his reign the "Prince of Peace" was the acting and actual sovereign. A brief account of this successful adventurer will give the best insight into the social and political life of the period. The royal family lived within the palace, thoroughly protected from outside intrusion or attack; yet a part of the cumbrous etiquette of that time was a separate guard for every member. This service is continuous, performed day and night. Manuel Godoy, a bright, handsome youth, serving in the Horse Guards a corps composed exclusively of gentlemen, was on duty at the apartment of Princess Louisa, and soon became to her "the most *amusing* of mortals," and consequently a favorite of her unsuspecting husband. The queen's partiality soon advanced Godoy to the highest honors of the state and the first rank of the army. A princely estate, belonging to the crown, was bestowed upon him, with the title of Duke de la Alcudia. Made Prime Minister, he ambitiously began hostilities against France, but foreseeing inevitable defeat, he had the sagacity and tact to conclude the peace of Basle, for which popular action a new dignity, above grandeeship, was created for him alone, and with the title of "Prince of Peace," by which he is best known, he was placed next in rank to the princes of the royal blood. The king, having almost parental fondness for him, secured his marriage into the royal family, and sustained him against the conspiracy of rivals, and even the fits of mad jealousy of the queen, to whose fidelity the king was inexplicably blind. Despite Godoy's marriage and

capricious gallantries the attachment of the queen for him seemed inextinguishable, and displeasure and banishments were reversed by his attractiveness and tact, aided possibly by the ample means in his power for exposing her majesty. Once, on restoration to favor, he was made High Admiral, to which position great emoluments and the address of Highness were attached.

Godoy was unlettered, but active and intelligent in the discharge of his duties, and when Cevallos, the minister for Foreign Affairs, had not the courage or the power to act, George W. Erving, the American *charge d'affaires*, often had recourse, and not always ineffectually, to the "Prince of Peace," whose wisdom and breadth of view Mr. Erving commended in his dispatches to our government.

On 22d December, 1807, Mr. Erving wrote to our Secretary of State that there prevailed in Madrid a rumor of a contemplated visit of Napoleon to Spain. The conjecture received countenance from the extraordinary preparations which Beauharnais, the French ambassador, was making in the purchase of horses, furniture, etc., for the reception of some person of distinction. By the last of January, 1808, the French troops in Spain were rapidly augmenting, and Valladolid was occupied as an advanced post. The emperor preserved a studious and contemptuous silence toward the government of Spain as to the object of his invasion, deceiving no one, however, except the chiefs of the royal family, who, in their squabbles and unnatural rivalry, were coquetting with Napoleon, and imagining that they were securing his favor. Early in the spring the French troops had so increased that Mr. Erving reported the number in Spain at two hundred and fifty thousand, but he afterward modified largely his estimate. It should not be forgotten that these occurrences took place before the days of steam or electric communication, when postal facilities were very imperfect, and accurate and early information as to military movements was almost impossible. The French occupied Navarre, the ports and fortresses of Cataluna, and other points. An advance Madrid-ward was constantly expected by the Spanish government. When it was understood that Napoleon purposed the conquest of Portugal, Spain offered to undertake, without his assistance, the reduction of that kingdom, but the emperor did not choose to expose that object to the least risk of failure, and, therefore, preferred to employ his own troops. Spain could not object to the passage of one hundred thousand allied soldiers through her territory in a war against a common enemy, but she protested against a larger number, and did not disguise concern and apprehension at the possession by a foreign power, by means almost for-

cible, of such places as San Sebastian, on the north, and Barcelona on the east.

The intention of the emperor to visit Madrid about the 10th of April was formally announced, and accompanied with assurances of most friendly intentions and explicit committals to the king. The approach of the French army, the well-known projects of the great conqueror, and the unscrupulous means of his success, caused much alarm in the capital and violent debates in the council. The "Prince of Peace" held his weekly and largely-attended levees, and in the last one announced that the French were fast upon them. About the first of March the court withdrew south to Aranjuez, where is a royal palace, and Godoy soon followed.

In the midst of the terror engendered by the coming of foreign troops, an attack, stimulated by the unpopularity of the weak king and wicked queen and hatred of the favorite, was made by the enraged populace, the night of the 18th of March, on the house of Godoy who had barely time to escape the popular fury. The alarm spread to the palace, and the friends of Ferdinand took advantage of the crisis to espouse his enthronement. Charles, in a paroxysm of fright, was induced to abdicate in favor of his son, who became king amid tumultuous excitement and disorder, the foreign ministers, who had accompanied the court to Aranjuez, "hurrying to the parlor and presenting themselves in their boots." It is creditable to the humane and affectionate character of Charles that he resigned the crown from eagerness to rescue his imperiled friend. The king's abdication was published to the multitude, the guards siding with the mob, and Ferdinand made his appearance on horseback to fulfill the engagement made with his father to protect Godoy from assassination. Godoy was found in his concealment, and carried a prisoner to the Horse Guard barracks. Subsequently, under a French escort, he was transported to France, amid the bitter murmurs of the people for the disappointment of their revenge.

It is generally suspected that a part of the plan of Napoleon was to induce the flight of the royal family, and provide an independent state for some of his kinsmen or for Godoy; but this was frustrated by the popular outbreak and the sudden accession of Ferdinand VII. Clutching at the bauble of a royal diadem which he had shown himself unfit to wear, and ill-advised, Charles consulted with the council upon the advisability of following the example of the Portuguese family and finding a throne in America. The council answered that the colonies belonged to the Crown of Spain, and not to the family of Bourbon, and that he had no right to establish himself in America.

While the events just related were occurring, Murat was at a short distance from Madrid. On the 23d March, 1808, he reached the city with twenty thousand men, leaving twelve thousand more at the Escorial, fifteen miles distant. A division occupied Madrid; the remainder encamped in the environs. The French entered as friends, and would have been welcomed as brothers if Ferdinand had been recognized by them as the rightful sovereign; but that was not the Napoleonic programme of artifice and falsehood. Murat took up his quarters in the splendid house of the "Prince of Peace." He was in the Spanish capital to pursue the course most conducive to the occult and selfish designs of Napoleon. The next day Ferdinand VII. arrived. Dressed in the uniform of the *Guarde du Corps*, attended by a few soldiers, he came in on horseback at the gate of Atocha, and rode up the broad Prado. The stupid Bourbon, says Blanco White, who witnessed the entry, seemed like a wax figure in contrast to the magnificent horsemanship of Murat. The king, whose popularity was a rebound from the hatred of the queen and Godoy, was received with acclamations by immense numbers of *Madrileños*, who thronged the streets leading to the palace, and gave an enthusiastic welcome. Murat took no public notice by himself or troops, of the king's coming or presence, but encouraged him privately with hopes of a speedy recognition. Dissatisfaction was expressed at the recent changes in the government, and it was published that the emperor was expected in a few days. The new king sought by professions of friendship to court the support of French power, and took every method to evince his confidence in the friendly professions of the emperor. Several messengers were dispatched to meet Napoleon on the frontier and invite him to Madrid. Such subserviency did not extinguish the loyalty of the people to the throne. The non-recognition of Ferdinand awakened fears and suspicions, and elicited bold and generous offers of support from various parts of the peninsula. When the king, deceived or intimidated, departed for Burgos to meet the emperor, and was decoyed by an artifice to Bayonne, the fiercest indignation of the Spaniards was aroused. The evidently-contemplated usurpation excited the inflammable people and made ready the approaching catastrophe. Schemes for the expulsion and destruction of the French were openly discussed, and there were devised ridiculous, fool-hardy plans, which, coming to Murat's knowledge, caused him to prepare for resistance.

One of the most generally observed fête days of Madrid is the 2d of May, which, with an obelisk of that name, commemorates the insurrection of that day, and the heroes of Spanish independence. That movement resulting so disastrously was not concerted, and may have been

precipitated by Murat—such at least is the recorded judgment of some Spanish authors. The brother of Charles IV. was to start for Bayonne to join the semi-imprisoned royal family. His departure being forcibly resisted, the insurgents were fired upon by a French guard. A cry of "To arms!" spread rapidly, and the tumult began. The attempt at successful resistance to French occupation was, under the circumstances, stupidity—madness. Only a few Spanish soldiers aided the "Bashi-bozooks," their comrades being strictly confined to their quarters. The unorganized mass displayed much courage, but the disciplined and well-armed French soon occupied every central and strategic position. The artillery created a panic. The cavalry scoured the streets. The mob was subdued, and the infantry bivouacked in the Puerta del Sol. A fearful and bloody massacre was the fate of the exasperated and patriotic and unwise Spaniards. Order soon reigned in the capital. The 2d of May is now a popular political festival, and the monumented dead are regarded with reverent affection.

It was not long before Ferdinand ceased to have even the semblance of rulership, and his credulity, want of vigor, and infatuation of conduct deserved a deposition. At Bayonne he was little better than a prisoner, and in one of his letters to the regent he wrote: "My dear uncle: I am well, and that is all I can say." From 1808 until his restoration in 1814, he remained a prisoner. Charles IV. recalled his coerced abdication, and became nominally a king again, but Murat was in reality the sovereign, under the character of His Majesty's Lieutenant. All the royal family and the "Prince of Peace" being now at Bayonne, having been enticed or gently forced thither by the emperor,* Murat took possession of the palace and surrounded himself with all the paraphernalia of royalty. When he appeared on the Prado every Saturday morning, in glittering uniform, with richly-accountered officers, to review the army, the splendor of the spectacle attracted many beholders. On the 10th of May he received, in a great levee, the diplomatic corps, the grandees, and constituted authorities, and on the 11th, at a special attendance of the foreign representatives, he officially communicated the renunciation of the throne by Ferdinand, who assigned as a reason for his pusillanimity that if he adhered to his rights

* What a commentary on royalty, on hereditary governments! What a collection of degraded humanity! Professor Harrison, in his work on Spain, makes this characterization: "Charles, a fool, a coward, a hen-pecked, contemptible bigot; Ferdinand, a hypocrite, an ignoramus, a lazy and faithless wire-puller; the Queen, a hag; Godoy, a scoundrel." Ticknor, in his *Journal*, 1818, says of Ferdinand: "The King, personally, is a vulgar blackguard. I will not repeat the instances of rudeness, vulgarity and insolence towards his servants and ministers, which are just as well known at Madrid as that he drives in the Prado."

he would expose Spain "*to the loss of all her ultramarine colonies!*" Previously Murat had not hesitated to announce the plan of his master, and now the mask was entirely thrown off. Charles transferred his rights as King of Spain to Napoleon. The Bourbons were to disappear, a new dynasty was to be established. Europe had been previously supplied with vassal kings, Spain and Portugal being left unprovided because of the emperor's engagements elsewhere. Joseph Bonaparte was, on 25th July, proclaimed King of Spain, and took up his disturbed residence, for a brief and unhappy period, in the royal palace at Madrid.

Murat exerted himself vigorously, prior to Joseph's appointment and coming, to restore confidence and conciliate the people, but the public walks were deserted, and the theatres were closed. He gave severe examples of resolution and power, and then by a mixture of firmness, kindness, and address assured the continuance of tranquillity. The general sentiment, however, was one of stubborn, unrelenting opposition to French occupation and the transfer of the sceptre to the brother of the usurper. On the part of a few, such a sense of political degradation was felt that the expected reign of Joseph had some well-wishers who hoped somewhat from his non-education in the Bourbon school of despotism, and could not conceive of more abject, servile dependence than existed under Charles and Ferdinand. The transfer of the throne excited a discontent and insurrection well-nigh universal among a people noted for their unreasoning loyalty. Enthusiastic rage stirred up a desultory guerilla warfare. At Saragossa, the capital of Aragon, hostilities assumed the most determined and organized form, the extent and mountainous character of the province, and the hardy, warlike character of the inhabitants making the resistance formidable and difficult to subdue. Navarre, Castille, and other provinces were also in arms, and at Santander a bishop, leaving his crosier, buckled on his sword, and valiantly led in person his faithful command.

Murat had recourse to all sorts of artifices to foment the divisions which existed in the royal family, and he hoped to turn the complications and feuds to his own advantage in the attainment of his ambitious designs. This gave umbrage to his imperial brother-in-law. In the conflict of jurisdictions, and the uncertainties of the struggle, the situation of the Grand Duke became extremely disagreeable and very different from what his ambition, his military successes, and his relation to Napoleon had led him to hope for. His health failed, the disorder being in a great measure nervous, and he was relieved, and returned to France very discontented. One biographer says he had "*explications tres vives.*" The chagrin was increased

by having Joseph assigned to the throne which had been promised to him. Mr. Erving, in a dispatch to our government, 22d June, 1808, says of Murat's departure from Madrid: "He will carry with him the good wishes of a great majority of the sensible and respectable people of Madrid, who admire his talents, his moderation, and the affability and frankness of his manners." *

It is not within the plan of this sketch to recite the history of the stubborn and unequal contest in Spain, the unparalleled heroism of the Spaniards, the unsubstantial kingship of Joseph, the coming of the great conqueror to Madrid on 2d December, 1808, his fruitless attempt to subjugate the Peninsula, and the re-establishment of the imbecile and unteachable Bourbon on the throne. The government in Spain being committed to a junta, driven from "pillar to post," our American representative, in his interesting letters to the Secretary of State, bears frequent testimony to their unquestioned patriotism, indefatigable zeal, undaunted firmness in the midst of most pressing dangers, and individual disinterestedness. Under circumstances of extreme embarrassment they never despaired of the public cause, notwithstanding they had to struggle against the weakness of their own feeble and abnormal texture, the impossibility of bringing into operation the interior resources of the country, the insufficiency of those from abroad, the vigor of the enemy, the activity of domestic intrigue and treason, the total defection of allies on the one side, total subjugation on the other, and the disorganization and dispersion of their armies. Turning reluctantly away from a theme so enticing, bringing into conspicuousness Spanish patriotism and courage, it may not be uninteresting for me to mention Murat's connection with the Legation of the United States.

* The history of this remarkable man illustrates the kaleidoscopic changes of the Napoleonic era, and is itself a thrilling romance. Joachim Murat was born of obscure parentage, 25th March, 1771. Dissipated, adventurous, reduced to distress in his youth, he served in a restaurant. Activity and quickness obtained him a place in the Constitutional Guard of Louis XVI., where he won rapid advancement. Attaching himself to Bonaparte, he became his confidential aid-de-camp. Ambitious as his chief, he attained to high dignities. Bonaparte gave him his sister Caroline in marriage, and made him Marshal of the Empire, Prince, Grand Admiral, and Grand Duke of Berg. By the solicitations of his wife, more impatient than himself, Murat became king of Naples under the name of Joachim Bonaparte. He loved pomp, ceremony, showy costumes. Napoleon, treating his royal creatures as subjects, wrote to his sister, "Your husband is very brave on the field of battle, but he is weaker than a woman or a monk when out of sight of the enemy." To Murat himself in 1815, "The title of king has turned your head; if you wish to preserve it, conduct yourself well." After much vacillation and many vicissitudes, a military commission adjudged him to death. Refusing to have his eyes bandaged, he said to his executioners, "*Sauvez le visage, visez au cœur.*"

During the Napoleonic wars, commerce and travel were much interrupted, the rights of neutrals were little respected, force and fraud were substituted for international law, and American vessels were captured and detained illegally as prizes. Mr. Erving, our indefatigable *chargé*, "so much respected," says Mr. Ticknor, at a later date, "by the diplomacy, the government, and the Spaniards," was compelled to apply to all who had real or apparent authority, for the release of our vessels and for the protection of the property covered by our flag. To the proverbial procrastination of Spanish officials* was superadded the inability of the government. The transmission of instructions and dispatches between Washington and Madrid was slow and uncertain. Duplicates and triplicates even, as well as originals, were sent by any conveyance that presented itself, and the incomplete file of the archives, from 1800 to 1820, shows the loss of many important documents. The importance of communicating with the government, during that troublous period, necessitated the employment of a special messenger, and the engagement of a vessel. The Dutch minister informed Mr. Erving that it would be very agreeable to the Grand Duke to send by the same messenger dispatches to the emperor's ambassador in the United States. On 15th May, 1808, while dining with the Grand Duke, Mr. Erving mentioned his embarrassment in sending his special messenger, and asked an order for the immediate discharge of any suitable American vessel which might then be detained at the Spanish port of Algeciras, opposite Gibraltar. Murat acceded immediately to the request, professing his desire to do everything which might be agreeable to the government of the United States. On the expression of the satisfaction which would be afforded in being the medium of conveying dispatches to the French embassy in Washington, Prince Murat rejoined that the emperor would be infinitely obliged, and that the papers would be soon furnished. The Spanish Minister of State, having interposed some objection to the release of captured vessels, the prince gave a peremptory order that a vessel, to which the minister raised no objection, should be released, if such an one could be found; otherwise, that any vessel which Mr. Young, the messenger, should judge suitable, should be placed at his disposal. A few days later Murat gave an order for the discharge of all American vessels held in Spain.



MADRID, SPAIN.

* Lord Bacon in one of his essays, says, "The Spaniards and the Spartans have been noted to be of small dispatch. *Mi venga la muerte de Spagna.* Let my death come from Spain for then it will be sure to be long in coming."

WASHINGTON'S DIARY FOR AUGUST, 1781

FROM THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS OF GENERAL MEREDITH READ

In the month of February, 1881, the *Magazine of American History* published Washington's diary from May 1st to August 1st, 1781, accompanied with a fac simile of its opening page, and a description of all the diaries of Washington that are preserved in our national archives, from the pen of Theodore F. Dwight, librarian of the State Department. For some reason an important part of this particular diary, from August 1 to August 14, 1785, was then omitted, and we now have the great pleasure of giving it to our readers. The following letter explains itself :

PARIS, June 3, 1888.

EDITOR OF MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY :

Twenty years ago I procured copies of all the diaries of the illustrious Washington existing in the State Department, with permission to publish the same. You will observe the certificate of Secretary William H. Seward appended to the copy I now forward you. In writing to me on the 3d of July, 1868, Mr. George Bartle, the copyist, then occupying an important post in the State Department, said : ' I received your letter of the 22d ultimo, and transmit by this day's mail a copy of the diary which I commenced before you left this city. The following is an exact description of the original. The book is a plain volume, half bound in sheep, with paper sides. It is half an inch thick, seven and a half inches in length, and five and a quarter inches in breadth. It opens the long way. On the left hand cover is written ' Journal, 1781.'

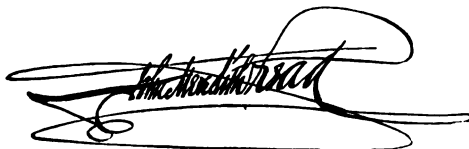
The original is not ruled or paged, and it is written throughout on both sides of the leaves. The copy I send you contains the same number of lines on each page, and words are divided and spelled the same as in the original, and all interlineations are copied. This manuscript is perhaps the most important of the diaries of Washington in possession of the government. It opens on the 1st of May, 1781, with these words : ' I begin at this epoch a concise journal of military transactions.' And it terminates in an abrupt and incomplete manner on the 14th of August, 1781."

Washington traces in a simple and generally clear style the progress of

events, and the results of his military observations in the neighborhood of New York. He sums up the situation in May, 1781, in a brief but graphic manner, and sets forth in striking terms "our wants and our prospects." There are many interesting allusions, and many side-lights of history introduced into the pages. Washington's account of the interview with Count de Rochambeau and Chevalier de Chastellux at Wethersfield is important, for it outlines the plan of campaign and the operations to be begun against New York. The diary vividly depicts the condition of affairs which led up to the final surrender of Cornwallis on the 17th of October, 1781. Reading this in the light of after events, we are led to believe in an overruling providence in the affairs of nations as well as of individuals.

The most salient points in this vigorous daily statement is the reiteration of the unpatriotic indifference of the New England states to Washington's pressing needs. In one instance he called for six thousand men and received only one hundred and seventy, and so on until the end of this chapter of the nation's history. While from the immediate standpoint of Washington this criminal negligence seemed to be a misfortune, it was really a benefit in disguise, for it led him to turn his attention southward, and to get all his forces well in hand, so that when the decisive moment arrived, he was ready to swing them with a crushing blow against the bewildered enemy.

To all persons acquainted with the environs of New York, the graphic account given of the reconnoitering in the neighborhood cannot fail to be of extreme interest. Each spot is pictured with its peculiarities, and the landscape is set before us in all its varied yet consecutive features. The language is that of a simple soldier, but the ideas conveyed are vividly artistic.



THE DIARY, AUGUST 1—AUGUST 14, 1781

August 1st. By this date all my boats ready—viz.—one hundred new ones at Albany (constructed under the direction of Gen. Schuyler) and the like number at Wappings Creek by the 2^d M^l Gen.; besides old ones which have been repaired. My heavy ordnance & stores from the eastward had also come on to the North River—and everything would have been

in perfect readiness to commence the operation against New York if the States had furnished their quotas of men agreeably to my requisition—but so far have they been from complying with these that of the first not more than half the number asked of them have joined the army; and of 6200 of the latter, pointed and timorously called for to be with the army by 15th of last month, only 176 had arrived from Connecticut, independent of about 300 State troops under the command of Gen^l Waterbury, which had been on the lines before. We took the field, and two companies of York levies (about 80 men) under similar circumstances.

Thus circumstanced, and having little more than general assurances of getting the succours called for—and energetic laws and resolves—or laws and resolves energetically executed, to depend upon with little appearance of their fulfillment, I could scarce see a ground upon which to continue my preparations against New York—especially as there was much reason to believe that part (at least) of the troops in Virginia were recalled to reinforce New York and therefore I turned my views more seriously (than I had before done) to an operation to the southward—and, in consequence, sent to make enquiry, indirectly, of the principal merchants to the eastward what number and in what time, transports could be provided to convey a force to the southward, if it should be found necessary to change our plan—and a similar application was made in a direct way to Mr. Morris (Financier) to discover what number could be had by the 20th of this month at Philadelphia—or in Chesapeak bay—at the same time General Knox was requested to turn his thoughts to this business and make every necessary arrangement for it in his own mind—estimating the ordnance and stores which would be wanting and how many of them could be obtained without a transport of them from the North River. Measures were also taken to deposit the salt provisions in such places as to be water born—more than these, while there remained a hope of Count de Grasse's bringing a land force with him, and that the States might yet put us in circumstances to prosecute the original plan, could not be done without unfolding matters too plainly to the enemy and enabling them thereby to counteract our schemes.

August 4th. Fresh representations of the defenceless state of the Northern frontier for want of the militia so long called for, and expected from Massachusetts bay; accompanied by a strong expression of the fears of the people that they should be under the necessity of abandoning that part of the country—and an application that the second York Regiment (Courtlandts) at *least* should be left for their protection induced me to send Major-Gener^l Lincoln (whose influence in his own state was great) into the

counties of Berkshire and Hampshire to enquire into the cause of these delays and to hasten on the militia. I wrote at the same time to the Governor of this State consenting to suffer the 4 companies of Courtlandts Regiment (now at Albany) to remain in that Quarter till the militia did come in, but observed that if the States instead of filling their Battalions and sending forth their militia, were to be calling upon and expecting me to dissipate the small operating force under my command for local defences, that all offensive operations must be relinquished and we must content ourselves (in case of compliance) to spend an inactive and injurious campaign which might—at this critical moment—be ruinous to the common cause of America.

August 6th. Reconnoitred the Roads and Country between the North River and the Bronx from the camp to Philips's and Valentines Hill and found the ground everywhere strong—the hills four in number running parallel to each other with deep ravines between them—occasioned by the saw mill river, the sprain branch, and another more easterly. These hills have very few interstices or Breaks in them, but are more prominent in some places than others. The saw mill river, and the sprain branch occasion an entire separation of the hills above Philips's from those below commonly called Valentines hills. A strong position might be taken with the saw mill (by the widow Babcocks) in front, and on the left flank, and the North River on the right flank—and this position may be extended from the saw mill river over the sprain branch.

A letter from the Marquis de la Fayette of the 20th ult^o gives the following acc't. That the two Battalions of light infantry—Queen's Rangers—the Guards—and one or two other Regiments had embarked at Portsmouth and fallen down to Hampton R'd in 49 transports: he supposed this body of troops could not consist of less than 2000 men: that Chesapeak Bay and Potomack River were spoken of as the destination of this detachment,—but he was of opinion that it was intended as a reinforcement to New York. Horses were laid for the speedy communication of intelligence and an officer was to be sent with the acc't of the Fleets sailing.

August 7th Urged Governor Greene of Rhode Island to keep up the number of militia required of that state at Newport, and to have such arrangements made of the rest as to give instant and effectual support to that post, and the shipping in the harbour in case anything should be enterprised against the latter upon the arrival of Rodney: who, with the British fleet, is said to be expected at New York, and in conjunction with the troops which are embarked in Virginia and their own marines are sufficient to create alarms.

August 8th. The light company of the 2nd York Regiment (the first having been down some days) having joined the army were formed with two companies of York levies into a Battery under the command of Lieut. Col^o Hamilton and Major Fish, and placed under the orders of Col^o Scammell as part of the light troops of the army.

August 9th. A letter from the Marquis de la Fayette of the 30th ult^o reports that the embarkation in Hampton Road still remained there—that there were 30 ships full of troops, chiefly red coats in the fleet—that eight or ten other vessels (Brigs) had cavalry on board—that the winds had been extremely favorable, notwithstanding which they still lay at anchor, and that the *Charon* and several other frigates (some said seven) were with them as an escort; the troops which he now speaks of as composing the detachment are the Light Infantry—Queen's Rangers—and he thinks the British and two German Regiments. No mention of the Guards as in his former acc't.

August 10. Ordered the first York, and Hazens Regiments immediatly to this place from West Point. The Invalids having got in both from Philadelphia and Boston—and more militia got in from Connecticut, as also some from Massachusetts Bay, giving with four companies of Courtlandt's Regiment in addition to the detachment left there upon the march of the army, perfect security to the posts.

August 11th. Robert Morris Esq^r, Superintendent of Finance, and Rich^d Peters Esq^r, a member of the Board of War, arrived at camp to fix with me the number of men necessary for the next campaign, and to make the consequent arrangements for their establishment and support. A fleet consisting of about 20 sail, including 2 frigates and one or two prizes, arrived within the harbor of New York with German recruits to the amount—by Rivington—of 2880, but by other and better information to about 1500 sickly men.

August 12th. By accounts this day received from the Marquis de la Fayette it appeared that the transports in Hampton Road had stood up the Bay and came too at a distance of 15 miles—and in consequence he had commenced his march towards Fredericksburg. . . .

August 14th. Received dispatches from the Count de Barras announcing the intended departure of the Count de Grasse from Cape Francois with between 25 and 29 sail of the line, and 3200 land troops on the 3^d Instant for Chesapeak Bay and the anxiety of the latter to have everything in the most perfect readiness to commence our operations in the moment of his arrival, as he should be under a necessity from particular engagements with the Spaniards to be in the West Indies by the middle of October—at the same time intimating his (Barras's)

AN ENGLISHMAN'S POCKET NOTE BOOK IN 1828

WHAT HE SAW IN AMERICA

(Continued from page 512, vol. xix.)

December 9. A fine day, though rather close and oppressive. The agreeable information was announced this morning in the papers that a small vessel would positively sail for Vera Cruz on Sunday next. The said vessel is about 50 or 60 tons, with no accommodations deserving the name of cabin, and we understand there are already 14 or 15 passengers who go with us. So much for our prospect of comfort during a passage of 10 days, in a warm climate.

December 10. An exceedingly close and oppressive day. The thermometer at 80 in the shade; our manner of life here has become so monotonous and regular that the incidents of one day are scarcely varied from those of the other days of the week. We have seen everything in or near the town (New Orleans) and are now quite annoyed at the delay of the vessel which detains us here. I observed in walking through the streets several large rooms fitted out as slave markets, and generally filled with unhappy blacks, dressed up for the occasion. The men and women are ranged on opposite sides of the apartment, where they may traffic for human beings with the same indifference as purchasing a horse. New Orleans I conclude is a good market for this kind of human stock, brought down from different parts of the Union, and where they will always find a ready sale, as cultivation of sugar and cotton is daily extending along the banks of the Mississippi in which the black slave population is alone employed.

December 11. . . . We have taken our places on board the brig which sails from here to Vera Cruz. She is larger and has rather better accommodations than the small vessel we originally intended to go by. So heartily am I tired with this place that I would venture in any boat that was practicable.

December 12. . . . The Baron de Manginay called upon us to-day: we have made very few acquaintances here, with the exception of his family and a few gentlemen we met at dinner at his house. We do not regret it, as society, I am of opinion, is rather below par here, notwithstanding the favorable account his Highness of Saxe Weimar gave of it. His book is

altogether the most trumpery and uninteresting I ever read. The best account yet published of the Southern States is by an American Missionary of the name of Flint.

Dismissed my *man Friday*, whom I brought with me from Nevis. He has been for a long time past idle and careless. I procured a very good place for him as steward on board a ship at this port.

December 13. Another melting day: Equally oppressed by heat and ennui. I am endeavoring however to fill out the mornings until one o'clock in studying Spanish, in which language I flatter myself I have made some advances. Took an excursion into the country towards the north. Passed some beautiful green pastures near the river. They appeared dry and more elevated than the situation of the town. It would have been better for New Orleans had they built their town on this spot, where there is no stagnant water. This evening walked along the levee, where ships, and business of all sorts, have increased wonderfully since our arrival; it is quite a scene of confusion. We hear scarcely any language but French and Spanish. There is considerable trade carried on here with Havana.

December 14. . . . Sunday I observe is very indifferently kept, at least, according to our notions in England. All the shops are open, and business of all kinds pursued with the same eagerness as on other days. In the evening we observed two-thirds of the blacks drunk. In this moral town every 2nd house is what is here denominated a coffee-house, which is the commonest kind of spirit shop where any man may get drunk on whisky of the country for the small price of 2 cents. . . . The room in which this traffic is carried on is generally large, with a bar at the farther end ranged round with bottles and spirits of every description—the natural consequence of the cheapness of the article, and the universal taste and disposition for drunkenness, which is well exemplified, as I before said, in this town on Sunday.

December 15. A sudden change in the weather—the thermometer at 58 in the evening. . . . These sudden changes so common in all parts of the country, must be doubly injurious here, in a generally warm and relapsed climate. . . . Took a walk of 6 or 7 miles in the neighborhood, and met nothing new or worthy of remark. The vessel will not sail before the 17th. Our miseries are, however, coming to a close, and the prospect of release drawing near. We have no great reason to be satisfied with our quarters at the boarding house, where the dinners are execrably bad; and our only places of refuge are our bedrooms. The company, upwards of 30 persons, are so uninteresting that I have scarcely exchanged a word with a single person, unless an Englishman who is my

next neighbor at table, and who has resided here for years as a merchant. He has never left the town during that period, although at some seasons of the year he tells me he has known 40 or 50 persons die daily of the fever, out of a population, too, at that time, not exceeding 20,000. For persons not accustomed to the climate the chances of life are 2 to 1 against them during the sickly seasons, commencing generally in August and ending in November.

December 16. A fine bracing day. The intelligence of the vessel's sailing this evening was communicated to us at breakfast, to our infinite joy and satisfaction. On proposing to settle with my Spanish master, the high minded Castilian refused to take any money although I urged in the strongest manner. At 6 this evening we were all aboard, our party consisting of 16 persons in the cabin; men of all nations, speaking different languages—2 or 3 Spanish and Mexicans, French, English, Mexicans, Italian, and Sir William's Greek servant. At seven the steamboat took us in tow with another vessel lashed to her side. Notwithstanding this weight we proceeded down the river at 6 or 7 miles an hour. Our cabin being crowded, we slept on board the steamer, where we had better accommodations.

December 17. Early this morning we were at the mouth of the river upwards of 100 miles from New Orleans. The whole country as far as the eye could reach was a low swamp, without trees or cultivation, the river forcing its way by numerous channels into the sea. The land appeared scarcely above the level of the water; numberless trees deposited on the narrow strips of land, and the dark and heavy water of the river gave to the scene a desolate and melancholly appearance. Our spirits were however revived by a fine wind, which gave every promise of a short voyage. Having left our steamboat we were in 2 hours in the blue waters of the ocean. The wind strong with a high sea running, our fellow passengers of all nations were soon laid down with sea sickness. Eden and myself were the only persons who escaped this malady.

December 18. Wind still favorable: as it is impossible to keep a journal at sea with any success, and where the events of one day are so little varied from those of others, I shall compress the whole together until our arrival at Vera Cruz.

The wind continued most prosperous until the 21st, without any variation, and we were within 60 or 70 miles of our port. We were however destined to exemplify with others the truth of the old maxim "between the cup and the lip" etc. On this day a furious gale came on from the

north, most frequent and dangerous in the Mexican Gulf, where there are no ports to run for. Many of our passengers had anticipated with dread this wind called by distinction here *una norteza*. We were near the shore, a low one unfortunately, and what the sailors call "iron bound" id est rocky. We were soon unable to carry sail, and as we had no place to run for, the vessel was left to the mercy of the waters and the wind. The sea next morning was most awful; the waves literally mountains high. The wind came like a wild wind; the sky veiled in thickest darkness, with occasional red gleams, extending over part of the horizon, sure indications of the continuance of the gale. All our party were dead sick but Eden and myself. . . . In this melancholly state we remained 32 hours. . . . The morning after the wind abated we discovered land, which by observation proved to be Campeachy, far to the south of our course. The Captain and all hands agreed that if the wind had continued only a few hours longer we must have been wrecked. . . .

Our provisions also began to grow short: indeed we had left New Orleans ill provided with everything, although our party was so large. The remainder of the voyage was a constant struggle against wind and current with scarcely anything to eat. As an instance we had one morning the flesh of a Porpoise for breakfast, caught the day before; which in spite of my good appetite I was unable to swallow. We were reduced to flour and water made into flat cakes, and scarcely warmed through, with molasses thrown over them.

I will not however continue the detail of our miseries and privations. . . . Our cabin was not larger than a good sized table. Suffice it to say that on the 31st, we reached the roadsted of Vera Cruz about 2 o'clock in the day. The Pilot who came aboard was the first harbinger of bad news, giving us an account of the massacre at Mexico, and the total anarchy in the republic. The civil authorities came on board soon after we anchored, and inquired minutely for our names, professions, country, etc., also passports. After the ceremony we were promised a permit to land that evening, which did not however arrive for Eden and myself—having no friends ashore. Many of the other passengers were more fortunate and to our infinite annoyance we were unnecessarily condemned to another night on board the vessel.

THE MOUND-BUILDERS WERE INDIANS

The following suggestions are presented as supplementary to Gen. Thruston's article in the May number of the *Magazine of American History*, entitled "Ancient Society in Tennessee; The Mound-Builders were Indians." The general view advanced by the writer is certainly warranted by the facts, and is in accordance with the results of the more recent explorations and the more careful reading of the old authorities.

The explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology have not only aided in lifting the veil of mystery which has so long enshrouded the mounds and other ancient works of our country, but have furnished indices to the particular tribes and peoples by whom many of these works were constructed. The idea entertained by many that the mound-builders of Ohio and Tennessee retreated southward, and were absorbed into the tribes of the Gulf States, seems to be negatived by the testimony of the mounds. On the contrary, the facts justify us in concluding that the stone graves of Tennessee, and the mound groups with which they are connected, are the work of the Shawnees, and that the typical works of Ohio are attributable to the ancestors of the Cherokees. It would be impossible to present, in a single short article, the testimony necessary to complete the chain of evidence leading to this conclusion; nothing more, therefore, will be attempted here than to state very briefly the character of this evidence.

1st. It being admitted that some of the Gulf tribes, especially those of the Muskoki family, were mound-builders, there is no necessity of looking beyond the Indians for the authors of these ancient monuments.

2d. We are informed by history that the Delaware Indians formerly, and at the time when a portion of the Shawnees lived with them, were accustomed to bury their dead in box-shaped stone graves, precisely of the pattern of those found in middle Tennessee. Graves of this pattern are found at all points yet examined, where bodies of Shawnees formerly dwelt for any length of time; even those found in the region of the "Overhill towns" of the Cherokees in east Tennessee are attributable to a portion of this tribe, which history tells us left their home in Kentucky and went to the Cherokee country. The Illinois tribes, as well as the Delawares, buried in graves of this kind. These tribes are all closely related to each other—belonging, in fact, to one linguistic sub-family. In some of the graves of this type in southern Illinois, both in and out of mounds, have been found

stamped copper plates of a peculiar pattern. Similar plates have also been found in the stone graves of middle Tennessee and northern Georgia. Plates of this character have, so far, been obtained only in graves of this type—chiefly in mounds, but in a few instances in those known to be of Indian origin. Numerous other facts, which cannot be presented here, confirm the impression given by those mentioned, and leave little if any doubt on the mind that the Shawnees were the authors of the stone graves of Tennessee and the other ancient works connected with them.

3d. In these graves are found certain engraved shells, which are also found in the mounds of east Tennessee and western North Carolina, attributable, as shown in the *Magazine of American History* for May, 1884, to the Cherokees. Since the article alluded to was written, the explorations by the Bureau of Ethnology have furnished much additional evidence that the Cherokees were mound-builders. We have only space to note the following items of this evidence at present.

When they first became known to the whites, a large portion of the Cherokee tribe was located on the west side of the mountain (dividing North Carolina from Tennessee), along the banks of the Little Tennessee River, in what were then called the "Overhill towns." In order to keep these Indians under control, Fort Loudon was erected close by them, about the middle of the eighteenth century. The location of this fort is still marked by its remains. From the base of the mountains to where the Tennessee joins the Holston, which includes the entire valley occupied, the distance is not more than twenty-five or thirty miles, yet it is here we are to find all of these "Overhill towns," except one or two small ones, which were situated on Tellico Plains, in the south part of Blount County. These facts are mentioned in order to show the limited locality over which we have to search for these villages. The order in which they come along the river is known, also the side of the river on which they were situated, though the precise spot where each one stood appears to have been forgotten. Governor Ramsey, in his *Annals of Tennessee*, gives a map, marking the locality of each as nearly as possible from the information he obtained. He gives them in the following order, moving up the river eastward from its junction with the Holston—Tellico, Chota, Citico, Chilhoe, Tallahassee.

This region we have carefully explored, and have found at the only points where these villages could have been situated, groups of mounds, a group for each of the five villages mentioned, and a few others where isolated hamlets may have been situated. This coincidence of the location of the mounds and villages is, to say the least, very significant. But

there is another fact mentioned by Ramsey very important in this connection. Near the close of the eighteenth century, when the pioneers from North Carolina, following in the wake of Daniel Boone, were pouring over the mountains into the valley of the Holston, they were attacked by the Cherokees and a Mrs. Bean taken prisoner. She was carried to their sacred town of Chota, which is the second of the series in the order given above. Here she was condemned to death, and, as we are informed by Ramsey, was taken by them to the top of *the mound* to be burned, but her life was saved by the female who at that time held the office known among them as the "Pretty Woman."

During the explorations carried on by the Bureau of Ethnology, a large mound of the group supposed to correspond with Chota, being excavated, was found to contain basin-shaped beds of burnt clay. In the centre of several of these were the remains of a stake which, standing in the centre of the bed, had burned down to the surface. About these were ashes and fragments of burned human bones. This seems to be confirmatory of Ramsey's statement, or, at least, agrees in a remarkable manner with the Cherokee custom which his statement implies. In this mound were found over ninety skeletons, and with one, that of a child, and not an intrusive burial, four little copper bells—hawk's bells—a kind of toy very freely distributed by the early Spanish explorers.

These basin-shaped clay hearths, which are so frequent in this section of Tennessee, are probably an outgrowth of the so-called clay "altars" of the Ohio mounds, and, if so, give us a reasonable explanation of the use of these things which have so long puzzled antiquarians, viz., that they were places for torturing and burning prisoners of war, the principal sacrifices Indians were accustomed to make.

Now it is quite certain that if the Cherokees were the builders of the mounds of Ohio, when driven southward they fled up the valley of the Great Kanawha. Moreover, this corresponds precisely with their traditions. It so happens that in this valley, near Charleston, is an extensive group of mounds, circles, squares, etc. These have been carefully explored by the agents of the Bureau of Ethnology, and in them were found the things which form the intermediate step between those of the Ohio mounds and mounds of east Tennessee and western North Carolina. Here under a large mound were discovered little bee-hive vaults similar to those found in the North Carolina mounds; * here were also discovered both the clay altars, like those in the Ohio mounds and the basin-shaped clay hearths of the Tennessee mounds, the latter apparently taking the place

* *Am. Naturalist*, vol. 18 (1884), pp. 232-240.

of the former. Here was also found the transition form of the stone-pipe, between the typical monitor pipe of Ohio and the comparatively modern Cherokee pipe.

This will suffice to indicate the character of the testimony referred to, but the full force of it cannot be seen or thoroughly understood until it has been examined in detail. It is only then that one can appreciate the numerous interlacing lines and threads which can only be explained and traced upon the conclusion here advanced, to wit, that the Tallegwi of tradition, the builders of the typical ancient works of Ohio, and the *Chellakees* (Cherokees) are one people.

Although the evidence leads to the conclusion that the typical works of Ohio, the great circles and squares, the lines of parallels and the "altar mounds," are to be attributed to the Cherokees, it also indicates that some three or four or more different mound-building tribes have inhabited the state in the past. The walls and other remains of Cuyahoga County, and other northern sections of the state, are so like those of New York, that we must suppose them to be the work of some tribe of the Huron-Iroquois family; the stone graves of the eastern and central portion of the state are beyond question the work of the Delaware Indians; some of the mounds and graves of southern Ohio are attributable to the Shawnees, but there are other graves which are probably the burial places of a tribe which formerly had its home chiefly in Kentucky, but which has, through the fortunes of war, become extinct.

There is no evidence whatever that the builders of the Ohio works fled to the Gulf States and became incorporated into the tribes of that section. The remarkable differences between the pipes of the two sections are sufficient to negative this supposition. There is, in fact, no marked similarity between the earthworks of these two sections, although this has been asserted over and over.

Cyrus Thomas

THE PIONEER WORK OF JARED SPARKS

I

When a German professor begins a new course of lectures, his inaugural sometimes resembles the first work of a Turkish Sultan. He proceeds to put out of the way as many rivals as possible. This oriental method of clearing the field characterizes too many of our American literary enterprises, editorial and biographical. A spirit of destructive criticism has affected in recent years some of our American scholars, who, in the battle of books, see their own way to glory over the bodies of the wounded, and who tarry only to treat the dead with indignity. Such conduct is unworthy of our age. The first duty of a modern critic is to recognize the services which his predecessors have actually rendered. In such recognition he should estimate men and books by relative rather than by absolute standards. What folly it would be for Americans now reviewing a completed century in the history of Ohio to condemn the work of the pioneers, to ridicule log-huts, and to scoff at rudimentary laws! Such foundations were the beginning of all that now is in the great Northwest.

In judging the work of Jared Sparks, the modern critic should be no less fair and honest than is the common man in judging the work of his ancestors, who have a right to be viewed in the light and circumstances of their times. In a careful review of the life and literary labors of Jared Sparks, the writer, who now has in temporary keeping the private papers of this historian, has reached the conviction that this man's work should be regarded with honor and veneration as that of an historical pioneer. This is a true point of view which the younger generation of students of American history should take and hold. Without the preliminary labors of Jared Sparks, who was the first professor of history that Harvard College ever had, the present interest and enthusiasm for historical studies would not have been so early awakened. He was the first academic lecturer upon American history, and his manuscript lectures, now before me, are open pages of original research undertaken in days before historical investigation was dreamed of in other American colleges. These are the days when men are writing of American statesmen, but Sparks began that kind of work in his contributions to American biography, from which the present generation of literary men, "in slippered ease," will continue to appropriate facts and mate-

rials, as did Washington Irving from Sparks' *Life and Writings of Washington*, without sufficient recognition of the original pioneer. Sparks' collection of the letters of Washington and of his correspondents remains to this day one of the chief original sources of the history of the revolutionary and early constitutional periods. The first investigations in history at the Johns Hopkins University in 1876 were based upon the labors of Sparks. His work was itself originally made possible by the relation of Baltimore to the city of Washington.

It would be interesting to trace Sparks' career as a Unitarian clergyman, as a chaplain of Congress, collator of Washington's manuscripts, biographer, historian, editor and owner of the *North American Review*, professor and president of Harvard College; but, in this connection, the writer would merely indicate what students owe to the labors of this historical pioneer. He traveled through this country from north to south again and again, collecting historical manuscripts. He visited every state capital in the Old Thirteen and explored their archives. He interviewed, wherever he could find them, survivors of the Revolution and of Washington's administration. Sparks' manuscript journals are full of interesting reminiscences and recorded conversations with Jefferson, Madison, and other great men, which will one day be published. There is the fullest evidence of the infinite pains taken by Jared Sparks to collect original and authentic materials for American history. He spent a year in the state paper offices of London and Paris examining manuscripts bearing upon the history of the American Revolution and obtaining authentic copies of important documents. The manuscript collection of original materials for American diplomatic history made by Jared Sparks and now the property of Harvard College has been recently catalogued by Mr. Justin Winsor, in a bulletin issued by the Harvard College library. This collection is in itself a lasting monument to Sparks' industry and conscientious devotion to historical truth.

II

The recent criticisms of Mr. Sparks' method of editing the writings of Washington, and Lord Mahon's early charges, which were either withdrawn or gradually modified, originated in a total misunderstanding of certain important facts in Sparks' editorial situation. (1) There were already in existence different texts of Washington's own letters. In a private letter to Mr. J. Carson Brevoort, Mr. Sparks thus explains the fact: "It was Washington's habit first to write a draft of a letter, and in transcribing it he frequently altered words and phrases without inserting the alterations

in the draft. These changes are almost always merely verbal, without affecting the sense or the substance. The drafts were laid aside and copied from time to time into the letter-books. Hence the copies preserved by him differ in these particulars from the originals sent to his correspondents. Instances of this kind occur in a very large number of Washington's familiar letters. In his official correspondence there is generally an exact correspondence between the copies in the letter-books and the originals." In collecting the private correspondence of Washington, Sparks was often driven to the use of the letter-books, although he always used the revised letters that were actually sent when he was so fortunate as to recover them or to get copies.

(2) Washington's letter-books were themselves copies of original first drafts, and Sparks found in many cases that the work was evidently that of "incompetent or very careless transcribers." He says: "Gross blunders constantly occur, which not infrequently destroy the sense, and which never could have existed in the original drafts." The editor of Washington's writing was, in short, in much the same situation as were the early editors of ancient texts, which had been badly corrupted by monkish copyists. Like these editors Sparks attempted certain conjectures, a course not without its dangers but one which German philologists have followed down to the present day.

Mr. Sparks distinctly says that he allowed his sense of editorial duty "to extend only to verbal and grammatical mistakes or inaccuracies, maintaining a scrupulous caution that the author's meaning and purpose should thereby in no degree be changed or affected." Mr. Sparks felt that, as editor, he was conscientiously bound to present Washington's unrevised letters, copied by careless hands and never originally intended for publication, in at least such form as the obvious sense and construction demanded. He may have erred upon the side of making Washington more of a grammarian and a better speller than he really was; but the situation required some discretion. It seemed unjust to make Washington responsible for the manifest sins of a copyist. No modern literary man would like to be judged for the sins of his type-writer or of a short-hand reporter.

(3) Mr. Sparks felt himself justified in some revision of Washington's rough drafts by the example set by Washington himself, who, for future publication or historical use, had begun to retouch his own official correspondence during the period of the French war and the American Revolution. Copies of this correspondence had been kept on loose sheets roughly stitched together. Washington revised the whole mass, making

numerous changes, erasures, and interlineations in almost every letter, and caused the whole to be copied into bound volumes. What was Sparks to do in this editorial predicament? An attempt to restore the original text before Washington began to correct it would have led to endless embarrassments and perplexities. Loyalty to Washington's own good judgment of what he meant to say led Mr. Sparks to give the great truth-teller the benefit of his own authority. And yet the letters sent out by Washington during the above periods of correspondence certainly differed in many verbal respects from the copies which he had revised with his own hand. Mr. Sparks had no means of recovering and collating all these letters, although he well knew that they might be discovered in after-time and reveal striking discrepancies as compared with Washington's own revised version. This is precisely what has happened in various instances in these critical modern days. It is but fair to Mr. Sparks to say that he anticipated such discoveries, and clearly explained the facts for which he is now held responsible. Mr. Sparks made the best he could of an embarrassing editorial situation. If there is any blame to be attached to the revision of Washington's letters, it is quite as much the fault of Washington himself as of his conscientious editor.

(4) Mr. Sparks was severely criticised by Lord Mahon for alleged additions and omissions in his treatment of Washington's writings. The former charge Lord Mahon speedily withdrew, for, in the one case in point, Sparks was able to show that the alleged "addition" was actually to be found in Washington's original letter to Joseph Reed and had been carelessly omitted by the transcriber in preparing the text of the same for the *Life of Reed* which Lord Mahon used as a standard of comparison. The charge of omissions from Washington's text Lord Mahon continued to maintain, although he was altogether wrong as to Mr. Sparks' motives, as could be shown in every specific detail. Here again has arisen an utter misconception of Sparks' editorial situation. He had undertaken to edit in twelve volumes a convenient and popular collection of Washington's more important writings. He had materials enough for forty volumes, but no editor or publisher in the world would have dared in those days to undertake such an encyclopædic edition. Guizot reduced Sparks' Washington by discreet elimination to six volumes, and the German Von Raumer, equally wise in his generation, reduced the work to two volumes. A London editor thought two volumes of Washington's writing, quite enough for a British public. Mr. Sparks knew exactly what he was doing for his countrymen. He says: "I am certainly safe in saying that more than two-thirds of the whole collection of manuscripts were necessarily

W. O. L.

omitted, in consequence of the limited extent to which it was proposed to carry the work." Mr. Sparks had no idea that what he saw fit to omit would be lost to the world. He even suggested that "such of the large mass of papers still unprinted as have any interest for the public would be brought out at some future time."

In his choice of materials Mr. Sparks was guided by a few simple principles which he himself describes in his preface. He endeavored to select such things as had a permanent historical value, and such as illustrated the personal character of Washington. Much of the latter's correspondence was full of mere repetitions, for Washington sometimes had occasion to write to different persons upon the same subject. Mr. Sparks tried always to select the best letter of a series, and to supplement it by judicious selections from other letters without giving re-statements of the very same ideas. In every case where Lord Mahon charged Mr. Sparks with omissions from specific letters, it can be shown that parallel passages are to be found elsewhere and within a few pages. In fact Lord Mahon was finally so well satisfied with Mr. Sparks' explanations that the two men came to a cordial understanding, and the English historian entertained the American with the most distinguished courtesy upon his final visit to England in 1857.

Modern methods of editorial work are becoming more and more exacting, but it is perfectly true that during the four years' progress of the writings of Washington through the press, no friendly or unfriendly critic ever suggested that the editorial principles of Mr. Sparks, clearly and frankly stated in his preface, were in any way incorrect or defective. As Mr. Sparks himself afterward said, "It must be evident that I could have no other motive than that of executing the work in such a manner as would be approved by an enlightened public opinion." It is by this relative but ever progressive standard of judgment that we must estimate the pioneer work of Jared Sparks.

In a paper read before the American Historical Association, at its meeting in Boston, Judge Mellen Chamberlain, of the Boston Public Library, has pronounced the following just verdict concerning the services of Jared Sparks to American history: "Sparks was a careful investigator, as any one finds who enters fields which he has reaped with expectation of profitable gleanings; but if to learn his methods and to catch his spirit, no time so spent ought to be regarded as time lost. An American in every fibre of his constitution, Sparks believed in the justice of the Revolutionary cause, and was loyal to the memory of those whose lives he wrote; but he never exalted his heroes by belittling their associates, or

by maligning their opponents. He placed the American cause in the most favorable light, and did not indulge in that urbane condescension toward opponents which sometimes marks the meritorious work of Lord Mahon, and he never imperiled his case as Lecky, an abler writer than Lord Mahon, sometimes has done by inattention to facts essential to its support. Nor, on the other hand, did Sparks conceal ugly facts,* or change their import by artful and disingenuous arrangement of them. He arrayed all the forces, friendly or hostile, although, as it sometimes happened, his flank was turned, or his front disordered by mutinous auxiliaries which he had brought into the field. History was regarded by Sparks, as it ought to be by every one, as the record of impartial judgment concerning the motives and conduct of men, of parties, and of nations, set forth in their best light; and he was incapable of attempting to pervert that judgment by doubtful testimony, or by unscrupulous advocacy, which represents one party as altogether wise and patriotic, and the other as altogether unwise and malignant,—an attempt which must ultimately fail, since it finds no support in the nature of man, in intelligent observation, or in common sense. He had a healthy contempt for demagogues—historical demagogues in particular—as corruptors of youth."

H. B. Adams

* "Lord Mahon charged him with doing so, but I think Sparks' vindication of his integrity is complete. The strongest case against him is that of suppressing Washington's reiteration of an opinion unfavorable to New England. There is no doubt that Washington entertained such an opinion. That constitutes an historical fact; but if he has recorded that opinion in a letter to Brown, does it make any more a fact that he has also recorded it in letters to Jones and Robinson? Sparks gives the first record, but to save space omits the paragraphs in which similar opinions are given in letters to two other correspondents. That, I think, states the case fairly. It may be said that Sparks should have given all such passages, or indicated their omission by stars or otherwise. Why those opinions more than others? To have given a résumé of all omitted passages would have swelled his volumes unduly. If proper editing would require such notice of repetitious passages, why not, on the same grounds, the omission of all repetitious or unimportant letters? It may be admitted, however, that Sparks' editorial rules are not those now in vogue; but in fairness it ought not to be forgotten that in dealing with such a mass as the Washington papers, Sparks was confronted with a new and very difficult problem."

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

AUTOGRAPH LETTER OF MARQUIS DE MONTCALM, 1744

From the Collection of W. C. Crane, New York

[The letter of which the following is a fac simile is believed to be the only one signed by Montcalm, in the United States. It was found in London in 1884. Montcalm was born in the Chateau of Candiac, near Nîmes, France, February 29, 1712; died in Quebec, Canada, September 14, 1759. The history of his military career on this continent is well known.—EDITOR.]

Montcalm le 26 avril 1744

*Je suis bien persuadé, Monsieur, de l'union de vos amis, & de la
liaison d'amitié qui ont été si intimement la famille
de ma mère à la vôtre, & d'autant plus sensible d'indes-
qu'elle donne à la part de celle que j'ignore pas la nature
de son cœur, & à la part de celle que vous avez grande-
ment honorée. Monsieur, effrayé de ma similitude & de ma ressemblance
à votre famille, être convaincu que je suis parent de vous,
surtout par une seule et même en l'honneur de cette union
liens anciens, & de la même manière l'effacement du destin
d'indes de la même manière l'effacement j'ay l'honneur de vous
Monsieur, votre très humble & très obéissant serviteur.*

Le Marquis de MONTCALM

NOTES

LORD ELLENBOROUGH AND THE BANDBOXES—Lord Ellenborough, Chief Justice of England, was once about to go on the circuit, when Lady Ellenborough said she should like to accompany him. He replied that he had no objections provided she did not encumber the carriage with bandboxes, which were his utter abhorrence. During the first day's journey Lord Ellenborough, happening to stretch his legs, struck his foot against something below the seat. He discovered that it was a bandbox. Up went the window, and out went the bandbox. The coachman stopped, and the footman thinking that the bandbox had tumbled out of the window by some extraordinary chance, was going to pick it up, when Lord Ellenborough furiously called out, "drive on!" The bandbox accordingly was left by the ditch side. Having reached the country town where he was to officiate as judge, Lord Ellenborough proceeded to array himself for his appearance in the court-house. "Now," said he, "where's my wig?" "My lord," replied his attendant, "it was thrown out of the carriage window."—*Table Talk of Samuel Rogers.*

CHARLES GRATIOT—One of the early settlers of Wisconsin was Henry Gratiot, born in St. Louis, April 12, 1789, eighteen days before Washington's inauguration as first President of the United States. "His father Charles Gratiot, was a remarkable man in his day and generation, and had a history of almost romantic interest; his parents were Huguenots, of La Rochelle in France

and were driven from their native land by the savage act of Louis XIV., revoking the edict of Nantes. They fled to Switzerland, and took up their residence in Lausanne, where Charles Gratiot was born in 1753." This lad was sent to London to receive a mercantile education, and developed an extraordinary capacity for business. He came to America while yet quite young, and traveled through the vast region of the Northwest. With a trading post at Mackinaw, he penetrated every part of the country where Frenchmen and Indians were to be found, for the purposes of trade. About 1770 he visited Green Bay and Prairie du Chien; and in 1793 made the trip from St. Louis to Montreal in a canoe—by way of the Mississippi to the Wisconsin, thence to Green Bay, from there to Mackinaw, and down the lakes to Montreal—"a wonderful trip," writes Hon. E. B. Washburne in the tenth volume of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*, "and one hard to conceive of at this day." Charles Gratiot had four sons—Charles, the professional engineer, Henry, John P. B., and Paul—all of whom became useful and important members of the great American household, and their families are scattered through the Western States.

LA ROCHELLE, FRANCE—The descendants of the Huguenots who may visit La Rochelle at the present day will find a city possessing not a few of the characteristic features that were familiar to the generation that fled from it two centuries ago. The streets for the most part nar-

row and tortuous, derive a quaint and sombre aspect from the long porches or arcades that border them on either side. Opening from this covered side-walk, the entrance to a Huguenot dwelling of the olden time was often distinguishable by some pious inscription, frequently a text of Scripture, or a verse from Marot's psalms, to be read over the door-way. Some of these inscriptions are still legible. Small and severely plain, this door-way led often to a dwelling that abounded with evidences of wealth and taste; the upper stories of which were ornamented, both within and without, by rich carvings in wood and stone. Approached from the sea, La Rochelle presents much the same appearance as of old; with its outer and inner port separated by a narrow passage, on either side of which rise the massive forts of Saint Nicholas and La Chaine. A remnant of the ancient wall of the city connects the latter structure with the yet loftier tower of La Lanterne, originally built to serve as a beacon for ships seeking the harbor, but used in times of persecution as a prison of state. . . . It was among these scenes and associations that the young Bernons, Faneuils, Bandonins, Allaires, Manigaults—grew up. The streets and quays where the great commercial houses still maintained themselves, though in diminished state, had witnessed many events of stirring interest. The house was yet standing where Henry of Navarre, a boy of fifteen, resided, when he came with his mother, Jeanne d'Albert, at the beginning of the third civil war, to take refuge in the city that had just espoused the Protestant cause. The house of Guiton, the heroic

mayor during the siege of 1628, was still pointed out. Many of the localities possessing such historic interest were associated also with the personal and domestic history of our Huguenots. One of the houses owned by Pierre Jay, at the time of his escape from France, was situated hard by the Lanterne tower.—*History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, by Charles W. Baird, D. D.

AUTOGRAPH OF BUTTON GWINNETT—Mr. Lyman C. Draper tells us in a very interesting paper read before the Wisconsin Historical Society on the "Autographs of the Signers," a curious anecdote of how an accident furnished what the most patient inquiry had failed to supply. Mr. Israel K. Tefft of Savannah was visiting a friend near the city, and while walking on the lawn a paper was blown across his path which he picked up in a listless manner. It proved to be the rare autograph of a Georgia signer of the Declaration of Independence, the only one he then lacked to complete his set, and of which he had long been in active pursuit. When his business was finished with his friend he was asked to name his fee. "Nothing," said Mr. Tefft, "if you will allow me to keep this piece of paper which I have found in your lawn." The owner quickly assented, remarking that the writer once occupied the place, and his servants had recently been clearing an old garret of papers, and throwing them away. The autograph thus found "was that of Button Gwinnett, the rarest, not only of the Georgia signers, but, save Lynch, of the whole immortal fifty-six."

QUERIES

AMARACA—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Will you or some of your illustrious readers confer a priceless favor upon the world by settling the interesting questions as to how and why the name America was given to the western continent? Has not the fact been pretty clearly established that Columbus discovered a remote country that had been for ages called *Amaraca* (variously spelled) by its heathen inhabitants? Was not the similarity of names the only basis for the magnificent Amerigo Vespucci fable? Will not antiquarian research disclose to us proofs without number that the Spaniards called the new world by the same sacred name

which they found in use among the natives?
E. E. E.

—
Editor Magazine of American History: Can you or any one of your many readers name the ancestors of Benedict Arnold (the traitor), back to the first settler in America?

CHANDLER H. SMITH
MADISON, FLORIDA.

—
JUAN MANUEL—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Was Juan Manuel de Salcedo ever Governor of the Province of Louisiana? If so, in what years?

RAY HEMPSTEAD
LITTLE ROCK, ARKANSAS.

REPLIES

BISHOP LEAMING [xix. 439]—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Rev. Jeremiah Leaming was born in Middletown, Connecticut, in 1717. His father's name was Jeremiah, and his mother's Abigail Turner. They were married by a justice of the peace July 4, 1716, and he was baptized May 12, 1717, by Nathaniel Chauncey, pastor of the first Congregational Church in Durham. His grandfather, Christopher Leaming, came from England (of a York family), landed at Boston about 1660, and became a resident of Southampton, Long Island, in 1663. He married Esther Burnett, and had a family of children.

Whales becoming scarce in Peconic Bay (he followed whalefishing) he, with Shamgar Hand, founded the colony of Cape May, New Jersey. He took his

eldest son, Thomas, with him, and was followed by Aaron, his second son, some time after. The wife and the remaining children lived for a time at Southampton and at Easthampton. But the family, or part of the family, removed to Middletown, Connecticut, which became their home. Aaron, a younger brother of Jeremiah, married Sarah Grant, and had a large family of children from whom the writer is descended.

Jeremiah Leaming graduated at Yale College in 1745, and immediately connected himself with the Church of England. Rev. Dr. Johnson, many years rector of the Church at Stratford, and afterward president of King's College, New York, was his personal friend, as was also the second Dr. Johnson, also president of the same college, renamed

Columbia after the Revolution. From Columbia Mr. Leaming received the degree of D D.

Dr. Leaming was a forcible writer on various subjects connected with his ministerial office, but was especially a controversialist, upholding the authority, doctrine and form of worship of the Church of England. He was the first choice of the clergy of Connecticut to be their bishop after peace was declared, but declined on account of lameness, caused by being compelled to sleep on a stone floor without a bed at the time of his imprisonment.

His ever fast friend, Rev. Samuel Seabury, was chosen in his stead, and by his request, as the late Rev. Dr. Samuel Seabury informed me.

As a good churchman, Dr. Leaming, in obedience to his ordination vows, upheld the authority of the king as head of the Church, and prayed for the king and the royal family in the church services, and suffered persecution therefor. But when the independence of the colonies was acknowledged by the mother country, he supported the new government, and composed the first prayer for Congress, sent in a letter to Bishop Seabury, which is now in my possession.

When Bishop Seabury returned from Scotland to Connecticut after his consecration, the clergy and laity assembled to welcome him, and Dr. Leaming, who presided, made the address. To the clergy he said: "I cannot forbear to mention (and I do it with pleasure) the conduct of the Civil Rulers of this State respecting our church; they have not only manifested a spirit of benevolence, but an exalted Christian charity, for

which our gratitude is due, and shall be paid in obeying all their just demands." And to the laity, he said: "The principal part of the religion we teach is love. For the soul which animates societies, civil or sacred, is the great and generous spirit of charity; that violates no compacts, that raises no commotions, that interrupts no good man's peace, that assaults no innocent man's person, that invades no man's property, that grinds no poor man's face, that envies no man, that supplants no man, that submits private convenience to public utility, and recommends those duties to your practice that will insure an infinite reward." Dr. Leaming was minister at Norwalk twenty-one years, afterward at Stratford many years, and when infirmities of age had disabled him he retired to New Haven and to a friend's house, where, blind and lame, he lived to the advanced age of eighty-seven, and died in 1804.

JAMES R. LEAMING, M.D.

18 West 38th St., New York City.

ELIZABETH CANNING [xix. 438]—In November, 1756, Elizabeth Canning married John Treat, of Wethersfield, Connecticut, a great-grandson of Richard Treat, who came to Wethersfield about 1637 from England. They had three sons, and one daughter who died unmarried. One of the sons was a Revolutionary soldier. Elizabeth Canning Treat died in June, 1773, according to a contemporary newspaper. Many of her descendants still live in Connecticut. A genealogy of the Treat family is in process of preparation.

J. H. T.

LAWRENCE, MASS.

OLD MR. VAN BERKEL AND HIS DAUGHTER [xix. 111]—A few years ago I learned some particulars respecting Mr. Berkel, the first ambassador from Holland to this country, from the late Mrs. Commodore Salter, of Elizabeth, New Jersey. Her father was Colonel Armstrong, a former merchant in New York, and, during the Revolution, an officer in the British army, having been a neighbor of Mr. Van Berkel when he lived in New York, as also of Mr. William Constable. [See xix. 104]—In 1796, Mr. Van Berkel removed to Newark, New Jersey, where he died Dec. 27, 1800. His credentials presented to our government declared him to be "a gentleman of distinction, whose personal qualifications are in great repute among us, the Hon. Mr. Peter John Van Berkel, burgomaster of the city of Rotterdam, and a deputy in our Assembly." Although mentioned in Washington's Journal as "*old* Mr. Van Berkel," he was not older than Washington himself, and he was doubtless so called to distinguish him from his son, then in America, and, as understood from Mrs. Salter, was subsequently appointed governor-general of Batavia, East Indies. Van Berkel's daughter married Col. Christian Sennf. His name appears in Mr. Van Berkel's will, probated Jan. 1, 1801, who, with his wife, left this country shortly after that date for the West Indies. The wife of Mr. Van Berkel never came to this country, remaining in Rotterdam. Mrs. Salter had a good portrait of her. One of our United States ministers at the Hague, on his examination of the district archives, ascertained that Mr. Van Berkel had done us good service during the early stage of the Revolutionary war in negotiating a loan in Hol-

land through Mr. Adams in a time of great public exigency. WM. HALL
NEW YORK CITY.

DID WASHINGTON EAT GREEN PEAS WITH A KNIFE? [xvi. 500]—A writer in the *Cleveland Leader* has recently discussed the extraordinary manner in which Washington was abused while holding public office. He closes his remarks with the following paragraph, seemingly oblivious of the fact that there were no "White House" dinners to gossip about in Washington's time.

"Speaking of Washington, I see that some of the goody-good newspapers of the country are very indignant at the statement in Quackenbos' history that Washington at one time ate peas with a knife. I do not doubt but that the statement is true. The whole literary United States at the time of Washington, however, seemed to be a mutual admiration society, and there is little unfavorable gossip about the White House dinners. I found the other day, however, Maclay's diary, giving his experiences during his term as a Senator of the United States when Washington was first President. Maclay dined with Washington a number of times, and scattered through his diary are little bits of gossip about these dinners. At two of them he describes Washington as amusing himself during all the dinner by playing the devil's tattoo upon the table with his fork. He says, speaking of one of these dinners: 'The President kept a fork in his hand when the cloth was taken away, I thought for the purpose of picking nuts. He ate no nuts, but played with the fork, striking on the edge of the table with it.'"

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

H. H. W.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—At a stated meeting of the society, held on the evening of the 5th of June, the president, Mr. King, occupied the chair. The paper of the evening, written by Mrs. Burton N. Harrison, entitled, "The Fairfaxes of America," was read by Professor Charles Carroll, M.D. Aside from the interest attaching to Mrs. Harrison's paper as a most picturesque account of a family historic both in England and America, the close intimacy of the Washingtons with the proprietors of Greenway Court was illustrated by extracts from their mutual correspondents and tradition which the author—herself a descendant of the Fairfaxes—had heard from intimate sources.

The Rev. Robert Collyer, in moving a vote of thanks, expressed the hope that the country of their adoption would continue to feel in the future as in the past the influence of the good and brave race.

The president stated for the information of the society that \$105,000 had been subscribed to the Building Fund, and urged the personal efforts of the members to secure before the next meeting in October the remaining \$45,000 necessary to complete the amount required.

THE ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The regular meeting of this society was held May 28, at its rooms in Utica, New York. In the absence of the president, Hon. John F. Seymour, third vice-president, presided. Gen. C. W. Darling, corresponding secretary, read a list of valuable historical articles contributed by

different persons and societies, and the thanks of the society were tendered the givers. Among the gifts was an oil painting in gilt frame 6x5, representing the landing of the Pilgrim fathers. This painting is a copy from Sargent's picture, formerly in the Boston Athenæum, and was presented by Mrs. John P. Gray of Utica. The committee in charge of the New Hartford centennial celebration (to occur in June next) reported that invitations were now being sent out. Gen. James Grant Wilson of New York, and Professor John Fiske of Cambridge, Massachusetts, were elected corresponding members. Rev. A. P. Brigham read a paper on the Geological History of Oneida County, the subject being treated in a masterly manner.

THE TENNESSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting May 15, 1888, in Nashville. Colonel J. George Harris was called to the chair by Judge Lea, and presided during the evening.

The Hon. Theodore Roosevelt of New York City was elected an honorary member.

Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, of New York City, editor of the *Magazine of American History* and author of the *History of the City of New York*, was elected an honorary member.

Many gifts were acknowledged and letters read. The following officers were then elected for the ensuing year: Hon. John M. Lea, president; Hon. James D. Porter, Anson Nelson, Col. W. A. Henderson, vice-presidents; John M. Bass, recording secretary; General G.

P. Thruston, corresponding secretary; Joseph S. Carels, treasurer and librarian. Judge Lea, who had insisted upon giving up the office of president, an office he has filled for sixteen years, was overwhelmingly elected by a unanimous vote while trying to decline. The spontaneous outburst in his favor was too great to allow him to surrender the exalted position of the head of this important and widely known society, which is doing so much good for the state and the country.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NORTH CAROLINA was reorganized at Chapel Hill, North Carolina, the seat of the State University, Oct. 26, 1887. The following officers were elected for the current year: President, Kemp P. Battle, LL.D.; vice-president, A. W. Mangum, D.D.; honorary secretary, Prof. John F. Heitman; secretary and treasurer, Stephen B. Weeks; executive committee, K. P. Battle, A. W. Mangum, G. T. Winston, Stephen B. Weeks, Claudius Dockery.

The society has since held four meetings, and there seems to be a gradual awakening all over the state to the importance of historical study. The following is a partial list of the subjects discussed during the present session:

"The objection to the Federal Constitution in the North Carolina Convention of 1788," by President K. P. Battle; "The characters of John Dunn and Benjamin Boothe, the Tory lawyers of Rowan," by Prof. A. W. Mangum; "A sketch of dueling in North Carolina, and between North Carolinians," by Mr. Stephen B. Weeks; "A discussion of the characters of Governor Gabriel

Johnston and of his opponents," by Prof. G. T. Winston; "A criticism of the accepted historical opinions of Governor Johnston," by Mr. Claudius Dockery; "A Discussion of the conduct and Motives of the Regulators," by President Battle; "Capt. Wm. Moore's expedition against the Cherokees, with explanation of the route and localities," by Maj. J. W. Wilson. [The original report of Capt. Moore was contributed by Mrs. M. M. Chambers, of Morganton, from the papers of her ancestor, Col. Waightstill Avery.] "Humorous account of his election and experience as Major of the Battalion of Home Guards in 1864," by Major Wm. A. Smith; "History of the State of Franklin," by Prof. E. Alexander; "A history of the Young Men's Christian Association movement in North Carolina, 1857-1888," by Mr. Stephen B. Weeks.

The work of the society will now be done mainly by professors and students in the University. It is hoped the students thus trained will endeavor to foster the increasing interest in local history in North Carolina.

DEDHAM HISTORICAL SOCIETY—The annual meeting of this society was held March 7, the President, Henry O. Hildreth, giving a brief sketch of its history since its organization in 1859. Officers were elected for the ensuing year as follows: Don Gleason Hill, president; Erastus Worthington, vice-president; Julius H. Tuttle, corresponding secretary; John L. Wakefield, recording secretary; Henry G. Guild, treasurer; John Burdakin, librarian.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

The origin of Decoration Day was, in 1879, very clearly given in an oration by Chauncey M. Depew, in the following words: "When the war was over, in the South, where, under warmer skies and with more poetic temperament, symbols and emblems are better understood than in the practical North, the widows, mothers and children of the Confederate dead went out and strewed their graves with flowers, and at many places the women scattered them impartially also over the unknown and unmarked resting places of the Union soldiers. As the news of this touching tribute flashed over the North it roused, as nothing else could have done, national amity and love, and allayed sectional animosity and passion. It thrilled every household where there was a vacant chair by the fireside and an aching void in the heart for a lost hero whose remains had never been found, old wounds broke out afresh, and in a mingled tempest of grief and joy the family cried, "Maybe it was our darling." Thus out of sorrows common alike to the North and the South came this beautiful custom. But Decoration Day no longer belongs to those who mourn. It is the common privilege of us all, and will be celebrated as long as gratitude exists and flowers bloom."

In the great Christian conference, held at Washington in December last, representing millions of our most intelligent, far-sighted and thoughtful citizens, native and naturalized, "no opinion," says the Hon. John Jay, "was hailed with more perfect unanimity than the demonstration by President Eaton, late Commissioner of Education, that our prevailing illiteracy and ignorance, whether alien or domestic, unless corrected, purified and Americanized in the children by our common schools, will convert the suffrage itself into the most dangerous weapon with which the foes of American liberty who are now so desperately attacking our common school system, can undermine our press and our institutions, and overthrow our civil and religious freedom."

The friends of education throughout the country are becoming alive to the fact that common-school-bred American boys and girls have very little knowledge of what has happened on American soil. Thus every expedient to popularize the study of American history will be hailed with delight. The unintelligent memorizing of an array of dates, names and events, the significance of which is a dead language to the pupil, should speedily become obsolete. How can the history of a country, sometimes of the whole world, be crammed into one volume, and learned as is often the case in a single year, to advantage? If the American mind is empty of American history, ignorance will naturally be ascribed to incapacity. Misapprehension of American principles will imperil our American civilization, which has been pronounced "the farthest point in advance yet reached by any age or nation."

The study of American history has, unfortunately, been rendered distasteful to the growing youth of the country through the elimination of ideas from school lessons. For this the teachers are largely responsible. Books may be in fault, but the teacher should be educated before attempting to instruct a class. What benefit comes from the glib recitation (without halting or hesitating) of the whole line of kings and queens of England, if the bright pupil has no conception of what sort of beings they were, or what particular things they did? In American history much time is spent on the early Indian wars, and in a bewildering medley of hard words and queer names, without a glimmer of thought as to the meaning involved. We wish to have our rising men and women acquainted with our institutions, informed as to what has grown out of our early struggles with natives and foreigners, and not hopelessly ignorant of the successive processes by which our national life has been developed.

It is refreshing to note the spirited movement which, starting in Boston, and known as the Old South Work, has taken possession of Chicago and other Western cities. Those who have not given close attention to this will be surprised at the proportions the work has already assumed. It has provoked great enthusiasm where its purpose is best understood, which is a hopeful sign of the times. It is a commendable crusade in behalf of American history and Americanism, with intent to Americanize Americans and make them good citizens. We hail it as the harbinger of a complete revival of patriotism. The Old South Work in Boston was in the beginning, and for some years, almost wholly sustained by one noble woman, Mrs. Mary Hemenway, who is enthusiastically devoted to everything pertaining to American history. It was chiefly through her exertions that the Old South Meeting-House was preserved from destruction. She is believed to have given at least half of the two hundred thousand dollars required to save the historic structure.

Mr. Edwin D. Mead, who was deeply concerned in the Old South Work in Boston, has inaugurated a course of lectures in Chicago which is stimulating such popular interest in American history that thousands seeking tickets are denied for want of seats in the hall. In Madison, Wisconsin, a series of lectures have attracted much attention; indeed, no enterprise ever undertaken in Madison has proved more popular than this. The church where the lectures were given was crowded to overflowing, and two hundred, or more, every evening turned away for want of room. In Indianapolis, a course of similar lectures has been so eminently successful as to lead to similar efforts in other large towns in Indiana.

To write legibly would seem to be as much a fine art as to paint a picture properly. And yet how many fail to trace their own names upon the written page so that it is decipherable to a stranger without their printed card! We clip the following, on the same theme, from one of our exchanges: Some years ago, a magazine article in manuscript was passed around in an office in order that the title might be deciphered. The first expert made it "A Blight in Grain;" the second one, "A Flight in Spain;" the third, "A Night in Pain." It was referred back to the author, who printed it out "A Fight in Vain."

BOOK NOTICES

DISCOVERY OF THE NAME OF AMERICA. By THOMAS DE ST. BRIS. 8vo, paper, pp. 140. New York. American News Co.

The author introduces his monograph on the much vexed question of "America," as a name with an indirect reference to a more extended work on the same subject, but without giving its title, and we are obliged to admit that we are not acquainted with any such unabridged work. He says, moreover, in his introduction, that the discovery of the name in its original form was as unexpected to him as was the original discovery of the western continent by Columbus. The opening chapters of the work are devoted to a recapitulation of the early voyages of Columbus, Vespucci, Cabot and others, showing how they were all in search of India, and how slowly it dawned upon the old world that a new continent, or perhaps a very ancient one, had been found. The gist of the whole matter lies in the identification of Amaraca with our modern America, and very plausible reasons are given for assuming that its association with the Christian name of Vespucci Amerigo is erroneous. A map made up from the Mercator Atlas of 1541, and the "Codazzi Atlas Venezuela" serves as a frontispiece, upon which appear the names Amaraca, Amarca, Andamarca, Amarioca, and the like, covering the southern portion of the Isthmus and the northern portion of South America.

There appears indeed to have been a great kingdom of "Cundin Amaraca" embracing a large part of what are now the United States of Colombia. It is recognized by Humboldt, and was probably second in importance only to Mexico. The existence of the native name need not be questioned, but M. de St. Bris is by no means the originator or discoverer of the fact. (See *Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1875, *Bulletin de la Société de Géographie de Paris*, June, 1875, and the *Nation*, April 10, 1884.)

According to Mr. Justin Winsor, Vespucci "was dead before his name was applied to the new discoveries on any published map," but M. de St. Bris reaches the conclusion that it was in fact the common name by which the new land was known considerably before that time (1512) and was officially recognized and adopted by the Spaniards prior to the death of Columbus in 1506. The arguments concerning the distorted spellings of Amerigo or Americus are too well known to be here recapitulated. Upon the whole, the theory set forth seems a not unreasonable solution of the question. If it had been the intention of the ruling sovereigns to name the new country after its discoverer, the choice of Spain would no doubt have been Columbus, and of England Cabot. (Let us be

duly thankful that we were not named Cabota or the like.) It is not at all likely that after honoring Columbus as the great discoverer, Charles I. of Spain would have placed an Italian's name on the new continent. In conclusion, we cannot but regret that the work was not edited by some one with a logical command of idiomatic English, as the argument would have been far more forcible if it had been more tersely formulated.

REPORT AND COLLECTIONS OF THE STATE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF WISCONSIN, for the years 1883, 1884, 1885. Vol. X. With general index to Vols. I.-X. 8vo, pp. 558. Madison, Wisconsin. State Printers. 1888.

The labors of the Wisconsin Historical Society were commenced about thirty years ago with some fifty books only in their germ of a library, and without any pecuniary resources whatsoever. As we turn the leaves of the tenth volume of the Society's publications just received, we find in the introduction the following suggestive item from the pen of Lyman C. Draper, "We have (now) some one hundred and eighteen thousand books, newspaper files and pamphlets—a collection unequalled west of the Alleghanies—a gallery of portraits, and a rare collection of pre-historic and other curiosities, with a library performing a splendid work in behalf of our literary investigators." This record of progress is gratifying in the superlative degree, and should inspire younger institutions of a kindred character to perseverance and achievement. In the infancy of the society it was extremely difficult to arouse enthusiasm or secure historic materials. Now it appears that much of the early Wisconsin story has been brought out and thoroughly discussed and elucidated. The contents of Volume X. are varied and interesting. A paper on "Col. Henry Gratiot," one of the pioneers of Wisconsin, by Hon. E. B. Washburne, has all the interest of a romance. "Autographs of the Signers," by Lyman C. Draper, is a contribution of permanent value. The author says: "An autograph collection, in the ordinary acceptance of the term, should not be confounded with collections of historical manuscripts for purposes of public record and as materials for historic literature." The custom of collecting autographs began many centuries ago with noblemen and persons of taste and wealth. "As early as 1550 persons of quality took along with them elegant blank books for the signatures of eminent persons or valued friends. One of these albums preserved in the British

Museum bears date 1578. Many large autograph collections were formed in the sixteenth century, notably those in France, preserved in the French National Library." Among the numerous choice papers in this volume are "Early Wisconsin Exploration and Settlement," by Hon. James Sutherland; "Causes of the Black Hawk War," by Hon. Orlando Brown; "The Four-Lake Country—first white foot-prints there," by Professor James D. Butler; "Indian Campaign of 1832," by Captain Henry Smith; "Sketch of Hon. Andrew Proudfit," by Hon. Breese J. Stevens, and many others.

PAPERS OF THE NEW HAVEN COLONY HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Volume IV.

8vo, pp. 456. New Haven, 1888. Printed for the Society.

Among the interesting series of papers, we are specially attracted by Professor Dexter's graphic description of "New Haven in 1784." There is an element of romance about an old college town that is rarely found elsewhere. We can almost see the half-grown buttonwood and elm trees set out in 1759, two hundred and fifty of them, around the green, and the old three-storied gambrel-roofed college buildings, not far from the little wood cottage of the president, Rev. Dr. Ezra Stiles, one of the most learned Americans of this generation. We have given us in these pages a glimpse of domestic slavery in New Haven, and a suggestive extract from President Stiles's diary of December, 1783: "The constant annual importation of negroes into America and the West Indies is supposed to have been of late years about sixty thousand. Is it possible to think of this without horror?"

"The Voyage of the *Neptune* Around the World in 1796-99," from the diary of Ebenezer Townsend, Jr., is very pleasant reading; also "A Young Man's Journal of a Hundred Years Ago," both papers having been read before the society. There are several other papers of value in the collection, of which "Yale Graduates in Western Massachusetts," by Rev. Alpheus C. Hodges, and "Connecticut Boroughs," by Calvin H. Carter, are notable. The society, after supplying subscribers, will have a few copies of the volume for sale.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN. By NOAH BROOKS. 12mo, pp. 476. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

Among the many who have undertaken to write the life of Abraham Lincoln, few are better equipped than the author of the present work. The intimate and trusted personal friend of Mr. Lincoln during the most important years of his

public life, he brings to his task a life-long experience as a writer and editor, and it would have been strange indeed if he had failed to make his history of exceptional value. Mr. Brooks has been particularly fortunate in writing books for the young, and for them he has prepared this biography. His acquaintance with Mr. Lincoln began in the Fremont campaign of 1856, and became more intimate and confidential from 1862 until the day of the assassination. He is, of course, indebted to the standard versions for the narrative of the early days in Illinois and Indiana. At an early stage of the work, however, he reaches the period of personal reminiscence, and though there is, if possible, too little of that quality in the book as a whole, considering the author's relations with the subject, the narrative moves with more life and the great events that transpired almost daily are depicted with more vivid colors. Mr. Brooks' estimate of Mr. Lincoln is that of a keen observer with, as is natural, a most friendly bias, and while it differs in no special way from the other estimates of his great and noble character, it is well calculated to impress the youthful reader with the fine type of patriotic Americanism of which he was the chief exponent. The younger generation of our Northern States know too little of comparatively recent history. Some of them, indeed, hardly know whether Lincoln was or was not a contemporary of Washington, or whether Grant became famous during the war for independence or some later struggle. This is not true of Southern children, who are early taught to honor the memory of their own local heroes. The present volume is well calculated to correct this deficiency in a most entertaining and agreeable way.

BRITONS AND MUSCOVITES, or *Fraits of Two Empires*. By CURTIS GUILD. 12mo.

pp. 230. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

As editor of the *Boston Commercial Bulletin* the author is known to the literary world, and his two previous works, "Over the Ocean" and "Abroad Again," have introduced him to the book-reading public. The present work covers his observations in a journey through the most picturesque parts of England and through the less familiar, though no less picturesque regions of the great Russian empire. While studiously avoiding all guide-book models, he endeavors to give information that will be of service to future travelers. The reader will find the narrative of the traveler's experiences presented in a highly entertaining form and full of suggestions useful to those intending to visit the Czar's dominions.

BIBLIOTHECA JEFFERSONIANA. A list of books written by or relating to Thomas

Jefferson. By HAMILTON BULLOCK THOMP-
KINS. 8vo. pamphlet, pp. 187. New York
and London. 1887. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

In this work a very successful attempt has been made to bring together the titles of the books written or relating to Thomas Jefferson. The arrangement is alphabetical under the name of the author, when this is known, otherwise under the first word of the title, omitting particles. Initials follow some of the titles, indicating the public libraries in which the books may be found and consulted. It will prove a great convenience and a positive help to the student; therefore we notice with regret that only three hundred and fifty copies have been printed.

A NARRATIVE OF THE LEADING INCIDENTS OF THE ORGANIZATION OF THE FIRST POPULAR MOVEMENT IN VIRGINIA IN 1865 to re-establish Peaceful Relations between the Northern and Southern States, and of the subsequent efforts of the COMMITTEE OF NINE, IN 1869, to secure the Restoration of Virginia to the Union. By ALEXANDER H. H. STUART. 8vo. pamphlet, pp. 72. Richmond, Va., 1888.

The above title describes admirably the pamphlet before us, which has been carefully prepared at the suggestion and request of the Virginia Historical Society. The author has not aimed to write a full history of all that occurred in connection with the events of 1869, as he had not sufficient materials necessary for such a history; but he has very ably and concisely presented the leading facts and incidents in which he was an actor or witness, accompanied by documents which explain and verify them. He refers briefly to many events of importance prior to 1869, as no permanent record has heretofore been made of them, and they supply the link in the history of Virginia from the downfall of the Confederacy to the restoration of the state to the Union, and render the account that follows clearer and more satisfactory. The work is a valuable contribution to American history, and should form a part of the library of every scholar who takes an interest in affairs.

ORMSBY MACKNIGHT MITCHEL, ASTRONOMER AND GENERAL. A Biographical Narrative by his son, F. A. MITCHEL. Crown 8vo, pp. 392. Boston, 1887. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

We could wish that the editor had written upon his title page "Astronomer and Soldier," instead of "Astronomer and General," for generals by brevet and otherwise are altogether too

common in this land of readily manufactured titles. That, however, is a mere matter of editorial detail, which does not in the least affect the admirable quality of the pages that follow. Professor Mitchel's fame belongs almost wholly to the formative period before the civil war. For many years prior to the outbreak of rebellion he was among the most prominent of American scientists. He was a very popular lecturer on astronomical subjects, and long presided over the first of the great observatories that was erected in the United States. One of the most picturesque and significant incidents in his early career is related by his brother: On a superb moonlight evening, when the family dwelt in the then almost unbroken wilderness on the banks of the Ohio, the elder son carried little Ormsby in his arms to a point whence the heavens could be clearly seen. After gazing in silence for some minutes at the clouds rushing across the sky, the little fellow turned to his brother and, looking in his face, said with infantile solemnity, "Mans can't make moons." The annals of biography hardly record a more original and touching incident in the child-life of the world's great men. It was Professor Mitchel's first lecture on astronomy, and, as in after years, he made an instant and lasting impression upon his audience.

Educated at West Point, Professor Mitchel, though he had been for many years in civil life, felt it his duty to offer his services to the government when the secession heresy developed its power. To his brief military career a considerable portion of the volume is devoted. The whole of it, however, is replete with interest, and it well deserves to take its place, apart from its war record, with the most entertaining and valuable of American biographies.

APPLETON'S CYCLOPÆDIA OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. Edited by JAMES GRANT WILSON and JOHN FISKE. Vol. IV. Lodge—Pickens. 8vo, pp. 768. New York, 1888: D. Appleton & Co.

There is plenty of material for thought and study in the fourth volume of Appleton's biographical dictionary now before us. The frontispiece is a fine steel portrait of Henry W. Longfellow, and a half dozen or more of the earlier pages are devoted to an appreciative and admirably prepared biography of the poet, by Professor Charles Eliot Norton. Names of interest and importance are scattered plentifully through the work. Charles Dudley Warner writes instructively of James Russell Lowell; and Professor Francis Parkman gives some very welcome information about Montcalm, who, he says "was small of stature, with a vivacious countenance, and rapid, impetuous speech." One of the best steel portraits in the volume is that of Professor Samuel F. B. Morse, founder of the

American System of Electro-Magnetic telegraphs; and no biography is more valuable than that of John Lothrop Motley, the historian and diplomat, concisely written by Oliver Wendell Holmes. The father of Motley was a merchant, a man of wit and literary tastes, who inherited through his mother the blood of the two much respected Boston clergymen, Rev. John Lothrop and Rev. Samuel Checkley. Dr. Holmes pays a deserved tribute to Motley in the language of Dean Stanley, who said: "So long as the tale of the greatness of the house of Orange, of the siege of Leyden, of the tragedy of Barneveld, interests mankind, so long will Holland be indissolubly connected with the name of Motley in that union of the ancient culture of Europe with the aspirations of America." Two Presidents, James Madison and James Monroe, one Chief Justice, John Marshall, and one Emperor, Dom Pedro II., each have a full-page steel portrait—also George Peabody the philanthropist, George B. McClellan the soldier, and William Penn. Some of the smaller portraits are, however, quite as satisfactory, as for instance those of Rev. Eliphalet Nott, president of Union College, Andrew Oliver, lieutenant-governor of Massachusetts; Francis Parkman, the historian, and James Kirke Paulding, the author. The article on Chief Justice John Marshall, by Judge Bradley, is one of scholarly interest. He says, "To specify and characterize the great opinions that Marshall delivered would be to write a treatise on constitutional law. They must themselves stand as the monuments and proper records of his judicial history. It is reported by one of his descendants that he often said that if he was worthy of remembrance his best biography would be found in his decisions in the Supreme Court. Their most striking characteristics are crystal clearness of thought, irrefragable logic, and a wide and statesman-like view of all questions of public consequence. In these respects he has had no superior in this or any other country." The artist Malbone finds a biographer in Charles Henry Hart; the two commodores, Matthew Calbraith Perry and Oliver Hazard Perry, have an appreciative notice from Rev. William Elliot Griffis; and William Walter Phelps is handled gracefully by White-law Reid. An interesting sketch of Maximilian, Archduke of Austria and Emperor of Mexico, appears with his portrait, and that of the unfortunate Carlota. We recommend our readers to make themselves acquainted with the biographies we have mentioned, and many others of the first importance which we should mention if space permitted. The fourth volume of this great biographical work, take it all in all, is one of the very best of the series that has yet appeared. When finished it will be a necessity for every library, public and private, in the land.

HISTORY OF THE TOWN OF EXETER, New Hampshire. By CHARLES H. BELL. Svo, pp. 469. The Quarter Millennial Year. 1888. Exeter.

This work is a model of its kind. The value of a town history depends largely upon the classification which renders access easy to its contents. In recognition of this fact the author has introduced numerous sub-titles, arranged all considerable lists of names in alphabetical order, and given a full table of contents at the beginning, and an admirable index at the end. Manuscript records have been quoted freely, particularly family registers, with marriages, births, and deaths prior to the year 1800—also a list of all the publications of intentions of marriage in the town between 1783 and 1800. Before the foundation of Exeter there were but two organized settlements within the limits of New Hampshire, and there was no general government. In 1643 all the New Hampshire plantations came under the rule of Massachusetts.

It was not until 1680 that a new government of the province of New Hampshire went into operation. A governor and six counselors were then appointed by the crown. One of the counselors was an Exeter man, John Gilman. In 1775 Exeter contained seventeen hundred and forty-one inhabitants, and had become practically the capital of the state, and the centre of all civil and military activity in New Hampshire. In 1776 the people adopted a state constitution, which, however, was superseded by a more complete instrument about the close of the Revolution; Exeter was the seat of the state government. In 1788 a convention assembled in the court house at Exeter for the purpose of ratifying the Constitution of the United States. The proposed Constitution was to go into effect upon its ratification by nine of the thirteen states, and eight had already acted favorably upon it. Thus the interest of the country centred upon New Hampshire, which was the ninth, and had the honor of putting the new government into operation. John Taylor Gilman, subsequently governor of this state, the delegate from Exeter, was the most influential in bringing about this result. He was the fourth in descent from John Gilman, the counselor in 1680, one of the founders of Exeter. His brother, Nicholas Gilman, had been one of the framers of the Constitution in Philadelphia the year before. The book is of interest to every student of American history, aside from its special attractions for the descendants of the town who are scattered far and wide over the country. Literary skill, the historical sense combined with that of just proportion, and excellent taste, are notably apparent throughout the volume. It is one of the best town histories we have seen.



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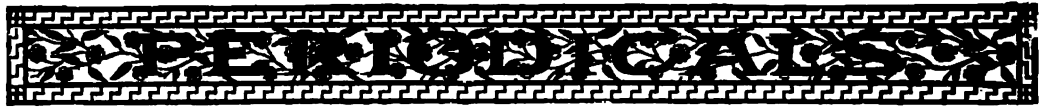
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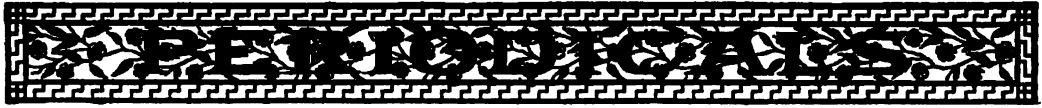
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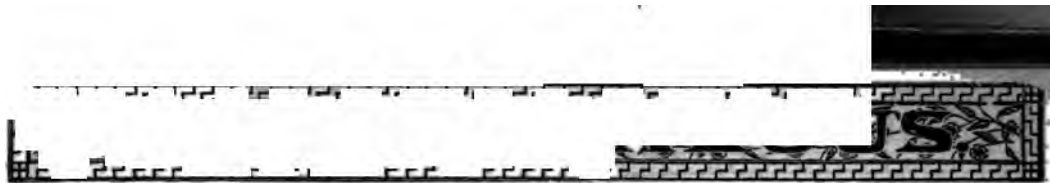
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ASSETS\$118,806,851 88.

Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1887	129,937	\$393,909,202 88	Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1888...	140,943	\$427,629,992 51
Risks Assumed.....	23,305	69,457,468 87	Risks Terminated.....	11,289	35,637,738 74
	152,232	\$463,366,671 25		129,232	\$463,366,671 25

Dr.

Revenue Account.

Cr.

To Balance from last account ...	\$104,719,734 81	By Endowments, Purchased Insurance, Dividends, Annuities and Death Claims	14,193,493 60
" Premiums.....	17,110,901 63	" Commissions, Commutations, Taxes and all other Expenses	3,649,514 49
" Interest, Rents and Premium on Securities Sold.....	6,009,080 84	" Balance to new account.	110,061,718 68
	\$127,839,736 77		\$127,839,736 77

Dr.

Balance Sheet.

Cr.

To Reserve for Policies in force and for risks terminated . .	\$112,430,096 00	By Bonds Secured by Mortgages on Real Estate	\$49,615,288 06
" Premiums received in advance ..	82,314 86	" United States and other Bonds ..	43,430,877 81
" Surplus at four per cent.....	6,394,441 52	" Real Estate and Loans on Collaterals.....	20,159,173 37
	\$118,806,851 88	" Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest	2,619,382 66
		" Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit and Sundries.....	2,973,169 98
			\$118,806,851 88

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884 .	\$34,671,420	\$351,799,295	\$4,743,771
1885 .	46,507,139	398,981,441	5,012,594
1886 .	56,582,719	393,909,203	5,643,593
1887.....	69,457,468	427,629,933	6,394,442

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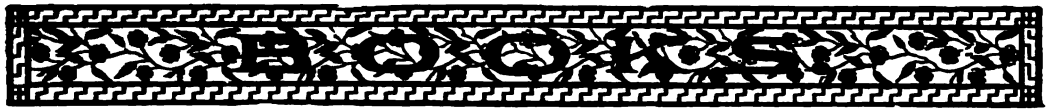
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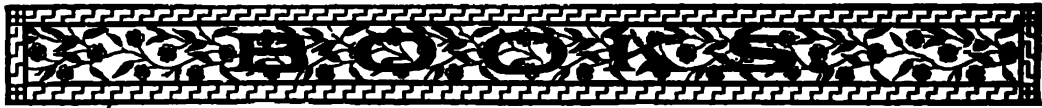
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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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No. 2

ROSCOE CONKLING

HIS HOME IN UTICA

WHEN the newspapers conveyed to the American public the tidings that Roscoe Conkling was confined to his house by painful illness, and a few days later it was flashed across the wires that his sickness was rapidly assuming serious proportions, never did the nation gather more anxiously around the bedside of a private citizen, or await with greater eagerness further information. Political differences, party animosities and animated criticism lost their bitterness, while profound sympathy for the sufferer and desire that he might live became universal. That the republic should watch with anxious solicitude those who administer its affairs and to whom it has committed vast responsibilities, is natural; but when one has laid down his public trusts, and found his way back to the comparative seclusion of private life, at this hour to become the subject of extended interest is phenomenal. Such, however, was the truth concerning the illness and the closing hours of the subject of this brief article.

Roscoe Conkling was born in Albany, October 30, 1829. He came of English ancestry. John Conkling, of Nottinghamshire, emigrated to this country and settled at Salem, Massachusetts; subsequently he removed to Long Island. Five generations later Benjamin Conkling became the father of Alfred, the father of Roscoe. Strong in mind, and passionately devoted to the profession of the law, Alfred Conkling rose to honor, and his affable manners gave him extended influence. He entered Union College in 1806; was graduated from the same in 1810, and in 1847 received from his alma mater the honorary title of LL.D. Soon after his admission to the bar he was appointed district-attorney of Montgomery County, New York; and by reason of his acknowledged abilities, was shortly afterward nominated and elected to represent this same district in the seventeenth Congress. At the close of his congressional term, President John Quincy Adams appointed him judge of the United States

district court for the northern district of New York, a position which he filled with great satisfaction until selected by President Fillmore as minister to the republic of Mexico. In politics Judge Conkling belonged to the school of Henry Clay, being a devout admirer of his principles and an earnest supporter of his policy. Fondness for literary pursuits led him to the revision and re-publication of several important works on law, among which are to be included a "Treatise on the Organization and Jurisdiction of the Supreme, Circuit, and District Courts of the United States;" two volumes entitled "Admiralty Jurisdiction;" also the "Powers of the Executive Department of the United States;" the "Young Citizen's Manual," and "Conkling's Treatise;" this last, a volume of reference to be found in every well-furnished legal library. He married Eliza Cockburn, born in Ulster County, New York, the daughter of James Cockburn, of Scotland, who, after a few years' residence in his native land went to the Bermudas, finally emigrating to America and settling in Kingston, New York, where he died a few weeks before the birth of this daughter.

The youngest of Judge Conkling's six children was Roscoe, whose uncommon name was given him through his father's admiration for the sterling character of the lamented William Roscoe, barrister, of England. The early school days of Roscoe were spent at Albany, attending the academy of that city, where he obtained his first desire for knowledge, and from the principal of that honored institution imbibed his love for the classics which, amid the busier moments of his later life, became his companions for consultation and review. On Judge Conkling's removal to Auburn his son followed him; but as that then humble village did not afford the desired facilities for the learning which the boy's ambition craved, Judge Conkling became his tutor. On the removal of the family to Utica, in the seventeenth year of Roscoe's age, an opportunity of entering the law office of Spencer & Kernan was eagerly embraced. Under the auspices of these distinguished jurists he diligently and patiently pursued his legal studies until admitted to the bar in 1850.

At this period Roscoe Conkling is described by those who knew him well as an overgrown, auburn-haired young man, impulsive in his manner, inclined to be self-willed, loyal to all who honored him with their confidence, fond of study, and while cherishing a growing love for his profession, taking great pleasure also in reading Shakespeare, Milton, and other classic authors of the Elizabethan era. Six months after his admission to the bar, by reason of the resignation of the previous incumbent, he received the appointment of district-attorney for Oneida county, New York;

and though but twenty-one years of age, it is the unanimous testimony of those acquainted with the service and the manner in which his duties were performed, that the experienced in the profession could not have been more faithful, or have rendered more honest and successful labor. Brought as young Conkling was by this public trust into intimate relations with the more prominent politicians of the period, and enjoying peculiar faculties for discerning the nature of a political life, from the time in which he accepted this position of attorney he may be said to have taken his first step in that career which gave to his later life its special force and coloring. The year 1850 to 1858 found him fully occupied, and gradually mastering the principles of law and government toward which his instincts were urging him. His devotion to study was conscientious; for he was as anxious to witness the application of law as to know its sweep and genius.

General and state and constitutional law received his attention as well as that which was more limited and local, so much so that when the hour came for his preferment, instead of advancing by gradual promotion from the district-attorneyship, he leaped by a single bound to the mayoralty of Utica. And it is pleasant to add that the records give unquestionable evidence, that of all who have ever occupied this honored position he was not only the youngest but was as faithful and as true to its responsibilities as those matured in years and experience. This was in 1858. At a subsequent election for mayor, owing to a tie vote he occupied the same position another year.

At the expiration of his service as mayor a wider field of usefulness opened to him; and as he had now fairly determined upon a political life, he was as anxious to possess that field as others far more experienced were that he should not. At this period, Hon. O. B. Matteson represented Mr. Conkling's congressional district, and although he had received the election four consecutive terms, he desired to be returned. Not a few, however, questioned his claim to such long occupancy of the distinguished position, and demanded that the nomination be proffered Mr. Conkling. As this proposal awakened dissensions in the party, and indirectly opened an easy way for the Democrats to carry off the prize, when the caucus was convened the name of Mr. Matteson was withdrawn, and the coveted nomination was cordially extended to Mr. Conkling, who subsequently was chosen. This election to Congress gave him unusual gratification, for while it revealed his personal popularity in his district, he at the same time read in it a reward for past devotion and labor to the party of his love. Now fairly upon the sea of political life, Mr. Conkling immediately gave himself anew to broader studies and purposes. National law, the true



THE HOME OF ROSCOE CONKLING, IN UTTICA

relations of a republic to nations glorying in monarchical government, the revenue, tariff, internal improvements, state rights and the many practical questions brought into new life by this excitement of the day, occupied his mind, his familiarity with which was afterwards wisely utilized when the nation was called upon to plainly define its policy.

The appearance of Mr. Conkling in Washington marked an entirely new epoch in his history, and, as he often observed, contributed largely to the formation, widening, and stability of his political opinions. New faces awoke within him new thoughts, and representatives from different sections of the country, with different needs, broadened his ideas and purposes. His associates in national affairs were all that could be desired. Unhappily, however, the horizon was darkening with the coming storm, and its early flash and thunder he soon saw and heard.

In the debates of this Congress, though looking to the preservation of the Union or its dismemberment, Mr. Conkling was more of a watcher and listener than participator; the official position given him was chairmanship of the committee on the District of Columbia. In 1860 Mr. Conkling, receiving a re-election to Congress, returned to Washington; at this time in addition to his previous position he was appointed chairman of the special committee on Bankrupt Law.

Civil war was now well upon the nation, nor were the wisest able to discern how best to act. Sectional affairs had become less and less national; nor did any one know how soon an overt act would be committed, more especially as it had been affirmed that no Northern man not in sympathy with slavery should ever become the ruler of the nation. Meanwhile to test and cement the sentiment of the people several amendments were proposed to the Constitution, among which one declaring that "no amendment shall be made to the Constitution which will give to Congress the power to abolish or interfere with slavery in the states," provoked profound discussion: and though many acknowledged and worthy representatives of the North were ready to support this resolution, Mr. Conkling sternly opposed the proffer of any such peace offering, preferring by far that the questions involved should be decided upon their intrinsic merits. The active part which Mr. Conkling took in the discussion of this and other proposed amendments revealed not only his power as a debater, but his views also in relation to the perpetuity of the Union. Remembering his home, his education, and the character of the district he represented, on the subject of the hour he was pronounced, plain and positive. In no sense had he desire for war or bloodshed, nor was he in favor of the abolition of slavery; he believed that if all could approach the questions at issue

with an honest calmness, and laying aside all selfish interests consider the vexing problems in a truly judicial temper, the gathering difficulties might be dissipated and possibly the land spared the sight of fratricidal strife. During this same exciting period Mr. Conkling made a number of vigorous speeches far in advance of his previous opinions, which easily indicated his attitude and claim as a successful leader. His voice and vote were for Union, nor in his mind could the thought of its dissolution be entertained without the utmost fears for the welfare of all our republican institutions. In one of his more important addresses during this period he declared that the people of the North regarded slavery as an "insatiate monster—an iron-heeled, marble-hearted oppressor demanding three victims, the slave, the master and the land." Though an ardent friend of a conservative compromise, when the war became inevitable he immediately gave an undivided support to the administration, and for its vigorous prosecution became one of its boldest advocates. One of the more important features of this Congress, wherein Mr. Conkling played no inconsiderable part, was his opposition to the "Legal Tender Act of 1862." Although the bill was inspired by Secretary Chase, and drawn and promoted by one of the representatives from New York, Mr. Conkling preferred the issue of an interest-bearing note based on taxation, holding the banks to special payment and borrowing the money where it could be secured. It was Mr. Conkling's first leap over the traces that had so clearly defined party action. He was too independent to vote for what he did not approve; and if the question be the displeasure of his political associates or a violation of what he looked upon as unsound policy, his preferences led him to accept the former. Happily his desertion from party lines neither weakened his personal influence nor led to any questioning concerning his sincerity or his integrity; but when his political movements in other relations were reviewed he found himself surrounded by enemies.

As few victories had crowned the army of the North during the memorable years of 1861 and 1862, and the people at large had become discouraged by the slow successes which had come to the Republic, at the congressional election during this latter year Mr. Conkling, with other failed of re-election. His professional rival in Utica, Hon. Francis K. Nan, afterward his colleague in the senate, became his successor. From this temporary relief from governmental service only made more certain Mr. Conkling's return, two years later, to Washington; and particularly so, as these same years were passed in discussing among his constituents the problems of the amendments to the Constitution, and establishing the correctness of his views on the Legal Tender and other important meas-



On resuming his seat in Congress, Mr. Conkling was made a member of the "Joint Committee on Reconstruction;" and since he believed in unfolding the principles therein involved, he

maintained that no plan should be seriously entertained that threatened the personal rights of the people or the maintenance of the Union.

He was willing that every male

of the South of legal age should be considered in this question, as well as the more favored at the North. His best reward for thus enfranchising the negro was practically the casting by the Southern delegation their solid votes for the nomination of General Grant in 1880. On the numerous perplexing questions of the hour he was given to great industry, and ever remained firm in demanding that the policy outlined by Mr. Lincoln should be the action of the government and the people. When Andrew Johnson became President, as his views differed so widely from those entertained by Mr. Conkling, a political unfriendliness broke out between them that time never healed. The "Civil Rights Bill" Mr. Conkling advocated with all his native earnestness, brilliancy of simile and stately



GROUNDS OF THE CONKLING MANSION IN UTICA.

rhetoric. President Johnson vetoed it. When returned to the House, Mr. Conkling again became its champion, and numbered himself among those who would pass it over the President's veto.

An unhappy episode seriously affecting the subsequent political destiny of Mr. Conkling, and which exerted a manifest influence over both of the chief national parties at this time, occurred during the sessions of the same Congress, which merits a passing reference. It is known as the "Conkling and Blaine controversy." It originated in Mr. Conkling's desire to amend a bill providing for the reorganization of the army of the United States, and indirectly the abolishing of the Provost Marshal Bureau. As the friends of the provost marshal then in office viewed the efforts of Mr. Conkling as an attack on that public servant, his strong personal allusions were met by Mr. Blaine with denial equally as strong and personal. Later, when a communication was read before the house throwing light upon some of the points in question, from the dignity of debate these two leaders passed to an interchange of opinions, one of the other, in which parliamentary law and right seem to have been forgotten for the privilege of indulging in personal allusion and animosity; an occurrence as undesirable in its bearings as that which years before alienated those noble friends and builders of our republic, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson. That same year witnessed the election again of Mr. Conkling to Congress, but before resuming his seat he was chosen to succeed Hon. Ira Harris in the senate of the United States.

Now a member of the senate, Mr. Conkling was no less conspicuous in its proceedings than he had been while serving in the house. During his first term President Johnson came up for impeachment "for high crimes and misdemeanors," in which he took an active part. He also favored the "Electoral Commission bill," and had he not expressed an opinion on the real points at issue, or become a juror anterior to the consideration of the disputed question, no doubt he would have been made a member of that commission. He advocated, likewise, the resumption of specie payments, and took an efficient part in the varied judicial matters of which committee he was a member. At one period we find him also chairman of the committee on "Commerce," and on the "Revision of the Laws."

But while national interests were ever in his mind, the political condition of his own state seemed to require special consideration. In fact, his elevation to the senate he accepted as a commission of his party's leadership in his state. Rivalries had arisen and factions had been born that imperiled the unity and influence of his party. The bone of contention in the main was federal patronage, the strife culminating over the



ENTRANCE TO THE CONKLING MANSION IN UTICA.

appointment of a collector at New York—Mr. Conkling winning. From this time forward the interests of the opposing faction waned, leaving him master of the situation, and for a few following years absolute monarch of the national patronage within the territorial boundary of his state. During Mr. Conkling's senatorship he formed with General Grant that remarkable intimacy and firm friendship, which amid all the varying changes of subsequent years never wavered. He had been an admirer of General Grant from the opening of the civil war. Recognizing his abilities as a military leader, and knowing his intense loyalty to the principles which underlie the permanency of free institutions, and acquainted with his bravery and heroism, Mr. Conkling was the first to move a vote of thanks to be given him for his victories at Belmont and Fort Donelson. Grant and Conkling thought alike and fought alike. And though there were frequent occasions during the war for grounds of mistrust among its leading spirits, confidence in these two sons of the republic never abated or suffered the feeblest check. Each toward the other was ever the same in peace, in war, in office, and as private citizens. It was natural, there-

fore when General Grant became President, and Mr. Conkling represented in the senate the empire state, that the former should turn to his friend for counsel and depend upon him largely for the success of such governmental measures as wisdom and patriotism necessarily dictated. Nor did the President turn to him in vain. It could be shown that during these days Mr. Conkling was the real power behind the throne, and his personal views and belief colored many of the bills which received the Presidential signature.

But while loving and confidential relations existed between the President and the New York senator, the party of which they were the acknowledged heads was seriously disturbed by internal feuds and dissensions. As the term of President Grant drew to a close, not a few thought that the interests of the party in power could be best subserved by the election of Mr. Greeley to the Presidency, and grafting on the nation some of the peculiar views of which he was chief exponent. Into this opening and threatened misfortune Mr. Conkling boldly leaped. Reviewing the history and the achievements of the administration, with argument and appeal accompanied with a rhetoric whose beauty and force charmed his enemies, he discussed the creed under which the party had been acting, and showed so plainly the righteousness of its acts and claim to popular support that the breach began to close; thus removing many difficulties which had so seriously threatened its unity and usefulness. The party in power greatly appreciated these services, and a little later contributed to the re-nomination and re-election of General Grant to the Presidency. Not the least who acknowledged the influence of Mr. Conkling during these troublous days was Grant himself; as on the death of the chief justice of the United States he offered him the position thus made vacant. No doubt the humiliating defeat of Mr. Greeley, who had been regarded by some as an available candidate for the Presidency, and the unknown number of liberal Republicans that followed him into the Democratic party, was a potent factor in preventing four years later Mr. Conkling's own nomination for this exalted position; and which also some eight years after led him to seek the quiet of private life. It is an open secret that President Grant desired Roscoe Conkling to be his successor.

As the second term of President Grant drew to a close, no one perhaps was more intensely desirous that he receive a third nomination than Mr. Conkling. A convention held in New York sympathized with this purpose, and before adjournment adopted a resolution by which the utmost efforts were to be used to secure Grant's re-nomination and a pledge given for his support. Notwithstanding, however, the untiring efforts of Mr.

Conkling, when the convention met in Chicago, Mr. Garfield was chosen to bear the standard ; a disappointment, it is believed, far more severe to Mr. Conkling than the dropping of his own name four years before at Cincinnati, and the nomination of Rutherford B. Hayes for the Presidency. The firmness and boldness displayed by Mr. Conkling on this occasion are national and historic. Few ever manifested greater influence over men, nor was there ever exhibited deeper loyalty on the part of free citizens to their acknowledged head and leader. On the opening of this new canvass Mr. Conkling at first was reluctant in taking active part, but when he learned that the old Republican state of Maine had gone Greenback, laying aside all personal feeling and at large sacrifice of opportunity, in company with his tried friend, ex-President Grant, he immediately entered the political field, and canvassed the doubtful state of New York. But even his own successes and the election of James A. Garfield failed to heal the wounds which had so recently been made. On the other hand, when later pledges said to have been made to him by the then President-elect were left unredeemed, immediately a coolness was born between these two distinguished men which the grave wisely and forever conceals. On the death of President Garfield, General Chester A. Arthur became President. As a recognition of Mr. Conkling's services to the party, as well as for the numerous political and personal favors he had received at his hands, Mr. Arthur offered him the position of associate justice of the Supreme Court, an honor which Mr. Conkling was led to decline. From this time forward Mr. Conkling's face was turned toward the life of a private citizen, and this growing desire became confirmed on discovering that certain individuals were placed in positions of influence which he thought others should have occupied. Finding his wishes thus wholly disregarded, he concluded that the hour which for years he had been anticipating had really come when he should lay his resignation before the senate and the governor of his state, which was done in May, 1881, and on its acceptance Mr. Conkling found himself once more in the anxiously-coveted walks of private life. Choosing now the city of New York as his temporary home, he immediately resumed the full practice of law. Important cases soon fell into his hands, employing not only his time but which afforded him also liberal recompense. He was active in his profession till the visitation of the bitter blizzard of March last, when he contracted a severe cold which developed into an inflammation of the tympanum of the ear, followed by meningitis, which ended his life April 18th, 1.50 A.M. He hoped to have spent his last days at his beautiful home in Utica, and have passed his last hours in the same chamber in which Hon. Horatio

Seymour died ; but the suddenness and rapid development of his disease made this oft-expressed purpose wholly impossible. After impressive services both in New York City and in Utica, his remains were borne to Forest Hill Cemetery and laid in the family plot beside his kindred.

Mr. Conkling married Miss Julia Catharine Seymour, the youngest sister of Horatio Seymour and daughter of Hon. Henry Seymour. Their only child, Eliza Cockburn, is the wife of Mr. Walter G. Oakman, of New York.

The character of Mr. Conkling, if examined by a pure lens and not through the disordered optic of party, was as marked and decided as his life. Few of our republic's illustrious sons were watched more closely, fewer still have been more diversely measured. Entering public life at one of the crucial periods in the nation's history, when prejudices were deepening and ripening, new problems unfolding, important issues at stake, and to meet the recurring exigencies immediate action was often demanded, many have judged him purely by these emergencies, the manner in which they were met, and how under them he deported himself.

Physically he was possessed of a strong constitution, and in height, muscle and robustness was far beyond the average. Honoring his body as a sacred gift he always gave it regular exercise, and was solicitous that it should receive no harm. He was an unusual walker, an adept in calisthenics, and something of an athlete. As in body so was he in mind. Naturally it was strong, firm, comprehensive and exacting ; ever willing to employ it in fathoming truth, and have it confronted with severe and exhausting questions. He was ready in acquisition and in memory remarkable. The stories illustrating his ability to memorize are almost fabulous. Not only could he repeat unnumbered lines from his favorite poet, but after a single careful reading was able to recall an entire composition. Some of the odes of Horace as well as a portion of Homer he learned by a double reading. In the morning he could commit a speech many newspaper columns in length, and the same evening deliver it with an accuracy that reporters with printed slips before them need scarcely change. This facility in acquisition greatly enriched his vocabulary, and on all occasions gave him unusual fluency in expression. As a thinker Mr. Conkling was clear, close and thorough, nor would he entertain the thought of resting in the investigation of a theme till he had reached its foundation. The intricacies of thought, syllogism, antithesis were pleasurable paths and possessed for him valued fruit. In his studies he was wholly independent, always looking upon personal conclusions as more weighty and convincing than the labors of others. His mind was also as judicial as



DRAWING-ROOM OF THE CONKLING MANSION IN UTICA.

original and comprehensive. The more difficult points in jurisprudence he coveted and welcomed; he delighted in rugged thought and in considering and weighing decisions. His power as a lawyer was immense, and his fame as counselor, debater and advocate will be lasting. His knowledge of law, of human nature, and of his surroundings enforced by great personality and with language sharp, clear, impetuous, gave him unusual precedence over his fellows, and frequently secured him an easy victory. In his opinion every legal case had two sides, and the one needed to be as well considered as the other. His facility in securing and marshaling facts, and method of concentrating them till all fell as a single force upon an audience or a jury, were amazing. The larger number of juries promptly accepted his conclusions. On such occasions, as well as on those more public, his brilliant rhetoric would so burnish his sentiments that severe reproof and unwelcome truths would often pass wholly unchallenged. While he had neither the solemnity nor weight of Webster, or the mild-

ness and fluency of Clay, still less the fervor and flame of Douglas, he surpassed all these in decision, directness and repartee. Many easily exceeded him in wit, and outranked him in elegance of expression, but in irony and satire he had no superior. It is said that Charles Sumner regarded him as "the best knower of English to its last shadow" of all who in his days sat in the senate. A dangerous antagonist, a bold hard-hitter and at times passionate and tragical, he was courteous however toward the sincere, but resolved and firm that the false and deceiving should not prevail. Scenes where others were appalled nerved him to greater effort. Neither threat nor temptation could wean him from right, nor flattery recast his opinion or change his attitude. If he was exclusive, it was on his political and not on his human side. He was the very soul of honor. Abhorring all shams of whatsoever nature, he made them the objects of special attack, using the freest speech. His integrity was sublime; and to his last hour glittered as a star in the sombre dome of heaven. No spoils were ever traced to his hand, for he served the public—not himself. He would

"Rather be a dog, and bay the moon,
Than such a Roman!"

In fact as many of his contemporaries in political life with advancing years became richer and richer, he became poorer and poorer. His uprightness, honesty and probity have invested his name with a glory that will enlarge as his motives are known and his acts become understood. In his friendships he was quick and sensitive, but when broken resentment was well nigh implacable. Recalling the period in which he lived, the important measures so often in peril, and the need of concerted action it could not well have been otherwise. His frailties were those which encircled the neck of strength, and which brought into bold relief his golden virtues. In his inner heart he deplored his infirmities, and his consciousness of them proved no light burden. No one could touch his personality without peril, or impugn his selfhood with complacency. Blended with the courage of his convictions you always found the courage of contempt. Mr. Conkling's partisanship was intense; his abilities to lead have never been questioned. When his motives were suspected or doubted he became imperious; and it grew as intrigue imperiled the right and principle was being set aside by petty schemes of selfishness. Often his imperiousness meant life—life for the cause—life for the truth. In the rôle of statesman his zeal, patriotism, purity of purpose and devotion to what he regarded as the wise policy of the republic, no one, not even the loudest of his political foes, ever doubted. Thoroughly American in his views he was as sagacious as he was

positive; never losing sight of great fundamental truths, or forgetting the rights and liberties of the many or the privileges of the few. He constantly labored to strengthen the arm of authority, and if need be to coerce the minority into silence. Confiding implicitly in the integrity of a free people, he respected their opinions and accepted promptly honest decisions. Freedom of thought—of person—of justice—of election—were potent factors in his creed, and for their attainment he labored for the wisest legislation. The country—the whole country and the development with the perpetuity of her institutions—formed his constant aim and was the goal of his ambition. It therefore hardly need be added that in his decease the nation lost one of its most active patriots, and his native state an honored, loyal son, whose undeviating devotion to free institutions in war and in peace, and in peace and war, shall be cherished as an inheritance to her children and her children's children to the remotest age. High in the royal pantheon of America's worthies stands the name of Roscoe Conkling.

Isaac J. Hartley.

ABOUT PHILADELPHIA IN 1750

Philadelphia was literally a city of "brotherly love" until the middle of the eighteenth century. There was not a fort nor a battery, and not a gun within her borders; the city lay a tempting prize that even any well-armed privateer could seize and sack. The French war had spread terror throughout the land, and the other colonies were active in preparations for defence. Franklin tried to counteract the Quaker influence, through pamphlets which pictured the prospective horrors of an attack upon the city by the vilest and most abandoned of mankind, and finally an association was formed for military exercise, and companies united into a regiment.

As there was not a serviceable cannon in all Pennsylvania, a lottery—the usual expedient for raising money at that period—was instituted, and through its services some old cannon obtained from Boston. A battery of logs and earth was thrown up below the town and the cannon mounted. It was however esteemed insufficient defence in case of sudden assault, and Philadelphia sent two or three of her best men to New York to borrow cannon. Governor Clinton [the English governor of that name] at first refused to lend; but at dinner with his council, where wine flowed freely and fast, he softened by degrees, and finally said Philadelphia should have the loan of six. After a few more bumpers he advanced to ten; and at length he very good naturedly conceded eighteen. These guns were transported to Philadelphia, and henceforward a nightly guard was maintained until the end of the war.

The young Quakers, and not a few of their elders, secretly rejoiced in such warlike measures, notwithstanding their peace principles. Some amusing anecdotes are related of the various expedients by which money was raised for the unfriendly "pounders." The Union Fire Company, which consisted of twenty-two Quakers and eight firemen of other persuasions, had £60 in their treasury, which Franklin proposed should be expended in buying tickets in the cannon lottery. At the meeting, when the votes were to be taken, only one Quaker was present to oppose the proceeding. In the midst of the dispute a private message was brought to Franklin that eight Quakers were at a tavern near by, ready to sustain the cannon enterprise, if needed, but hoping they should not be called upon to vote against their own sect if the point could be carried without their assistance. Secure of a majority, the matter was so arranged that the

resolution succeeded without bringing them to the front. "If we fail," said Franklin to one of the eight before the result was accomplished, "let us move the purchase of a *fire-engine* with the money; the Quakers can have no objection to that; and then if you nominate me, and I you, as a committee for that purpose, we will buy a great gun, which is certainly a *fire-engine*."

Philadelphia then stretched along the Delaware a mile or more, extended inland perhaps half a mile, and was a great sombre, shady village of Quaker aspect. The houses were chiefly of brick and stone, and nearly all built after the same pattern. Handsome gardens and stately old trees encompassed them. Orchards planted with mathematical precision flourished on every side, fruit abounded, every family kept cows; and bears, wolves and wild turkeys were often shot within eight miles of the State House. The Quakers numbered about one-third of the population of the town, and were thrifty and sedate. They moved in certain grooves, just as they laid out the city in exact squares. Life was slow in those days at the best. There was none of the fuss and flurry which came later with the steam engine, with banking, with cotton, with the daily newspaper, and with the railroad and the telegraph. The people were just beginning to regard with awe the placing of sharp-pointed iron rods upon the tops of buildings, to draw the electrical fire from thunderstorms before it came nigh enough to strike.

The Germans were coming in rapidly. Many proceeded at once into the interior. In 1749 twenty-five shiploads—in all twelve thousand—landed in Philadelphia; nor was this number above the average of several other years. These were slow but industrious. Prior to 1750 the whole internal commerce of Philadelphia was performed by means of pack-horses. There was quite an interchange of commodities with the Indians in times of peace, which was the source of much wealth to the inhabitants. Great fortunes, however, centred in a few; so few that long before the Revolution "Society" consisted, as Mrs. Adams records, of a single set, and that set so limited that the parties usually consisted of the same persons. The governor, two or three officials, a great lawyer or two, a doctor or two, half a dozen families retired from business, a dozen merchants who had been enriched by the complicated and circuitous commerce of the place, and some other persons, constituted the entire circle of those who had leisure enough for the elegant enjoyments of life. Philadelphia had no great staple such as tobacco, rice, or codfish, and no extensive manufactures. From Great Britain were imported more than ten times the amount of what it exported to the mother country. This was accomplished

through trade with the West Indies, Portugal and Spain. No article of produce was received in England which interfered with England's own. "We were therefore," said Franklin, "obliged to run the world over in search of something that would be received. We sent our provisions and lumber to the West Indies, and exchanged them for sugars, cotton, etc., to remit. We brought molasses from thence, distilled it into rum, with which we traded in Africa, and remitted the gold dust obtained there to England. We engaged in fisheries, and sent the fish we caught, together with quantities of wheat, flour and rice, to Spain and Portugal, whence the amount was remitted to England in cash or bills of exchange. Great quantities of our rice went to Holland, Hamburg, etc., and the value of that also was sent to Great Britain."

Philadelphia being a less intellectual town in 1750 than Boston, its orthodoxy was comparatively milder. There was no deep, soul-rending controversies on matters of religion; every man was allowed to have his own way. The Episcopalians and the Presbyterians, unlike those of New York, dwelt in peace and harmony together. The most violent church contests of ancient Philadelphia occurred in the old German Reformed Church in 1786; but it was merely a struggle between two preachers for the possession of the pulpit. The Rev. Mr. Slaughter, from Holland, had been conducting service for about a year, when another clergyman arrived who "by his artful behavior so insinuated himself into the favor of the congregation" that the chagrined Mr. Slaughter lost almost half his audience. The two ministers then disputed for several Sundays about the pulpit; it was said that on one occasion the newcomer mounted the sacred desk on a Saturday and stayed in it all night. Mr. Slaughter being thus excluded, his friends in the audience fell upon the friends of the other minister and a terrible scrimmage was the result, the parties beating each other until they "had made themselves the subject of the laughter and of the scorn of the whole town."

The staple books were almanacs, hymn books, rudimental school books, and low-priced volumes or pamphlets of religious controversy. It was not safe to publish any book higher priced than eighteen pence, except by subscription. In the market place stood the whipping-post, the pillory, and the stocks, all in frequent use. Women were publicly whipped as late as 1760. If a husband murdered his wife he was hanged: if a woman killed her husband she was burned. Slaves who killed their masters were burned. Printers derived a large part of their revenue from advertising runaway slaves. The white servants who had sold their service for a term of years to pay for their passage from Europe, were very much in the habit of dis-

appearing. It was probably the extreme difficulty of inducing dependants of this description to serve out their time which led to the discontinuance of the system. Colored slaves were more manageable, and they were being constantly bought and sold.

Everybody wore wigs in 1750 except convicts and slaves. Boys wore them, servants wore them, Quakers wore them, paupers wore them. The making of wigs was an important branch of industry in Great Britain. Wigs were of many styles and prices. Some dangled with curls; and they were designated by a great variety of names such as tyes, bobs, majors, spencers, foxtails, twists, têtes, scratches, full-bottomed dress bobs, cues, and perukes. The people of Philadelphia dressed as the actors of our theatres now dress in old English comedy. They walked the streets in bright-colored and highly-decorated coats, three cornered hats, ruffled shirts and wristbands, knee breeches, silk stockings, low shoes and silver buckles.

The Assembly of Pennsylvania was a miniature parliament. The early minutes of this body show that the members in William Penn's time took their dinners with them to the House [the house being a school-room hired for twenty shillings the session], and not infrequently adjourned for an hour to warm themselves. They paid their clerk four shillings a day, and fined absentees ten pence. They often sat in silence meditating, as at a Quaker meeting; and they passed moral laws, forbidding the drinking of healths and the spreading of false news. But in 1750 the house could bother, torment, and drive into uncontrollable wrath almost any governor whom England saw fit to appoint. We read of riotous elections, of warm debates and dull debates, of party maneuvers to circumvent an administration which could not be defeated, and almost every other parliamentary feature even to the exclusion of spectators and reporters.

The office-seeker was, from all accounts, the same being as now. An amusing anecdote is told of James Otis in this connection. "They talk of sending me to the General Court," he remarked to a friend.

"You will never succeed in the General Court," was the quick retort.

"Not succeed! And why not, pray?"

"Why, Mr. Otis, you have ten times the learning and much greater abilities than I have, but you know nothing of human nature."

"Indeed! I wish you would give me some lessons."

"I will with pleasure. In the first place, what meeting do you go to?"

"Dr. Sewall's."

"Very well; you must stand up in sermon-time; you must look devout and deeply attentive. Do you have family prayers?"

"No."

"It were well if you did. What does your family consist of?"

"Why, only four or five persons, commonly; but at this time I have, in addition, one of Dr. Sewall's saints, who is a nurse of my wife."

"Ah! that is the very thing. You must talk religion with her in a very serious manner; you must have family prayers at least once while she is in your house. That woman can do you more harm or more good than any other person; she will spread your fame throughout the congregation. I can also tell you, by way of example, some of the steps I take. Two or three weeks before an election comes on I send to the cooper and get all my casks put in order—I say nothing about the number of hoops. I send to the mason and have some jobs done to the hearths or the chimneys. I have the carpenter make some repairs on the roof of the wood-house. I often go down to the ship-yards about eleven o'clock, when they break off to take their drinks, and converse with them. They all vote for me."

These were what might be called political manœuvres of the olden time. And nowhere were they more prevalent than in Philadelphia. The results were in many instances of great moment. The Pennsylvania Hospital was established not far from this date by means of a trick which Franklin played upon the Assembly. He asked for a grant of £2,000, not to be paid until it should be shown that the public had voluntarily contributed £2,000. Thus the bill was carried, for the members who had opposed the grant, and now conceived that they might have the credit of being charitable without the expense, agreed to its passage; and in soliciting subscriptions among the people, the conditional promise of the law was urged as an additional motive to give, since every man's donation would be doubled. Thus, the clause that gave force to the bill worked both ways. A year or two later the corner-stone was laid of the institution which has grown with the growth of Philadelphia until it now ranks among the best establishments of its kind on the globe.

Philadelphia was excessively self-respecting even in her tender youth. She vigorously repudiated the vanity of concealing virtuous actions, like her great philosopher, Franklin, who said, "Those who refrain from praising themselves are apt to gratify their self-love by censuring others, which is a kind of indirect self-praise." Then, again, he said, "If people make it a dead secret what they think of themselves, how are they ever to be set right if their opinions are erroneous?" If Franklin could have lived until 1888, he would have had the supreme satisfaction of witnessing the consummation of what he so ardently desired when he exclaimed, "I wish the out-of-fashion practice of praising ourselves would, like other old fashions, come round into fashion again."

PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF GENERAL GRANT

At Washington, in 1867, I made the acquaintance of General Grant. I had a letter of introduction to him from a mutual friend which I felt assured would command for me a favorable reception—especially as my friend was not a politician, and was the owner of a stud of horses; which latter fact would, I believed, if anything could, open the mouth of the “Great Unspeakable” as the General was then designated. I was not, however, burning with that intense curiosity to know the hero personally which so largely prevailed, and I very much doubted if an interview at that time, when he was completely in the hands of the politicians who were shaping his course for the Presidency, would not bore him. President Johnson had succeeded Lincoln, and the War Department had just been handed over to General Grant.

Finding myself one morning in that Department, and learning that the General was alone and unoccupied in his room, I sent in my card and note of introduction, with a message to the effect that I had no business whatever to transact with the Secretary of War, and would take another opportunity to present myself if he was then engaged. He received me at once, also my wife who chanced to be with me. The General was standing with his back to the fireplace and apparently without any preoccupation of mind. I introduced my wife, remarking that I had called simply for the pleasure of making his acquaintance. I paused for him to speak; he had briefly said “Good-morning” to us, and for the space of several seconds this appeared to be all he had to say. We were not asked to be seated, nor did his grave countenance evince the slightest desire to continue the conversation. Had I not been prepared for considerable reticence on his part, I should have at once retired. As it was, I suggested that perhaps I was interrupting him in some occupation.

“No,” he said, “I was not doing anything.”

This assertion would have been comforting had he followed it up by any other remark, however commonplace, but he continued immovable in the same position and another awkward silence ensued. I alluded to the business of the War Department, and to the probable annoyances to which he was subjected. “No;” he “wasn’t much troubled in that way.”

This topic proving a failure, I referred to my friend, whose letter I had just presented, and asked if he had lately seen any of his horses? This

was a happy hit and broke the ice directly. General Grant's face lighted up as if immensely relieved by the introduction of a genial subject, and asking us to be seated, ran on glibly about a certain colt belonging to our mutual friend, which, in his opinion, promised to be a good trotter. Unfortunately for me, I was but an indifferent judge of horseflesh, and knew little of my friend's colt ; but I managed to keep the General on the track, which, with the occasional introduction of other topics, consumed a half hour of pleasant conversation. This was interrupted by the entrance of one of the functionaries of the Department, and we took our leave, the General asking me to call again. A few evenings later I met the General at a party at Senator Hooper's. The rooms were very crowded and I was passing him with a simple salutation, when he inquired for my wife. I pointed her out in a corner of the room, where on one side of her was a vacant chair. The General remarked that he would go and see her, and pushing through the crowd made for the vacant chair, from which he never moved until supper was announced, when he took the lady in.

I met him again at a reception at Secretary McCulloch's, standing before the buffet, and asked him to join me in a glass of wine. He did not seem averse to it but with a very mournful expression said, "I do not drink anything." This I was subsequently told had been the case for some time. I changed the subject to that of an engraving hanging on the wall directly in front of us—a striking likeness of the First Napoleon—and asked what he thought of it. He regarded the picture earnestly, as if carefully examining the features, and made no reply. I waited with some curiosity to hear his opinion, for Grant was held to be a sphinx, generally speechless, but who when moved to utterance spoke with oracular wisdom. His continued silence suggested to me that possibly he did not know for whom the likeness was intended, so I repeated my question mentioning the hero's name. After further contemplation of the engraving he pronounced his criticism, which was, "A very *pretty* picture, isn't it?"

Be it remembered that Grant was emphatically a soldier, and to force extraneous matters upon such a man is not a very fair way to obtain an estimate of his mental qualities. It was toward the close of his first term of the Presidency that I saw him again. In the course of conversation he voluntarily mentioned a foreign mission which would shortly be vacant. "I must accept his resignation," he said, referring to the then incumbent, "although I hate to do so, *he is so poor*." Trifling as was the remark, it indicated the kind sensibilities of the great hero.

In after years I met Grant on three occasions. One was at Constantinople during his famous journey "round the world." His arrival in the

city of the Sultan would have excited more attention than it did, if public interest had not been concentrated upon events of great political importance. The Russian-Turkish war was over, and the Russian troops and their gallant commanders were concentrated within a few miles of Stamboul, while the British fleet of "observation" was at anchor in the bay of Bes-sica, relatively at the same distance from the capital. Pera, the Christian quarter, was in a great state of excitement, and the glittering uniforms of distinguished Russian officers made the scene one of especial brilliancy. Under these circumstances our great General had been some hours ashore before the fact was known to even the foreign ambassadors, who are generally on the *qui vive* for notable events. When I called at the United States legation to pay my respects to the General and Mrs. Grant, I found an earnest discussion going on as to the course of procedure to be adopted with respect to the interchange of visits between the ex-President and the diplomatic body. The question was, ought General Grant to call first upon them, or they upon him? There was no precedent in this case to govern procedure, and whether the distinguished visitor should be considered as traveling *ex officio* was a mooted question. Official etiquette, as is well known, and most especially official etiquette in Eastern countries, is an almost religious observance, and cannot be violated in any of its prescribed technicalities with impunity. It is in no sense a personal matter, and however much a foreign ambassador might desire to waive formalities under certain circumstances, he cannot do so without endangering a system to which he is a bound servant. Hence the great importance, in one sense of a most unimportant matter in another sense.

Being asked for my opinion, I gave it without hesitation; but, to at least one of the gentlemen present, it was not acceptable. As to the General he was, with his usual modesty, quite indifferent, and would as willingly have made the first advances to the foreign diplomats as to have waited for them to call upon him. What I feared was, that if the question of precedence was not settled at once, and if either party hesitated as to what was expected by the other, some unpleasant circumstance might arise in that sensitive and gossiping community which would mar the pleasure of the General's visit. It might prove to be another illustration of "misunderstanding" handed down to us in historic doggerel.

"Lord Chatham, with his sword undrawn,
Was *waiting* for Sir Richard Strachen;
Sir Richard, longing to be at 'm,
Was *waiting* for the Earl of Chatham."

I had a business engagement that day with the British ambassador, and thinking it best to study sentiment in that quarter, I left the disputants, and quietly slipping out of the apartment drove to the English embassy. When the business discussion was over, the ambassador asked if it was true that General Grant was in town. I replied that I had just left him at the American legation. A silence ensued, during which I fancied his excellency was revolving "the question" in his mind. At last he asked, very naively: "Shall I call upon him?"

I replied that the General would undoubtedly be most happy to see him, but that he had better call as soon as convenient, if he wished to find him, as I did not know what his engagements might be. "Then I'll go at once," he remarked, and rang the bell for his carriage. Sir Henry Layard had traveled sufficiently, and was too much a man of sound common sense to split straws of etiquette where an American ex-President was concerned.

"Shall I give him a dinner?" said the ambassador.

"The General and Mrs. Grant," I replied, "will be very sensible of your kindness, Sir Henry."

On my way back to our legation I met the French ambassador walking, and alighted and joined him. I remarked that I supposed he was on his way to call on General Grant. "No," he said, he "expected *le grand homme* would call upon *him*." I mentioned that the British ambassador was already on his way to our legation.

"Are you sure of that?" he asked.

"Quite sure," I replied, "there he goes," as his excellency's equipage swept past us.

"Then I'll go," he said, and we walked together to the legation.

I stopped on the way to leave a card for Count Corti, the Italian minister, on which I wrote a few words. When we arrived at our legation the servant informed us that General Grant, with Mr. Maynard, the American minister, had just left the house to call on the diplomatic body. Thus, without compromise on either side, one of those awkward "incidents" was happily avoided, and when the General and the foreign functionaries returned to their respective houses, they discovered that, moved by a similar impulse of international courtesy, they had been exchanging cards.

General Grant enjoyed his visit to Constantinople, and under the courteous hospitality of the Imperial government saw everything of interest—but one thing—that there was to see in that unique capital. The one thing he failed to see was the splendid body of Russian troops at San

Stefano, an hour by rail from Constantinople. I conveyed to him a pressing invitation from Count General Ignatieff, the Russian ambassador, to make him a visit, with the additional inducement to witness a review of the troops, under the Grand Duke Nicolas, for his especial benefit. This would have been highly gratifying to General Grant, and he wished to accept the invitation. Unfortunately, he yielded to the impolitic advice of others, who were of opinion that, owing to the antagonistic feelings towards the victorious Russians on the part of the Ottoman government, the visit would be considered an offense towards his imperial hosts. General Ignatieff, as well as his wife, were greatly disappointed, and expressed their astonishment and regret in very decided language.

It was during this visit to Constantinople, and while narrating to General Grant, in private conversation, some of the concluding incidents of the Russian-Turkish war, that he remarked: "Had I been in command of the Russian army, I would have entered Stamboul, made my terms of peace *there*, and informed the Powers that the army would evacuate the capital when those terms had been agreed to." Subsequently, the General repeated this opinion in the presence of others, one of whom, in print, reports him as having added a sweeping remark about "driving the Turks into Asia," which, however, he did not make in his conversation with me.*

The next occasion when I met General Grant was at a reception in Paris at the house of the United States minister, General Noyes. The room was crowded, and after Grant had gone through with the process of handshaking, inevitable on such occasions, he seized the first convenient opportunity to retreat to the smoking room. There, at General Noyes' request, I joined him. So dense was the tobacco smoke when I entered the room that the General and some dozen gentlemen seated beside him were almost invisible. As I approached, he took his cigar case from his pocket and offered me a huge Havana. I asked permission to smoke one of my own cigarettes.

"So far as I, personally, am concerned," the General said, "I've no objection to your doing so, provided the other gentlemen do not object—to the smoke."

This was the nearest approach to humor I had ever observed in him, although he possessed it, in a quiet degree, more than was generally supposed. He watched the process of cigarette smoking with interest and at last

* I once asked the Grand Duke Nicolas, then in command of the Russian division in Turkey, why he had not occupied Stamboul, quoting the precedent of the German occupation of Paris during the late war. "We had plenty of precedents," he replied, "but it would have set Europe in a blaze had we done so."

asked "what possible pleasure I found in smoking a roll of paper." The question excited the risibility of the circle of gentlemen around him, some of whom were journalists; one of the number I observed was privately taking notes of the General's conversation, which I dare say duly appeared in the newspaper he represented. I asked Grant about his passage across the Atlantic, and he said that although very stormy, he had not "missed a single cigar." One day in fact, as he sat on the deck smoking, the roll of the ship sent his chair from under him and, as he remarked, "I came down on my"—"On your *feet*, General, as you always do," interrupted a witty friend.

The last interview I had with the General was in New York in 1883. At his request I called upon him at his office on one of the upper floors of the building at the corner of Wall street and Broadway, where, after the "fitful fever" of his military and political life, he was occupying the comparatively humble position of president of a Mexican railroad company. The table before him was piled with unfolded newspapers, in the reading of which he had been engaged when I entered. A box of cigars was at his elbow, which he pushed towards me when I took my seat, as a necessary adjunct to conversation. He seemed glad of the interruption my visit afforded to what, no doubt, was a very humdrum and monotonous occupation; for at that time "Unconditional-Surrender Grant," like all his predecessors in the Presidency, had surrendered the excitements and adulation of high position to the inevitable semi-obscurity of private life. We talked for nearly an hour without any interruption upon public affairs, especially upon the prospects for the Presidency. He had taken it for granted that the Republican candidate, whoever he might be, would be elected, and expressed his views rather freely upon the qualifications and disqualifications of the men from whom a selection would probably be made. Then giving the conversation a personal turn he spoke with the almost plaintive language of a child of the frequent and undeserved attacks upon him by certain newspapers, for which he said he could not account. He referred to the many and true personal friends, who remained as faithful to him as when he was in office, at which time selfish considerations might have been ascribed to them.

Charles H. Tuckerman.

THE CONQUEST OF THE MAYAS

MONTEJO IN THE INTERIOR, AND FOUNDATION OF MERIDA

(Part III. Conclusion from page 536, Vol. XIX.)

To make them believe that they feared no multitude, the soldiers decided to go and meet the warriors. They went fifteen miles east to Tixkokob, where a body of men were stationed behind strong barricades. A battle ensued in which the Spaniards and their allies came off victorious. On their return to Hò, they found that the son of the Adelantado had arrived with yet more men from Campeche. In order to procure food for so many men and horses, expeditions went out from the camp every day. One morning, some foragers came in haste to tell Don Francisco that a great throng of armed men was approaching, one in their midst being borne in a palanquin. When near, this one alighted from his conveyance, and approaching the camp, threw his bow and arrows on the ground, uniting his hands and uplifting them in token of peace. All his followers at the same time cast down their bows and arrows, and touching the ground with their finger-tips, afterward kissed them in sign of submission and friendship. Their chief then ascended the elevation, and Montejo stepped forward to meet him, taking him by the hand and leading him to his own quarters.

This chief, then considered the greatest in the land, was Tutul Xiu, of Nahuatl, not Maya descent. He voluntarily came to offer obedience, and his services in subjugating the other inhabitants. He brought turkeys, fruits, and many welcome gifts, declaring that the perseverance and daring of the white men had made him wish to become their friend and a Christian. He begged the general to perform some religious rite at once, which request was complied with, Montejo going through a solemn adoration of the cross, the chief imitating everything and concluding by going on his knees and kissing the object of worship.

Tutul remained two months with the white men, then, leaving them well provided, returned to his province to acquaint all his people with his wishes and resolve. He sent ambassadors to the lords of Sotuta, the Cocoms, and to others in the eastern part of the land. Prince Nachi Cocom received the embassy, which, in the name of Tutul Xiu, begged that he too would offer allegiance to Montejo. He said he would give his answer in a few days; meanwhile the ambassadors should be his guests.

Cocom and his caciques laid a plot, and a great hunt was arranged in honor of the visitors. They were taken to Otzmal, where, with an abundance of game and many other good things, they feasted during three days. On the fourth a banquet was spread beneath a wide-spreading tree, where dancing and other rejoicings were continued. But when dessert was served, at a given signal, the ambassadors had their throats cut. Ah Kin Chi,* a priest, and son-in-law of Tutul Xiu, alone was spared to tell that prince what had occurred, and that Cocom considered him a great coward. Ah Kin Chi was deprived of sight, his eyes being put out with an arrow. Four captains then led him back with all due courtesy to the territory of his chief. Left alone, he cried for help, was heard, and conducted to Tutul Xiu, to whom he gave an account of all that had transpired.

The other people of the eastern districts were just as unwilling as Cocom to give in to the Spaniards, so all those still determined to resist congregated for a great battle. Some writers say they numbered 60,000, others 40,000. The Spaniards were few, but had many allies and came off victorious. June 11, 1541, was the date of this battle. Hundreds of natives perished, but very few white men. This conflict decided the conquest, and at the beginning of 1542 Merida was founded, though the inhabitants were not yet subdued. Those of Chichen and surrounding parts would not voluntarily yield; so in May, 1542, Don Francisco went with the greater number of his people to Sotuta, realm of the Cocombs or Kupuls. These and those of Choaca were very warlike, and compelled the unwelcome foreigners to fight at every turn, none of the eastern provinces submitting except when vanquished by force of arms.

There is no doubt that many of the conquered people were reduced to slavery. In August, 1543, a Spanish vessel cast anchor at Campeche. It was loaded with many things, even cattle, which the Spaniards needed, but there was neither gold or silver in the land with which to pay for the desired cargo. They therefore used all their powers of persuasion to induce Montejo to let them give natives in payment. But he could not, owing to a law made in Barcelona November 20, 1542: "From this time forward, no Indians shall for any cause be made slaves as some have been heretofore, contrary to right and reason, and contrary to our orders."

Such laws are the best proof that natives had been sold into slavery.

That very year a petition was sent to the king asking him among other things to "give to us and our children the Indians who were divided among us," and again "that every time the Indians resist our authority

* The son of Ah Kin Chi, born in 1540, learned the Spanish and Latin languages, and became quite famous among his people as a writer of great merit.

we may make war upon them, and enslave the captured. . . . That we may be permitted to make slaves of the women and children . . . because if the Spaniards see a way of getting some profit out of them they will protect them." In 1545 Bartolome de las Casas, Bishop of Chiapas, visited Campeche with a party of Dominicans. He reproved his countrymen for holding slaves and for their cruelty to the natives. Soon afterward the Franciscan friars came to the country. They industriously acquired the Maya tongue in order to confess and preach to their newly-baptized flock.

For the supposed good of the souls of the natives the fathers laid down some very strict rules, even flogging those who failed to attend mass. Blows were likewise bestowed on those who came late to church. As soon as service commenced two men, whip in hand, placed themselves at the door, and treated tardy comers to a few strokes that they might in future be more anxious to hear of the wonderful love of God.

In 1546 the Adelantado came with his wife from Chiapas, and was received in Campeche by his son, afterward passing to Merida, where he established himself as governor. In the same year the people of the east, those of Nachi-Cocom and others, again planned to fight the strangers. Such was their hatred, such their resolution to drive them away, and so sure were they of doing it, that they slaughtered the dogs, cats, and fowls brought among them by the white men, so that nothing would remain to remind them of Spain.

The first victims were two brothers who had gone to the village of Chemax to collect tribute. They were crucified, their heads afterward being carried around on poles. Similar executions took place in other villages at the same time. But before the multitude could reach Valladolid, where a body of Spaniards were stationed, information of what they intended to do was carried there by informers. Word was at once sent to Merida. Valladolid was soon besieged, and the soldiers, sure that help would come from the capital, went out to meet the enemy, leaving one or two men to beat the drum, so as to make believe that cavalry would soon be ready to attack the aggressors. The few men succeeded in killing several natives, they themselves losing not one man; then they retired, leaving the enemy on the field. They repeated these short sallies from time to time to hold off the besiegers until succor could arrive. At last, when all hope seemed lost, forty comrades arrived from the capital. In the battle which followed, twenty of them perished, as well as five hundred native allies. The assailants died in large numbers, but fought desperately and recklessly until worn out, then retreated, followed up by the victors. Reaching their villages, they fought madly to defend themselves and their

homes, but finally, to avoid being captured and tortured, they fled into the forests.

Friar Luis de Villalpando, who knew the Maya language thoroughly, having been among the fathers who were in Champoton in 1535, went in search of the fugitives, leading them back to their villages, inducing the strong to carry the weak and wounded, showing compassion to all, doing for them with his own hand all in his power, so that they were drawn toward him. He talked about the Christian religion, and suiting his language to their understanding, likened God to a mother bird whose chicks come to seek shelter under her wing when menaced by the vulture. The priests, he told them, were God's representatives, and the people must come to them for refuge from the devils who sought to destroy them. Their deities were what he alluded to as devils, but the persecuted people thought he meant the soldiers, for afterward when they were going to be ill-treated they ran to him, and hiding behind his big hanging sleeves remained perfectly silent. Inquiring from a boy what this meant, he was told, "They want to whip me, and I come to you because you are a good father as I heard you say eight days ago." Villalpando then requested that those who thus sought his protection should go unpunished, that their faith might not be destroyed. Many thus learned to obey his slightest wish. Some of the priests were warm friends and defenders of the Indians. In 1548 two or three went bravely into the interior and tried to persuade certain lords and caciques to liberate all their slaves. This made them so angry that they wanted to kill the meddlesome friars.

A little child, five years old, whom Villalpando had baptized, came to him one afternoon and asked: "Which is best, to live or die?" and was answered: "To live, for that is natural, and death is the inheritance of sin." The child then said: "Well, father, if you wish to live, flee; for our masters will burn you in your house to-night." Thanking the child, the monk told him to go home to his parents and come in the morning to see him. "But if they burn you, how shall I see you?" asked the child. "You come and see me," repeated the monk. The child said he loved him, and would come. That night, sure enough, men armed with flaming torches and weapons surrounded the hut, yelling and insulting the priests for more than an hour, when all of a sudden, instead of setting fire to the structure, they departed. They had heard the approach of horsemen, who were on their way to another place. In the morning when mass was celebrated none of the villagers appeared except one little fellow who peeped in at the door. The priest recognized him as the child who had warned him. Being called he ran to Villalpando with a smiling face,

saying: "Father, art really alive? Now I say your God must indeed be great and powerful! My parents are in the forest, hiding from the horse-men,* but I ran away to come and see you, and keep my word. I am so glad you are alive, and I want to stay with you."

The individuals who had instigated the attack were captured and taken to Merida, their intended victim likewise going to plead for them. They were sentenced to be burned, and he begged the Adelantado to let the preparations go forward, but to spare them at the last moment at his earnest request, so that they would afterward care for him. The governor consented. There, before a great fire into which they were to be cast, Villalpando on his knees begged for their life, his request only being granted after overcoming much apparent unwillingness on the part of Montejo, who was in reality overjoyed at not having to burn them. The prisoners, bound, were given over to their rescuer, who freed them, led them to the convent and fed them. When he afterward returned in their company to Mani they were devoted to him.

Many of the natives became much attached to the fathers and sought their advice, though at the same time they were greatly provoked at their efforts to abolish the old religious rites. Those who persisted in practicing them were punished, being placed on a scaffold with the bonnet of the Inquisition on their head, and flogged; their hair was cut short, which they considered a terrible affront. A great number professed Christianity, but many others, being driven to despair, hung themselves.

Bishop C. Carillo y Ancona of Merida, himself a native, has published a very interesting work† in which he expresses himself concerning the conquest as follows: "The victims of it, however great their number, were certainly fewer than would have resulted from the wars that the Indians had among themselves. . . . However much their new masters ill-treated them, they suffered less than when enslaved beneath the tyrannical sway of their old oppressors. . . . All the first Spaniards who settled in this country were married to native women. . . . If these (Spaniards) are our fathers, they (natives) are our mothers. . . . Those who see our lower classes, and judging by them, affirm that for the vanquished race the discovery and conquest have brought only degradation and ruin, deceive themselves. The conquered race is not alone in this part of our present society but in all that which we ourselves form—the upper and middle classes. In all the nations of the globe there are dregs of population, always poor and miserable, and that of our country is erroneously

* The natives always greatly dreaded a charge of cavalry.


† *Historia Antigua de Yucatan*.

called *the Indians*, as if they alone were such." This is well said and very true. Nevertheless, many a happy home was destroyed, and untold cruelty inflicted. If some were bettered by the coming of the white man it was not manifest for a long time. The natives became in fact, if not in name, slaves, even the upper classes.

In 1549, according to Lizana, one Herrera was sent from Mexico to Yucatan to investigate certain accusations made against the Adelantado, and to take from him and his offspring all the natives they held as serfs, as well as the rest of their property, the same being equally divided among the conquerors who, it was alleged, had not been fairly treated by him, he having monopolized nearly all the tributes, and overworked his serfs. Finding himself dispossessed of everything, the Adelantado went to Spain and died. He is said to have been good to the poor and amiable with all. Everybody, including the monks, and even the natives, grieved at his departure from Yucatan. Don Francisco de Montejo could not succeed to his father's title or estate, because he was an illegitimate child, but he was allowed to keep as his own the house built by his father in the square of Merida. He died there in 1564, leaving a debt of \$30,000. Before dying, the Adelantado had begun a suit to recover his property. His daughter, Catalina, carried it on, and made a point of the fact that her father was the first Spaniard to step upon the shores of Mexico, and to carry to the king presents of gold, silver, and other things from that country. After the death of Catalina her son continued litigations, and lastly his nephew Suarez de Solis gained the case in 1617, fifty-six years after it was begun. The title of Adelantado was restored, besides a large sum of money and many Indians that were to be the property of the family for four generations.

In an old diary kept by a native and written in the Maya language, we find the following: "November 21, 1761. Those of the village of Cisteil who uprose against the whites have been vanquished by them." The fact is that ever since the sixteenth century, when the conquest was said to be effected, the people have from time to time renewed their vain struggle, till, in 1847, after a long contest and many scenes of horror, a few thousand freed themselves from all government save the authority of their chiefs. From that time to this they have urged war against all the other inhabitants, and though many expeditions have been organized against them, they have not for one moment been reduced to obedience.

Alie D. Le Plongeon :



INCIDENTS OF BORDER LIFE IN OHIO

LOUIS WETZELL

More than fifty years ago, while a resident of Wheeling, West Virginia,—a city then in its gristle—I found the region rife with legends of the brave acts and sufferings of the early settlers. Toward the close of the last century it was the site of one of the border forts or stockades around which were enacted marvelous deeds of battle, massacre and heroism. The story of Elizabeth Zane—a maiden of 16 years—who, during one of its sieges, dared to go from the fort to an outer magazine for powder, despite Indian bullets and arrows, has been handed along in public remembrance through some of our school histories. Her family was one of consideration and wealth when I resided there; and from the old people in the vicinity I gathered many other tales of border hardihood wherein their kindred were concerned.

One of the heroes of the perilous infancy of the town whose name and exploits were oftenest mentioned was Louis Wetzell; and to chronicle a single instance of his successful daring is the purpose of this sketch.

He came from the wilds of western Pennsylvania and joined the garrison at the fort, bringing with him a rifle of unusual length and accuracy and an enviable reputation as an Indian fighter, skilled in all the craft of a backwoodsman. He had acquired the ability to load his weapon while running, which on several occasions was the means of his own safety and of detriment to his tawny pursuers, who came to respect a "gun that was always loaded."

On his arrival at the fort, Wetzell found the garrison much agitated over the mysterious disappearance of several soldiers, who, induced by the call of a wild turkey in the neighboring forests, had gone out to bag the game and had never returned. Wetzell had his own idea of the source of that turkey-call, and was himself able to imitate it so as to deceive the bird itself. He volunteered to bring his suspicions to the test of personal experiment. Heedless of all remonstrances against his perilous venture, with a supply of parched corn and jerked beef, a canteen of water and his trusty rifle, he stole forth one evening, deprecating all anxiety or search for himself unless he should fail to return within three days.

Half a mile from the fort a narrow ravine with rocky and precipitous

sides gave passage to a creek which joined the Ohio some distance below. The broken stratification of the rocks formed numerous cavernous recesses quite convenient as lairs for the wild beasts of the region and hiding places for Indians bent on murderous mischief about the fort. Wetzell climbed into a tall dense pine overhanging the west bank, which gave him an extensive range up and down the ravine, and here settled himself for protracted observation. He passed the night in the tree, and at early dawn was roused by a wild turkey's call which seemed to issue from a thicket on the opposite bank and some rods down the stream. He immediately answered the cry and while the alternating notes were continued at intervals, Wetzell watched the thicket with a keen eye along the barrel of his rifle. At length a dusky pate surmounted by a scalp lock was seen cautiously peering over the edge of rock beneath the leaves. The crack of his rifle and the moribund droop of the target were simultaneous, and our hero after waiting for assurance against a death-feigning ruse, descended from his perch and proceeded to investigate his victim. He found a venerable savage dead on the edge of a spacious cavern whose mouth was curiously concealed by the bushy screen. With him were the guns, scalps and other spoils of several soldiers whom his cunning had lured to their death. This particular death-ruse was no longer known around the fort.

I remember hearing other anecdotes of Wetzell's prowess, who became the hero of the region. He was subsequently distinguished in the border conflicts with the Indians beyond the Ohio, in which his Parthian strategy of loading and firing on retreat gained him additional renown. Perhaps some of the western archæological readers of the *Magazine of American History* may give further information about him and his finality.

Edw. B. Canning

AN ENGLISHMAN'S POCKET NOTE-BOOK IN 1828

WHAT HE SAW IN AMERICA

(Continued from page 64.)

January 1, 1829. The New Year commenced unfavorably considering the alarming news we had received, and the danger of traveling in the present unsettled state of the country. As soon as the day broke we had a glorious view of the noble range of the Andes in the distance: the picturesque town of Vera Cruz close to us with her numerous towers; on the opposite side the small island of sand which forms the roadsted, and on which is built the castle of J. Juan de Ulloa. The crowning point of all, and on which I long dwelt with pleasure was the lofty pinnacle of the Ouzaba, covered with its perpetual snow. The sun just rising allowed the whole mountain to be visible, which was indeed the noblest sight I had yet seen of the works of nature. . . . The whole range formed a kind of amphitheatre sloping towards the sea to within a few miles of Vera Cruz. Not having received our permit at eight o'clock, Eden and myself went on shore and proceeded immediately to the house of the English Consul who was able to secure us permission to remain ashore and also to get our luggage. The first appearance of the streets was unfavorable enough. The walls of the Town are in a very dilapidated condition; the houses old-fashioned, dark and decayed; and the streets next the ramparts covered with stones and rubbish of all sorts. I was struck with the numberless turkey-buzzards—a kind of vulture—walking peaceably about the streets.

We endeavored to secure lodgings at the only 2 Posadas within the Town: they were however so full of Spaniards who have left Mexico in consequence of the recent revolution, that we were happy to take up our quarters with the consul, who kindly offered us 2 rooms. I inquired at one of the above Posadas for a sleeping room *and was shown into a kitchen, or rather, a small recess for an oven* where the mesonero kindly offered to make a bed for us, as a favor. Our luggage arrived at the quay outside the walls soon after 12 o'clock, when the rascally officers were either eating, sleeping or gambling. There it remained under their custody until 2 o'clock, when it was allowed to pass the gate. Here commenced a scene of villany and insolence amongst the custom house officers; All our clothes were taken out in the middle of the Plaza, surrounded by all the robbers and

vilians of the Town, and we were in considerable apprehension about our money, having a bag full of dollars. After this disgusting and outrageous ceremony our Trunks were seized upon by about 20 blacks, who proceeded with them to the consuls. The whole scene was a disgrace to any civilized country. The weather to-day has been dreadfully oppressive. The accounts which the consul has given us of the deadly yellow fever, are sufficient to intimidate strangers on their arrival. Notwithstanding this season of the year is generally considered more healthy the Consul has just learnt the death of a young Englishman, who has been but a few days in the Town. And he also tells us there are several more just arrived, who are already on their death beds.

We have had several conversations with persons here just returned from Mexico. They all agree that the road is in a dangerous state, with almost the certainty of being robbed. One gentleman with his party just now arrived, traveled with an escort of 80 dragoons. The fact however is completely confirmed by the attack and robbery of the conductor or convoy of gold and silver, which had never happened before even in the worst times. The whole road is lined by a lawless set of troops who live and are paid by rapine. The Town of Mexico was completely ransacked the beginning of December, and an immense property lost together with many hundreds killed by these Banditti.

In the present sickly state of the Town of Vera Cruz Eden and myself have determined to push on by ourselves, and take little money or clothes. There is much to be seen in Vera Cruz; all the houses are built large, strong, and well adapted to keep out the sun and heat. The Consul's house is very large, all the rooms paved with brick, with stone partitions and arches. Every room is constructed as if for defence, with embrazures for firing muskets. It is immediately at the walls, looking upon the sea. We are indebted to his kindness and hospitality for our comfortable accommodations, which we were much in need of after 19 days on board a vessel during which time I did not once take off my clothes: although constantly wet through. My health does not appear to have suffered much, although to day I feel heated and unwell. Eden is also in good condition notwithstanding an epileptic fit he had on board the vessel, which alarmed me considerably at the time.

January 2. Refreshed with a night's sleep, the first I have had for 3 weeks. The heat to day is intolerable. We went with the courier of the Embassy, who is a Spaniard, to secure a coche for tomorrow. The cochero at first demanded 150 dollars to take us to Xalapa; the courier however after much debating secured it for us at 50 dollars. This is the usual

mode of doing business in this country, viz, to offer a half or two thirds of the price demanded, whatever it may be. The cochero was a singular looking fellow in a Mexican costume (which is quite indistinguishable) and in person puts me very much in mind of the prints of Don Quixote. Although I can now converse a little in Spanish I find considerable difficulty in understanding the common people, who speak exceedingly quick and with a peculiar accent. On board the packet I constantly kept up a conversation in Spanish with one of the Mexicans, a gentlemanly man and Colonel of one of their regiments

January 3. We left Vera Cruz this morning at 8 o'clock. Our carriage which was quite unique and singular was after the following manner. The body very large like the very old fashioned vehicles still to be seen in England, and the said body hung on leather springs attached to 2 long planks supported by 4 wheels; the said wheels were neither circular or in a straight line. The extreme length of the carriage was about double of any now to be seen. We had eleven mules, viz, 3 in front on one of which sat a cochero, 5 in the centre, and 3 more at the wheels, on one of which rode another cochero. The best idea of the whole cavalcade may be found in some old pictures of Gil Blas, of the carriages in Spain of the 16th Century, which they exactly resemble. After several stoppages in the street we passed through the *puerte* at 8 o'clock and proceeded for the first 2 miles over an extensive plain of land on a level with the sea. The whole Town is surrounded with the same dreary prospect. After 2 hours labouring we entered into a narrow lane between high sand banks, covered with stunted Tropical Plants. I observed the banana, wild orange, palms, and flowers of every hue. The road being low and confined I found the heat and dust intolerable. As we advanced the jungle became much thicker and vegetation more luxuriant. The birds were in great abundance, many were of the richest and most beautiful plumage, red, green, yellow, etc. Their names however I could not learn. We regretted not having brought a gun with us, as they were quite tame, and might have been easily shot. The parrots mustered strong, at least I judged so from the noise they made. After dragging through 9 miles of land, we arrived at the village of Santa Fé where we breakfasted. The walls of the house where we stopped were constructed simply of the Bamboo cane split, and not placed very close together, the roof covered with the leaves of the palm. It was the best house in the village.

On entering we found the good lady making candles in the centre of the room, the only one in the house. Two or three chairs with an old table completed the list of furniture. The floor was the soil on which the

house was constructed. The Senora brought us some excellent chocolate, tortillas eggs, and some dried meat prepared with garlick. We had also black beans, the common dish of the country. I must remark that we had no knives, but immensely heavy silver forks and spoons, which are to be found in the lowest choza in the country. At 12 o'clock we were again under weigh and began to ascend the high land. The road was execrably bad and in some steep places we had great difficulty in forcing the mules to drag up our unwieldy carriage. All hands were employed in shouting, licking, and throwing stones at the unfortunate mules. The cocheros were constantly engaged in getting off to arrange their harness and in hollowing to the mules *arra arriba vamonos*, etc.

At 4 o'clock we reached our resting place for the night, 20 miles from Vera Cruz . . . Here we stopped at a similar meson to the one at Santa Fé, at least it bore the name of a Posada, but we were literally refused by the Senora to a spot inside the house where we might throw our beds. Our dinner consisted of two or three small pieces of meat swimming in broth and Garlic with some Tortillas and water. Passed the night in our carriage, as well as we were able, in front of the house.

January 4. We left our quarters at daylight. We were saluted with the noisy cries of innumerable parrots who were leaving their retreats in the woods and flying past us in pairs. We continued this morning ascending and occasionally passed through extensive plains, or table-land, without the least appearance of cultivation. The trees in these places are scattered over the land which appeared excellent pasture. Nothing could be more beautiful than the rich foliage of the Trees and luxuriant growth of the shrubs and flowers. The wild orange, various species of the manmosa with its highly scented flowers, small palm trees, amongst them a species of the date, the cactus or prickly pear, and a beautiful tree in great abundance with large white flower whose name I did not know. The country was a continuous garden. We halted at the same kind of Posada as yesterday where our fare was much worse. Again under weigh, and after ascending and descending several ridges of high land, our mules refused to drag our carriage up a very steep and broken part of the road, which indeed appeared to me impracticable. All hands commenced another attack on the unhappy mules, shouting, throwing immense stones, etc. The cruelty to these poor animals was quite distressing to see. Our cocheros fastened one of the spare mules to the carriage by means of a rope attached to the animal's tail; in this manner after much difficulty, and delay, we reached the top of the mountain. At one o'clock we descended into a beautiful glen. The descent was rapid and precipitous, the rocks

on one side hanging perpendicularly. We passed 2 excellent bridges thrown over the river which rushes through the glen. The whole scenery was highly picturesque and romantic. The road through the pass must be a mile in length, including the bridges. The village is composed as usual of bamboo huts; the people dressed in their Sunday attire added much to the singularity of the scene. They were amusing themselves with some horse races along the road. We got some dinner here, dried meat and Tortillas and a kind of beer made of the juice of the palm very sweet and palatable.

After a fatiguing ride we reached El Plain at eight o'clock. The carriage in front of us stuck fast in a large chasm in the road made by the rains. Our cocheros remained to give assistance and Eden and myself walked on to our Inn at the bottom of the hill. Here we were accommodated with quarters near our mules—a wing from the body of the house (which in this case was built of stone) formed 2 sides of a square, a dead wall and large wooden gates to enter, completing the enclosure. In the centre were stationed our mules and carriages; and in the above mentioned wing were one or 2 rooms appropriated to travellers. We considered ourselves fortunate in having any place to lie down. Our room, resembling the *cage* in a country village, contained no furniture of any description. We procured with some difficulty two camp-bedsteads where we threw our cloaks, and for myself I never passed a more agreeable night or slept sounder in my life. Our only convenience for washing in the morning was a large tumbler, which served us for a basin etc.

January 5. After a cup of excellent coffee, we proceeded on foot in advance of our carriage up a very steep hill which forms the heights on the other side of the valley. We passed an old church which was destroyed during the Revolution. Passed several peasants all of whom I observe are remarkably civil, saluting us always in passing. After ascending 2 or 3 miles we had a beautiful view of the glen below us; after two hours more ascent, a view of the whole country stretched out below us the distant plains where we had traveled for the last 2 days, the furthest prospect bordered by the Sea.

JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT TJERCK BEEKMAN, 1779

OF THE MILITARY EXPEDITION OF MAJOR GENERAL JOHN SULLIVAN AGAINST THE SIX NATIONS OF INDIANS

The original manuscript of this Journal—from which the following accurate and literal copy has been made—had been deposited in a box among other valuable documents relating chiefly to the Dumont family and was overlooked when the journals of the other officers of General Sullivan's expedition were published by the state. It was in the possession of Mrs. Mary Westbrook Van Deusen of Kingston, a granddaughter of Captain Tjerck and Rachel Dumont Beekman. Mrs. Van Deusen has lately written and published in book form a charming sketch of the burning of Kingston, entitled "Rachel Dumont," in which she gives the story of the early life and courtship of her grandmother, Mrs. Tjerck Beekman, as related by herself from time to time, as she lived until July, 1856. She was ninety-three years of age when she died.

Lieutenant Tjerck Beekman was born at Kingston, New York, 30th December, 1754. He was the son of Iohannes Beekman and Lydia Van Keuren, and a descendant of Wilhelmus Beekman, American ancestor of the Beekman family, who came to New Amsterdam in 1647.* Lieutenant Beekman joined the Continental Army at the commencement of the Revolutionary War, served during the expedition to Quebec and Montreal; was appointed Ensign 21 November, 1776, and Lieutenant September 1, 1778 of 2d Company [Captain Benjamin Pelton] of 2d New York Regiment. He was at Valley Forge and participated in all the hardships and engagements of his regiment until the close of the war.

He was one of the original members of the Society of the Cincinnati. He died 25 December, 1791, at the age of 37.

A Journal of the march of the 2nd N. York Reg^t after leaving their Winter Quarters at Rochester in the State of N. York the 31 April, 1779.

Saturday May 1st Incampt near Jacobus Brown

Sunday May the 2nd

Monday the 3rd Drew Provisions Prepared for march—

Tuesday May 4th Struck tents Loaded our Baggage Begin our March at

* For full genealogy see April number, 1888, of *Genealogical and Biographical Record*.

6 A. M. We were alarmed by an Express from the Fantine Kill where was a Small Party of the Enemy Murdering the inhabitants & burning their Houses Col^o Courtlandt With his Reg^t Endeavored to Gain their Rear but in Vain the Enemy fled burnt 3 houses Killed 10 Persons at 4 In the afternoon Returned to Wawarsink & Remained there that Night.

Thursday the 6th Loaded our Baggage at 7 A. M. began our march for Mamacattan where we Arrived at 7 P. M. march this day 14 miles

Friday May 7th at $\frac{1}{2}$ Past 4 struck our tents Begin our march at 5, arrived at Dewitt Fort at Pinpack $\frac{1}{2}$ Past 3 forded the Creek at 4. Marched for Deckers where we arrived at Sun Set Crossed the Delaware River in Waggon's Pitched our Camp—This Days march 21 miles

Saturday May 8th Drew Provisions about Eleven began our march marching close under the Foot of the Shawangonk Mountain Leaving A considerable Morass upon our Right At 6 miles came upon the Delaware at the House of Isaac Van Aukin Proceeded Down the River to Namanach. this Day marched 14 miles $\frac{1}{2}$ through this Days March the Land Very Good and thick settled.

Sunday May 9th Loaded our Provisions in Canoes sent them down the River at 8 A. M. Began our march and marched as far as Esq^r Van Kamps the Weather Being Very Hott *here Rested*, from the Place we left in the morning the Land Very Good : after Refreshment marched for Deckers Ferry where we Incamped by Sun Set marched this day 16 miles.

Monday 10th Nothing Remarkable Happened, the troops employed in Washing.

Tuesday 11th Struck our tents and Loaded our Baggage The troops crossed the Ferry and began their march at 7 A. M. Marched for several miles close under the foot of the Shawangonk Mountain At Dark Arrived at fort Penn at Col^o Strouds this Days march 15 miles the Land Very Good Well Water^d

Wednesday May 12 Remained in our Present Incampment Rainy Weather

Thursday 13th Rainy Weather Camp as yesterday

Friday 14th Clear Weather at 8 O'clock Received Orders for marching 1 O'clock Struck tents Marched for Learners filed off the Main Road about one Quarter of mile from fort Penn to the Right Marched about 5 miles incamp on side of a hill Very Rough & Stony

Saturday 15 Detached 60 men under cover of the Light Infantry to mend the Road in front

Arrived at Learners at one O clock, Incamp marched 3 miles $\frac{1}{2}$ Joined Col^o Spencer Reg^t

Sunday 16 camp Remained at Learners the two Regiments Employed in Working on the Road.

Monday 17th at 7 o clock a. m. Struck Tents marched to White Oak Run then Baptized by the name of Rum Bridge this Days march about 6 miles.

Tuesday 18th 19th 20th 21st 22nd Remained in camp Detained by Rainy Weather.

Sunday 23rd Struck tents marched on making the Road & incamp on the

East Side of Tunkhannk Entr^d the Great Swamp timbered with
Birch this Day Opened the Road 6 miles.

Monday 24th Struck tents Crossed the Creek Opened the Road 1 mile $\frac{1}{2}$ Pitched
our camp near a Small Run

Tuesday 25th the Camp Remained as yesterday men employed as Usual Oppen-
ing the Road to the Tobehannah the swamp between the two Creeks myery about
2 miles $\frac{1}{4}$ a Part

Wednesday 26th the Camp as yesterday, men Employed in Washing

Thursday 27th Began to build a Bridge across the Tobehannah—

Friday 28th Finished the Bridge and Returned to camp—

Saturday 29th A Detachment of 200 men from the two Reg^{ts} Employed in open-
ing the Road—

Sunday 30th at 6 A.M. Struck Tents loaded the Baggage Except Stores whier
left for Want of Waggons

Proceeded for Locust hill Opening the Road Through very myery Bad Places
Arrived at Locust Hill 6 P.M. Incampt upon Dry Good Land. This days march
about 5 miles

Monday 31st Camp Remained as yesterday March^d out at 4 P.M. for Work
Col^o Cillys Regiment joined,

at 7 o clock in the Morning a Detachment of 150 men Sent Forward to Wyo-
ming under the command of Col^o Smith

June 1st. Camp remained as before Troops employed as yesterday

Wednesday June 2nd the Whole of the Detachment at Work

This Day Clothing arrived and about 1200² of salt Provisions condemned unfit
for use—

Thursday 3^d camp as before men employed in working

Friday 4th Troops employed as before.

Saturday June 5th Troops employed as before Camp Remaining still upon the
Hill. This Day 3 Deserters Brought in of 2nd York Reg^t

Sunday June 6th—one half of the men Employed as before the Rest Remained
in Camp

Monday June 7th at 4 A.M. struck tents Loaded our baggage and began our
march Marched about 7 miles Pitched Camp on the Edge of the Hill by the
Shades of Death

Tuesday the 8 at 4 P.M. Struck tents Loaded our Baggage and began our march
Passing the Shades of Death through this place the Road Very Bad besides a Very
High Hill to ascend, Opened the Road this Day about 3 miles

Wednesday June 9th the troops employed as yesterday

Thursday 10th The Troops Employed as yesterday working through the Bear
Swamp.

Friday 11th At 7 A. M. the Troops march^d to work Leaving 1 Cap^t, 2 Subbs &

50 Men to Guard the Camp At 10 the camp was struck and followed after Incampment at the 7 mile House

Saturday 12th A detachment of 100 Men Besides 25 men as a Covering Party wher sent forward to Complete the Road.

Sunday 13th Rainy Weather The Troops Remain,^d in Camp

Monday 14th at 6 A.M. Struck Tents Loaded our Baggage

At 7 began our march for Wyoming Crossed a Very High Hill at the Foot of which lays Wyoming wher we arrived at 11 O clock, Had an Elegant Dinner for the whole Party Prepared by the Gentlemen Sent Forward. Incampment on the East Side of the River

Tuesday 15th This Day being Rainy the troops of the Detachment Remained as yesterday

Wednesday 16th Rainy Weather The Camp as Before.

Thursday This clear at 11 A.M. Struck Tents At 12 began our march for Jacobs Plains about 3 miles up the River Incampment upon a Very Elegant Piece of Land

Friday 18th Nothing Remarkable Happened this Day

The boats arrived from Sunbury With Provisions

Saturday 19th This Day the Detachment under Col^o Smith joyned their Respective Corps

Sunday 20th—Monday 21, Tuesday 22, Wednesday 23^d & Thursday 24 G. Sullivan arrived with Rest of the Army intended for the Expedition.

Friday Saturday Sunday Monday Tuesday Wednesday Thursday Friday Saturday Sunday Monday Tuesday 29th Boats about 37 in Number arrived With Beef and flour from Sunbury

Wednesday 30th Thursday July 1st Friday 2nd Saturday 3^d Remained in camp Nothing Remarkable Happened—

Sunday July 4. Received Orders for march to join G. Poors Brigade at 40 Fort at 7 A. M. struck tents Loaded our Baggage At 8 Began our march Forded the Susquehannah and incampment at 40 Fort on Pine Plain

Monday July 5th 1779 Yesterday Being the Anniversary of the Independense of America and it being Sunday could Not Celebrate the same but this Day G. Poor Gave an Elegant Entertainment to all the Officers of his Brigade and a number of Gentlemen from other Brigades among Whom was G. Hand & his suit after Dinner The Following Toasts were Drunk

- 1 the united States
- 2 the 4th of July 76 the memorable era of American Independense
- 3 the Grand Council of America
- 4 General Washington and the Army
- 5 the King & Queen of France
- 6 G. Sullivan & the Western Expedition
- 7 May the Counsellors of America be wise and their Troops invincible

8 A Successful and Decisive Campaign

9 Civilization or Death to all Savages

10 To the Immortal Memory of those Heroes who have fallen in American Liberty

11th may the Husbandmans Cottage be blest With Peace & his fields With Plenty

12 Vigour & Virtue to the Sons and Daughters of America

13th May the new World be the Last Assylum of Freedom and Arts

Thursday 6th Nothing Remarkable Happened

Wednesday 7th Nothing Material this Day Settled the Mess account, amounted to 166 Dollars from Col^o Strouds

Thursday 8th Friday 9th Nothing materiall

Saturday 10th This fifty Boats arrived from Sunbury With Provisions

(From Sunday 11th to Sunday 25th the diary merely notes state of weather, alternately pleasant and rainy)

Monday 26 July at 6 A.M. Struck Tents marched for Wyoming crossed the River and incampd upon the Left of the Army above the town

Tuesday nothing remarkable happened

Saturday July 31st Struck Tents Loaded our Baggage on Pack Horses the Provisions & artillery in Boats marched to Lackawaning being 10 miles

Sunday august 1st 1779 Waited for the arrival of the Boats till 4 P. M. when We began our march for Quilitumack. This Days march as Difficult a march as I Ever Experienced Occasioned by swamps This days march 7 miles

Monday aug 2nd Remained at Quilitumack waiting for the Arrival of the Boats

Tuesday 3^d august marched at 7 A. M. Through Very Rough Land Hilly incamped at 4 P. M. at Tunkhannick This Days march 11 miles

Wednesday 4th marched at 6 A.M. The Regiment having the Rear Guard Crossed the Misshapink Creek 9 miles on this Days march Arrived in Camp 11 oclock at night through this days march Some very Rough Land and some Extraordinary good Incamped on Van DerLips Farm marched 14 miles

Thursday aug 5th at 10 AM, began Our march for Wyaloosing Wheir we arrived at 5 P.M. through this Days march the Land Very mountainous At this Place very Good Land marched 8 miles.

Friday 6th Remained in the Incampment of yesterday to Refresh the Troops.

Saturday august 7th This Day Remained as yesterday Rainy Weather

Sunday august 8th at 6 A.M. struck tents and marched for Standing Stone being 10 miles through this Day's march the Land Very Good.

Monday august 9th At 5 A.M. Struck Tents and march,^d at 6 to the Lower Parts of the Tioga Flats Being 15 miles through this Days march Exceeding Good Land

Tuesday august 10th Remained in Camp Rainy Weather

Wednesday august 11th At 7 A M. the General Beat At 8 the army marched

Two Regts were Ordered to flank the Army upon the Left The Army Forded 2 miles below the Tioga Branch Crossed the Branch at the mouth. Incamp't on a fine Piece of Ground Plenty of Pasture

Thursday august 12— Remained in camp through the Day At 7 P.M. Received Orders to march at A moment's warning At 8 began our march for Shemung leaving a Sufficient Guard to Guard the Camp and Artillery One Small Cannon we took with us fix'd on a hand Barrow so that two men might Easily carry it At 4 in the morning arrived at Chemung 12 miles from Tioga The Enemy having intelligence of our march Evacuated the town before we arrived After being some time in town orders were Given to Burn it which was soon done Consisted of about 30 houses Soon after the Destruction of the town the Enemy made an attack on G Hand Brigade Who were advanced in Front Wheir two officers & two Privates were Wounded and 6 Privates killed

The Enemy after Given them the first fire immediately Ran At 11 A.M. a Detachment consisting of Colonels Cillys Cortlandts & Reeds Regt,s The German Battalion and 3 Jersey Regts were Ordered to Cross the Creek to Destroy the Corn At 3 P.M. Col° Cilly and the three Jersey Regt,s were attacked in which 1 Killed and 3 Wounded of Cillys the first Jersey 3 Wounded,

The Enemy made their Escape Without being Hurt, Destroyed about 2000 bushels of Corn Besides a Large Quantity of Beans &c &c Returned to Tioga very much Fatigued The Land Between Tioga and Chemung Hilly at Chemung Lays a Large Body of Very fine Land—

Saturday august 14 Nothing Remarkable—

Sunday august 15th Orders Were Given for nine hundred Men to Hold themselves in Readiness to be Commanded by G Poor to march to morrow morning to meet G Clinton This Day one Drovier Killed by the Indians and some cattle taken off A body of men Sent in Pursuit of them but to no Purpose, the Enemy made their Escape.

Monday august 16 The Detachment Under the Command of G. Poor marched up the River.

Tuesday august 17th This Day one man killed and one wounded of G. Hands Brigade by the Indians.

Wednesday aug 18 Nothing Remarkable

Thursday 19th clear & Pleasant

Friday 20th hard rains

Saturday 21 august Pleasant Weather

Sunday 22nd G Clinton arrived When he was saluted by the Cannon of the Garrison—

Monday 23^d Nothing Remarkable Happened in this Day but Cap,t Kimble of the 1 New Hampshire got Killed by Accident A Soldier Snapping his Piece not knowing She Was Loaded.

Tuesday 24th This Day Col° Cortlandts Reg^t joined G Clintons Brigade The

6 Massachusetts, G Poors, and the 4th Pennsylvania G Hands the two latter came Down With G Clinton.

Wednesday 25 Nothing Remarkable.

Thursday august 26th The Army marched Leaving 150 men as A Garrison to the four block Houses Which Were built upon a Narrow neck of Land between the Susquehannah and the Tioga Branch The Rest of the Army Proceeded forward a few miles, incamped early in the Day upon account of A Very Bad Defile Which They Had to Pass A very high mountain came Down to the River The Artillery and Pack Horses Hands Brigade Poors Brigade & Maxwells Brigade Crossed the Defile in the Night. Incamped on the Lower Parts of Chemung Flatt— G Clintons Brigade Remained on this Side With the Cattle

Friday august 27th At Day Brake Struck tents Loaded our Baggage and marched Soon after overtook the Rest of the Army at 10 A.M. The Whole Marched agreeably to the Order of march Established 24 May last Marched about 4 miles Incampd on Chemung Flatt

Saturday aug 28 1779 At 9. AM. struck Tents Loaded the Pack Horses and marched at 10 for Chemung Passing a Very Bad Defile Arrived at Chemung about Sun Down Incampd

Sunday aug 29th 1779 clear morning the General Beat at 9 A.M. At 10 the Army marched for Newton through this march a Number of Short Hills Defiles & Morasses At 12 arrived Within one mile of the town Where We found the Enemy Had Erected A Small Work from the mountain to the River Soon after Small Parties of our Rifle Men began to skirmish With the Enemy In the meantime G Clintons & Poors Brigades Were Sent off to the Right to Gain the Enemys Rear so as to intercept their Retreat marching through a Very thick Swamp and crossing a very High hill At $\frac{1}{2}$ Past three the Artillery began a Cannonade upon Their Works Which Continued for about 9 minutes When they left them in the utmost Confusion Retreated over the top of a very High Hill Which We forced from them by the Point of the Bayonet Leaving 12 of their Dead on the field We took one Prisoner a White Man informd that Butler & Brant Were their Commanders that they Had about 600 White men and about 300 Indians With them We had about 30 men Killed & Wounded in this Engagement The Enemy carried a number of their Wounded in cannoes up the River

Monday august 30th. A Large Party was ordered out to Destroy the Cornfields Which Consisted of About two hundred acres of Good Corn besides a Vast Quantity of beans Pumkins &c Newton Consisted of about Dozen Houses This Day the General Proposed to the Troops of putting them on half Allowance of Beef & flour for such a time as they could Procure Plenty of Vegetables At the Same time assured them that they should be Paid for the Remainder in cash at the Market Price. When the Question was Put it was answered throughout the Whole Line by three Cheers

Tuesday 31st august At 11 A.M. Struck tents and began the march Destroyed

Several Small Huts on the Bank of the River incamped at Dark on a Large Pine Plain Marched about 10 miles This Day Crossed the Cayuga River

Wednesday September 1st 1779 At 10 A.M. struck tents and began our march, Marching about 2 miles, came to A Large Swamp and Very Bad Defile which Detained the Rear of Army till 10 at Night before they Passed Leaving all the Cattle and the Best Part of the Pack Horses in the Swamp The Horses Several of them died and Great Wastage in the flour Hands brigade With the infantry Got in Chatharines town G Clintons Obligated to Put up in the Swamp

Thursday 2 Sept 1779. At 6 A. M. G clintons Brigade Collected the Cattle and Pack horses Loaded them and began their march for Chatherines Town wheir the front of the army had Arrived the Day before, The enemy had evacuated the town before they got in in Great confusion Leaving behind them an Old Squaw who informed the Gen^l of a Council being Held there a few Days before, that the Indians Were Very much frightened, that some of them Had Proposed to Sue for Peace but Butler told them that they might be Sure We Would Give them No Quarters that they Would make Another Stand and if they found they failed Would Retire to niagara Where there Wives and Children Should be Supplied With Provisions, from Newton to Catherines town is 18 miles

Friday 3 September 1779 At 9 am struck Tents at 10 began our march marched about 3 miles Came to the Head of the Seneca Lake Which is 39 miles in Length about 4 miles Wide lays near North & South The Army marched upon the East Side of the Lake The Land along the Lake extraordinary Good Timbered With white oak In this Days March Crossed Several Creeks Emptying themselves in the Lake. Marched this Day 11 miles $\frac{1}{2}$

Saturday Sept 4 1779 at 10 a. m. Struck Tents and began our marching Parrel to the Lake in Sight of it all the time Crossing a number of Beautiful fine Runs of Water In this Days march Destroyed a few Scattering Houses along the Lake incampt on a Nole With a fine Run of Water in our Rear Marched this Day 11 miles

Sunday September 5 at 10 a. m. struck tents and began the march $\frac{1}{2}$ after for Appleton Where We arrived 3 P M This Place by all appeareances is Pretty Ancient Consisting of a number of Good Houses Great Quantity of Corn and a number of Apple Trees, Peach trees & marched this Day about 6 miles Very Good Land

Monday sept 6 1779 Last night Lost a number of Cattle & Horses Parties sent out to Look them up The Parties arrived at 3 P. M. Brought in a number of cattle at 4 P. M. The Army marched in the distance of about 3 miles Crossed 3 Considerable Defiles Encamped in the Woods near the Lake An Express arrived this Day from Tioga Informed us of the Capture of the Garrison of Paulus Hook by Major Lee

Tuesday sept 7 1779 at 9 am began our march for canandesago Passing a few Defiles at 2 P. M. the infantry crossed the outlet of the Seneca Lake the Rest of

the army Crossed soon after marched about 1 mile along the Head of the Lake, turned off to the Right for the town Where we arrived at 9 P M. This town is the Great Castle of the Seneca Nation—There we found a White Male Child of about 3 years Old Almost Starved to Death. By appearance this Place Consists of about 60 Houses, Pretty Large in General and Well built: a number of large Apple Trees and Peach and seems to Have been long settled. Found an Anvil and Number of Black Smiths tools which had been left by traders Likewise a Plough in the field—

Wednesday septr. 8 1779—The Troops remained at Kannadasago to wash— Parties Detached down the Lake to Destroy some corn fields and a small Town at 4 P.M.

In connection with the Journal of Lieutenant Tjerck Beekman the following extracts from a letter received by the writer from Mr. George S. Conover may be of interest. Mr. Conover is the author of the "History of Early Geneva," and the compiler of "Genl Sullivan's Indian Expedition," published by the Secretary of State of New York, in 1887. "The Secretary of State has kindly sent me your letter for perusal. I am extremely sorry that we were not aware of the existence of Tjerck Beekman's Journal, as we should have been extremely glad to have placed it in the compilation. The field was as thoroughly gleaned as we knew how; and this is the first and only journal that we have as yet heard of that has been omitted. . . . Should you publish it in the *Magazine of American History*, I trust you will make it exact and literal, as its importance is thus much enhanced. . . . Being a Long Island *Dutchman*, I feel an additional interest in matters closely connected with such names as Tjerck Beekman."

Mr. Conover is a kinsman of the late Hon. Teunis G. Bergen, and a descendant of Wolfert Gerretsen Van Couwenhoven, who came to this country from Holland in 1630.

James R. Gibson Jr

A FRENCHMAN'S ESTIMATE OF WASHINGTON IN 1781

UNPUBLISHED WASHINGTON PORTRAIT, AND LETTERS



HILLIER'S WASHINGTON IN 1794

[Of romantic interest is the story connected with the profile portrait of Washington given above, the original of which is the property of Dr. George Chandler of Worcester, Massachusetts. The sketch was made at a reception by a young artist, J. Hillier, Jr., upon the back of a playing card—the king of clubs—which he took from his pocket for the purpose; and although unfinished the portrait was there presented to Miss Harriet Paine, then a young lady of sweet sixteen, who preserved it with jealous care, and it has been handed along through the decades to her descendants. Dr. Chandler sent it to General C. W. Darling, through whose courtesy it is now added to the Magazine's collection of Washingtoniana.—EDITOR.]

The following extract from a letter written by Abbé Robin, chaplain in the French army in America, and bearing date "Camp of Phillipsburg, August 4, 1781," a few weeks after his arrival in this country, is very suggestive. This letter was the first of a series of thirteen letters from the Abbé while in America, which were published in Paris in 1782. He writes:

I have seen General Washington, that most singular man—the soul and support of one of the greatest revolutions that has ever happened, or can happen. I fixed my eyes upon him with that keen attention which the sight of a great man always inspires. We naturally entertain a secret hope of discovering in the features of such illustrious persons some traces of that genius which distinguishes them from, and elevates them above, their fellow mortals.

Perhaps the exterior of no man was better calculated to gratify these

expectations than that of General Washington. He is of a tall and noble stature, well proportioned, a fine, cheerful, open countenance, a simple and modest carriage; and his whole mien has something in it that interests the French, the Americans, and even enemies themselves in his favor. Placed in a military view, at the head of a nation where each individual has a share in the supreme legislative authority, and where coercive laws are yet in a degree destitute of vigor, where the climate and manners can add but little to their energy, where the spirit of party, private interest, slowness and national indolence, slacken, suspend, and overthrow the best concerted measures; although so situated he has found out a method of keeping his troops in the most absolute subordination; making them rivals in praising him; fearing him when he is silent, and retaining their full confidence in him after defeats and disgrace. His reputation has, at length, arisen to a most brilliant height; and he may now grasp at the most unbounded power, without provoking envy or exciting suspicion. He has ever shown himself superior to fortune, and in the most trying adversity has discovered resources until then unknown: and, as if his abilities only increased and dilated at the prospect of difficulty, he is never better supplied than when he seems destitute of everything, nor have his arms ever been so fatal to his enemies, as at the very instant when they thought they had crushed him forever. It is his to excite a spirit of heroism and enthusiasm in a people who are by nature very little susceptible of it; to gain over the respect and homage of those whose interest it is to refuse it, and to execute his plans and projects by means unknown even to those who are his instruments; he is intrepid in dangers, yet never seeks them but when the good of his country demands it, preferring rather to temporize and act upon the defensive, because he knows such a mode of conduct best suits the genius and circumstances of the nation, and all that he and they have to expect, depends upon time, fortitude, and patience; he is frugal and sober in regard to himself, but profuse in the public cause; like Peter the Great, he has by defeats conducted his army to victory; and like Fabius, but with fewer resources and more difficulty, he has conquered without fighting and saved his country.

Such are the ideas that arise in the mind at the sight of this great man, in examining the events in which he had a share, or in listening to those whose duty obliges them to be near his person, and consequently best display his character. In all these extensive States they consider him in the light of a beneficent god, dispensing peace and happiness around him. Old men, women, and children press about him when he accidentally passes along, and think themselves happy, once in their lives, to have seen

him—they follow him through the towns with torches, and celebrate his arrival by public illuminations. The Americans, that cool and sedate people, who in the midst of their most trying difficulties, have attended only to the directions and impulses of plain method and common sense, are roused, animated, and inflamed at the very mention of his name: and the first songs that sentiment or gratitude has dictated, have been to celebrate General Washington.

CLAUDE C. ROBIN

The following autograph letter of Washington, written in 1781, is from the collection of Colonel William L. Stone:

This letter is addressed, "The Honorable, Brigadier General Gansevoordt, Commanding at Fort Schuyler," & is franked "Public Service, Horatio Gates."

"Head-Quarters, New Windsor, Feb^r 7th 1781.

Dear Sir:

I find by the Arrangement of the Jersey Brigade, which has just come to hand, that Colonel ° Shreve has retired from Service—this makes your presence extremely necessary with the Troops; and the more so at this time, as some dispute about rank is said to exist between Lt. Col. Barber & Lt. Col. I^c Hart, which, while there is no superior Officer, both of them may produce parties and cabals, to the great detriment of the service.

Altho' your health should not be perfectly established, I cannot but hope you will have so far recovered as to be able to join and continue with the Brigade: I would not wish you to expose yourself, or attempt impossibilities, but I am certain you will be persuaded of the necessity of being with your Troops at such a critical and interesting period. Even if you are but in a convalescent state, I should suppose you might obtain such comfortable accommodations abroad, as would promote your recovery as effectually as at home—especially since you will find the Brigade at so small a distance from Morris-Town.

I am, Dear Sir,

With great esteem

Your Most Obed^t Hble. Serv^t

G^o Washington.

Col. Dayton." *

* Probably Dayton's name is here written in case Gansevoordt was away. W. L. S.

occasionally where I have ^{never} & shall remain in
 the same confined quarters, I had last spring
^{There is no date for you to return}
 to at present; consequently there can be
 no cause for your anxiety again. However
 but if there was, ill health is a sufficient
 plea for absence, & an attempt to recover it,
 a consideration to which even other would
 yield. —

My ~~has~~ certainty of what
 the British Cabinet designs various are
 the reports & as equally vague. My own
 opinion of the matter is, that the unwilling
 ness of the King & his present Prime Minister
 Lord Melbourne to acknowledge the independen-
 cy of this Country, is such as to induce them
 to trust to the chapter of accident, & all the
 by so doing they hazard all rather than
 matten this bitter pill. — The negotiations
 are going on — but very limply. — This will
 not, no doubt, bring them to a conclusion, but
 whether they will terminate in a peace or pro-
 traction of the war is beyond my ken. —

Remember me in the most affec-
 tionate manner to your Father, Mother & all
 friends; and be assured that I am with you
 truly —

MINOR TOPICS

TAKING ARSENIC IN THE COURT ROOM TO WIN A CASE

THE FAMOUS CRIMINAL LAWYER, JOHN VAN ARMAN

An incident of John Van Arman's practice over forty years ago has been related as follows :

"A stranger paced back and forth on the platform at the Union dépôt yesterday afternoon. It was Colonel John Van Arman, the well-known lawyer of Chicago, and a representative of the *Telegram-Herald* walked up and greeted him.

'Colonel,' asked the reporter, 'how about that poisoned cake you are alleged to have eaten once upon a time in Michigan in order to convince a jury that your client was not a poisoner?'

The great criminal lawyer laughed. 'That story has always been mixed up, and I'll tell you the real facts of the case for the first time. It was in 1842. I was then twenty-two years old, and had been admitted to the bar two years, and was in partnership with Attorney Brown, at Marshall, Michigan. A woman had been indicted at Hillsdale for poisoning her husband. He lived more than a year after the poisoning, and, of course, she could not be indicted for murder; yet giving poison was a penitentiary offense—amounting to a life sentence—and I was engaged to defend her. The woman's husband was a witness against her, although he died soon after the trial. Chemists in those days were few, and the prosecution subpoenaed the only one within a radius of 300 miles. It was proven on the trial that the husband had eaten a cake in which arsenic had been put, and the chemist testified that one grain was a fatal dose.

Well, I took the chemist, judge and jury to a bakery, and had the baker mix a cake in their presence, and put in two grains of arsenic, and bake the cake while they looked on. When done it was brought to the court by the judge. I began by saying that the celebrated chemist had sworn that one grain of arsenic would produce death. In this cake were two grains, a fact which judge, jury and chemist acknowledged. I thereupon ate the cake, after which I began my address to the jury and spoke for three hours, at the end of which time I drew their attention to the fact that I was not dead yet and demanded the acquittal of my client, which the jury did without leaving their seats.'

'How did you account for your escape?' asked the reporter.

'Oh!' laughed the jolly colonel, 'at that time I was used to eating from six to seven grains of arsenic without feeling the worse for it.'"

The case was a celebrated one in Michigan, and as yet remembered by old set-

ters, particularly in and about Hillsdale county, and it was the making of Colonel Van Arman. He seemed to possess the lawyer's art by natural instinct. No one could surpass him in training witnesses for their part in the court-room, or in managing them on the witness stand. And he was equally skillful in handling witnesses on the other side. He had a skill in cross-examination which few lawyers can rival, and it may be doubted whether he had an equal at the bar in the mystery of cross-examination. It is certain that in what may be called legal diplomacy, in all that pertains to the management of a difficult case *out of court*, on which success *in court* depends, Van Arman was at the head of his profession. The old *habitudes* of the court room enjoyed Van Arman's conducting a trial as highly as they did a play in the theatre. The examination of witnesses is usually the dullest part of the trial to the spectators. But they would "go over to the court room" to hear Van Arman in the examination of witnesses, as well as to hear him sum up the case. His impromptu speeches to the court, on some points of evidence, were master-pieces of their kind. And in those close encounters with his opponents he showed his rare powers as a debater. In this arena he was a dexterous Saladin, armed with keen analysis, legal acumen, and ready wit, any one of which he wielded with telling effect.

Van Arman was not merely a lawyer. If he excelled at the bar, he was just as able and eloquent at the hustings, or on the platform discussing temperance, education, or any of the important questions of the day. At a Democratic mass meeting in Marshall, in the fall of 1856, after Stephen A. Douglas had spoken, John Van Arman was "called out." The Democrats were proud on an occasion that had been honored by a speech from the "little giant," to introduce their favorite author. Van Arman was equal to the occasion. In his masterly speech he turned his wit and ridicule against the party that instead of arguing its cause before the people was going to *sing* itself into power. It seemed that the Whig element in the young Republican party, inspired by the memory of 1840, had broken out into song, for the best singers that could be found in the country were secured, a Fremont glee club was organized and sang at all their meetings during the campaign. "Ask them," said Van Arman, "for a declaration of their principles and they will sing :

**'The mustang colt has a killing pace,
Du-da-du-da ;
He's bound to win in the White House race,
Du-da-du-da-dav.'**

Speak to them of the question at issue before the people and they *warble* forth :

'I'm bound to run all night,
I'm bound to run all day;
I'll bet my money on the bobtail nag,
Will anybody bet on the gray?
Du-da-du-da-dav.'

"I have quoted," said he, "from this favorite Republican campaign song to illustrate the principles and arguments of the new party, the pith and burden of which is *du-da-du-da-day*." *Van Buren's Reminiscences of Lawyers, in Michigan Pioneer Collections, Vol. XI.*

CENTENNIAL OF NEW HARTFORD, NEW YORK

Under the auspices of the Oneida Historical Society, the centennial anniversary of New Hartford was celebrated June 28th, 1888. New Hartford had a perfect day for the celebration, and at an early hour the firing of heavy ordnance aroused the inhabitants from their slumbers, thus ushering in the anniversary day. The business houses were resplendent with flags and bunting, and many private residences were also profusely decorated with the national colors. The exercises, held in the village park, were opened with prayer by Rev. I. H. Terry, at the close of which a large chorus of school children sang several national hymns. One of the attractive features of the celebration was the military parade, which was very creditable to the troops, and to the officers in command. The Utica citizens' corps turned out well, the 28th separate company deserve high praise for the fine appearance which it presented, and the Mohawk Rifles marched with admirable precision. The dress parade was complimented by Grand Marshal L. T. Sherrill and Major D. T. Everts commanding the battalion. A line of carriages containing the invited guests followed the military, and the delegations from G. A. R. Posts Bacon, McQuade, Reynolds, Harrer and Ross. An audience of about 2,000 people gathered under the magnificent maples and elms in the park shortly before noon, and crowded up toward the spacious stage erected near the Presbyterian church. The platform was occupied by the officers and speakers of the day, the invited guests, and the newspaper representatives. Suspended over the stage in the rear was an oil portrait of Judge Sanger, the founder of the town. Hon. Morgan Butler, chairman, introduced Rev. B. S. Sanderson who read several communications (from old residents, now living elsewhere,) expressive of regret at not being able to participate in the festivities. Addresses were then made by Lieut. Gov. Jones, Prof. Oren Root, Hon. C. D. Prescott, and Gen. C. W. Darling; and historical papers were read by Miss Williams and Adams. Dr. M. M. Baggs offered the following resolution which was unanimously adopted. *Resolved*, That we, the guests at this centennial hereby express our thanks to all who have taken part in the preparation and the carrying out of the proceedings of the day. To the committees, both of ladies and gentlemen, who have so successfully contributed to our intellectual, social, and physical enjoyment we feel truly indebted; while they have provided speakers who eloquently impressed upon us the lessons of the occasion, they have cheered us with a hospitality which is unparalleled. This concluded the exercises in the park. At intervals during the day the military bands of Utica and Mohawk discoursed sweet music, which added much to the enjoyment of the assembled multitude, and dur-

ing the evening a fine display of fireworks was given under the direction of G. A. Clark, of Utica. The highest praise was accorded the banquet, which was admirably served by the entertainment committee, with G. W. Rice as chairman; assisted by the ladies auxiliary under the chairmanship of Mrs. Frazier, with the aid of the other members of her committee.

C. W. D.

CONCERNING SHAKESPEARE'S CHARACTERS

Shakespeare's principal female characters are about thirty in number, and are selected and distributed with so great felicity, variety, and wealth of resource among names denominated feminine that taking the initial letters of all these names and—as a rule—one character from each play, they will represent twenty-three of the twenty-six letters of the English alphabet, *i. e.* all but the final letters X. Y. Z., as follows :

Amelia,	Goneril,	Miranda,	Silvia,
Beatrice,	Hermione,	Nerissa,	Tamora,
Cordelia,	Imogen,	Ophelia,	Ursula,
Desdemona,	Juliet,	Portia,	Viola.
Emilia,	Katharine,	Quickly,	Witches.
Francisca,	Luciana,	Rosalind,	

There are *seven* of these female characters who assume male attire while performing certain portions of their parts. Their names are as follows : Portia, Viola, Jessica, Rosalind, Julia, Imogen, Nerissa, Portia (also spelled Porcia, means courageous). In some words (as is well known) the sound of J is precisely like that of G. I and J are interchangeable, in fact are the same letter. Taking the initial letters of these names and the signification of the first we have Portia courageous V. I. R. J. I. N. *Seven* signs are noticed (II. King Henry VI., act 3, scene 2), as characterizing a *violent* death as contrasted with a *natural* death. *The ills of life* which we would rather bear than fly to others we know not of, are found to be just *seven* in number as enumerated by Hamlet in his famous soliloquy.

The whole number of characters in the plays and poems is over 960—nearly 1,000 in round numbers; Shakespeare's world, a microcosm of the great world and the drama of human life and history enacted therein.

DAMASCUS is referred to as the *oldest* city in the world, so minute was the knowledge of this myriad-minded man. An explanation of the Saviour's saying : "*It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle,*" may be found in Richard II., act 5, scene 5.

The fullest and at the same time the briefest, and therefore the most wonderful definition of prayer which perhaps it would be possible to frame is to be found in Hamlet : "What's in Prayer, but this twofold force? To be forestalled e'er we come to fall, or pardoned being down."

G. G. H.

BAY SHORE, L. I.

THE NEW ENGLAND PRIMER, 1690

Bibliomaniacs and book collectors are well aware of the extreme rarity and value of ancient school books, nor is their value overestimated; "if we consider the condition of the human intellect at any particular juncture worth studying, it is essential to know on what sort of food its infancy was nurtured." This canon of criticism has peculiar significance when enquiring into the origin and history of *The New England Primer* which for a century and a half was to every individual born in these parts the first book in religion and morals, as well as in learning and literature. Indeed, there never was printed in America a work without any claim to inspiration whose influence in its day was so extended.

The earliest notice we find of this Primer is gleaned from an advertisement in an old almanac for the year 1691, announcing the publication of a second impression by Benjamin Harris, at the London Coffee House in Boston. The date of the first edition may therefore be assigned to the previous year, 1690. Compiled by ministers of the Gospel, it became the primary book of instruction for the children of Puritan parents, and was known to them as *The Little Bible of New England*. Being so small, and from constant use, so destructible, the originals for a period of half a century have totally disappeared, as the earliest yet discovered was printed in 1737, and of this date only one copy is known to bibliographers. In the days of Whitefield fathers of families laid this little Primer on the same shelf with the Holy Bible, and pious mothers assembled quarterly at Boston, to refresh their memories from its pages. It therefore has great claims upon our attention, being so closely identified with Puritan institutions and prejudices, it becomes in fact a part of the history of New England. During the Revolution every copy issued in Boston was fitly embellished with a portrait of John Hancock. Contemporaries assure us that from its inception copies of the Primer were multiplied by printing presses in every village and town in New England; and in the last year of the last century an edition was published by Oliver Farnsworth, in Newport. Impressions by thousands were struck off in New York, in New Jersey and in Pennsylvania. Its popularity even spread to Old England, as it was reprinted in London in 1771; and in Glasgow in 1784; becoming very acceptable in Scotland.

Mention has already been made of the extreme rarity of early dated copies. Being an "open secret" it may here be told, that at the Brinley sale of books in New York, six of these little Primers, commencing with the year 1737, were purchased for Cornelius Vanderbilt for the munificent sum of six hundred and thirty dollars! It is pleasant to be enabled to add that these precious and unique colonial Primers were superbly bound in levant morocco, inclosed in a velvet casket. The copy of the Primer that suggests our theme includes a historic preface, and is a verbatim report of the Boston edition of 1777; considered the most complete

of the original series. Here we find the alphabet very rudely illustrated, and written in dogmatic couplets. For example :—

" In Adam's Fall, we sinned All.
 " Peter deny'd His Lord, and Cry'd.
 " Queen Esther Sues, and saves the Jews.
 " Young Pious Ruth left all for Truth.
 " Zacheus he did climb the Tree,
 " Our Lord to See."

Then comes *John Cotton's Spiritual Milk for American Babes*, affording copious but involuntary draughts. Next is a picture of the martyrdom of John Rogers in 1554, the first victim during the reign of "Bloody Mary." Further on, is the "Shorter Catechism agreed upon by the Divines and Laymen assembled at Westminster," in 1644, which still is the doctrinal standard of Scotch Presbyterians. And towards the end is "A Dialogue between Christ, a Youth, and the Devil." Mighty indeed must have been the sombre influence of lessons such as these upon the people, among whom they circulated. The early editions not being regarded as wholly unexceptionable in phraseology, nor suited to the present time, this Primer fell into disuse for a brief period, but again within three score years it came into requisition in a revised form, and over 100,000 copies were distributed, by a single society in Massachusetts, among Sabbath and secular schools. Apart from its historic associations, the prediction may now be hazarded, that this colonial Primer will be, forever, embalmed among the curiosities of English literature.

CLEMENT FERGUSON

DECORATION DAY

I walked the streets at midnight,
 But my thoughts were far away,
 For my leaf of Life, now withered,
 Was green again with May.

The snows of twenty winters
 Had vanished from my brow,
 And I (ah me !) looked forward,
 As I look backward now.

Why should I not look forward ?
 I knew my soul was strong ;
 I knew there was within me
 The might there is Song.

My heart was light and friendly ;
I loved my fellow men,
And I loved—how much !—my comrades,
For I had comrades then.

Where are those dear old fellows ?
Ah ! whither have they flown ?
I asked myself at midnight,
As I walked the streets alone.

There was Fitz, the Irish singer,
And Fred, the tender heart,
And Harry, who lived for Woman,
And Tom, who lived for Art.

Poor Fitz's song is over,
And the heart of Fred is still :
One went down at Yorktown,
The other at Malvern Hill.

Wrapt in the blue they fought in,
They buried them where they lay ;
And elsewhere Tom and Harry,
Who wore, poor lads ! the gray.

As I walked the streets at midnight,
And remembered the awful years
That snatched my comrades from me,
My eyes were filled with tears.

I thought of bloody battles,
Where thousands such as they
Had met and killed each other
For wearing the blue and gray ;

Of happy homes that were darkened,
Of hearts that were desolate,
Of tender hearts that were broken,
Of love that was turned to hate.

I pitied the wretched living ;
I think I did the dead ;
I know I sighed for Harry,
And dropped a tear for Fred.

"Poor boys!" I said. But pondering
What was, and might have been
(What I am in the sere leaf,
And they were in the green),

I pitied my dead no longer;
I did not dare to. No.
They went when they were summoned;
Before, they could not go.

When we know what Life and Death are,
We shall then know which is best;
Meanwhile we live and labor:
Their labor done, they rest.

The earth lies heavy on them,
But they do not complain;
They do not miss the sunshine,
They do not feel the rain.

If they are ever conscious,
In that long sleep of theirs,
It is when, past the winter,
We feel the first spring airs.

When the birds from tropic countries
Come back again to ours,
And where of late were snowdrifts,
The grass is thick with flowers—

Such flowers as will to-morrow
Be scattered where they lie,
The blue and gray together,
Beneath the same sweet sky;

No stain upon their manhood,
No memory of the Past,
Except the common valor
That made us One at last!

R. H. STODDARD.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

PETITION TO THE EARL OF BELLOMONT IN 1698

A CURIOUS DOCUMENT, IN GOOD PRESERVATION

[Among the papers of Rev. Dr. Derick Romeyn, contributed by Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt.]

To his Excellency Richard Earl of Bellomont
Capt^t Gen^l and Governor in Chief of his
Maj^{ties} Province of New Yorke, &c &c,

The humble Remonstancce of the Minister and Elders of the Dutch Church
within the City of New Yorke.

May it Please your Lordship

The underwritten Minister and Elders of the Dutch-Church within this City of New-Yorke, being unexpectedly Troubled and Disturbed by a Certaine Protest without any dates signed by Mess^{rs} Samuell States, Johannis De Peyster and Johannis Kersbeye the copy whereof is hereunto annexed, having just taken the advice of the Consestory of the ffrench Church within this City cannot but informe & Remonstrate to your Excellency how deeply we and our Church are troubled by the Said Protest whereby wee are hindered in the Execution of our office, and

Our Consistory has in the feare of God drawne up a Beroys brief or call for a Second Minnister one D^r Hironemus Verduere Minnister at Bruynesse in Zeeland or any other in cause of his death or Refusal to be sent over to us by the Classes of Amsterdam—according to the orders and bills of Exchange sent to that purpose

This my Lord has been undertaken and done after Syslicating the Name of God and Examination & Sryerserytion of the Princypall men and members of our Church—according to our Charter and the Rueles & Cannons of our Netherdutch Church.

And Because this our Beroeps or call should not meeth with any Difficulty or hindrance it was Judged Advisable by our Consestory Imediatly after that to send the same with Circular Letters to all the Netherdutch Churches throughout this Province, which have all approved of it (except Kingstowne) and have declared the Same to bee according to the Rules and orders of the Nationall Sinode and the Custumes of the Netherdutch Church, and was signed by the Minnisters Elders and Deacons of the Churches of Christ at Albany, Schnegtede, Flatbosch, Flatlands,

Brucklen, New Utregt Bergen and haerlam to the number of Forty one Ecclesiastical Persons, besides those of New-York—

My Lord if anything more than this could have been desired to the Performance of this pious call, we sent for and Desired all the old and Late Elders and Deacons of our Church with our Present Consistory to take to, and Examine if there was any thing or any person to gainsay this call made as above mentioned and was Impossible to be spoke against for it was (Nemine Contradicente) approved of and conformed, all with one consent and without the least contradiccon and also sent to the Revend Classes of Amsterdam who we are accustomed and obliged to send all things to. My Lord Now there is complained in the Afore-mentioned Protest that more the underwritten Minister should (in case of Equall Votes) have taken upon him a new Pretended Right (as they call itt) to decide the Choice by his owne vote as President which allsoo hee now has done to name Cap^t Jacobis Cortlandt to be his Elder and whome (according to the Testimony of the Protestors themselves) they have nothing to say against ; This Costume as well in Military as in Civill affaires is Better knowne to your Lordship than to us and therefore we can appeal to your Excell'y and the whole world whether what concerned our Church either by Consistorial Classicall or Synodeall meetings this (in case of Equall voates) may not be decided by the President who hath his choice either to vote or order the Lott to be cast for the decision without the Least prejudice to his Ecclesiastical Right ; Butt My Lord not to go farther or beyond the Limitt of our Church it happened about four years since that the Hon^{ble} Stephanus Van Cortlandt, Collonel and one of his Maj^{ties} Councell and M^r Isaacq De Riemer (having their Equall votes and where one of the Protestors was there present and Rejoyced at it) were after this mannor chosen and never spoken against, then accepted of and approved of, now Rejected and Protested against, and when the before-named Cap^t Cortlandt was chosen and sent for and desired to accept the Service of an Elder, all Persons then Present did (none excepted) welcome him, Giving him the hand and wishing him all hapynesse in the said service, a signe of a generall approbation.

As to the Last which is a matter so small nor worthy to trouble your Lordship with ;

My Lord when our Church was built and Church masters were to be chosen, ffredrick Phillipps Esq^r being Church Master did then vote with our Consistory and with one consent were chosen Cap^t Johannis Kys, Cap^t Brandt Schuyler & Cap^t Tuenis deKey without any contradiction. Last yeare when Mr. Isaacq De Riemer was Chosen Church-Master the Late Deacons being then out of the Service of the Church did vote along with the said Consistory, then without any Contradiction, Butt must the Consistory now be so stricktly Limmited that they alone are to Chuse Church Masters. Is this against the expresse Letter of their Corporation, whereby we and our Church are Priveledged from time to time to make S^{uch}

Rules to order, Constitute and Recall as shall bee Judged most and Best for the welfare of our church, Now wee considering that the Gentlemen, Church Masters Receive no Sallarie and that they ought to bee esteemed more than as Sextons and Messengers that are payd, that in regard of their Persons and offece they ought to bee admitted to have their vote in the Consistory in the Choice of their Successors as Church masters and after this mannor were chosen Coll^o Charlis Lodwick and M^r Abraham Kipp honest and pious Persons and these being also Sent for and being come were wellcomed with giving of the hands and wishing of happinesse in our meeting which allso was a Signe of approbation. In fine it Grieves our Church that we act with open doors—The Gentlemen Protestors aforementioned have written without our knowledge to the Reverend Classes of Amsterdam both by the Last Ships from hence and by the way of Boston and other places and that they should have done this in the name and by the order of your Excellency ; also this was first made knowne to us after the departure of the Ships, in the meane while wee hope the Lord God will provide in this matter and that his Royall Majestie will defend us, and also that your Excelly (seeing now the contrary) write in favour of us and our call to the Reverend Classes of Amsterdam with Recomendations that the same may not be hindered which done etc.

Done in Our Consistorial meeting

this Nov^r 1698.

To the Reverend D^r henricus Selyus, Minnister and the further members of the Consistory of this Citty

Doe shew with Submission for our Selves and in the Name of the Greatest part of the Members of y^r Communion. Whereas wee could not obtain the Last yeare to bee heard in the presence of the old Church Counsel, uppon our humble Petition and many friendly desires of what wee had to say Butt that notwithstanding all this, D^r Selyns with six of his Church Counsellis have presumed to call a second Minister without first Conveaning the old Church Councell and Principale Members with them, according to Anscient practises, upon a pretended clause in the Corporation. Wee were therefor necessitated to make our address to his Excell^y the Earl of Bellomont our Governur not to Submit our Church affairs to his Excell^y but to hinder by his mediation the increase of this Quarrell or that otherwise wee should be necessitated to write to the Reverend Classes of Amsterdam, whereupon his Excell^y has promised to give his helping hand, but is hindered by his Sicknesse and Indisposition. In meanetime it is happened that two ships which were reddey to Sayle are departed with the Letters for calling a second Minnister without giving notice therof to his Excell^y according to former Costumes, And therefore hath his Excell^y comanded to write in his Lordships name to the honorable Classes of Amsterdam which wee have accordingly dune by those Ships and other Ways that the honorable Classes would bee pleased not to proceed with the precipitant calling, Butt to stay till they have his Excell^y and one writing which his Excell^y doubtlesse

would write to the hon^{ble} Classes wth the Ship *Debtfort* that is to depart from Boston for England which accordingly will be done in few days, In the meantime it has happened that D^r Selyns and some of his Church Councell have againe committed another fault which is where two persons are chosen to bee Elders and have Equale votes. Lotts ought to be cast to find out who ought to stand according to Anscient practice, in stead of dowing this D^r Selyns by a new Pretended Right Saith it belonged to him to Chuese one of the two, and hath accordingly done the same and although wee have nothing to object to either of these two Persons, as D^r Selyns by his actions doth shew, Notwithstanding wee do Protest against his unseemely Mannor of Dowling and Desire that the Lotts may be cast over this otherwise wee wilnot acknowledge this Proclaimed Elder.

And Secondly another mistake hath been considered w^{ch} is that two Persons are appointed to bee Church Masters by the Old Church Masters and Church Councill against the Expresse letter of the Corporation, which wee therefore neither can nor will owne nor acknowledge for such.

Wee desire then for ourselves that wee may without delay be heard in Church Councill, there to set forth our Grievances before a Second Proclamation bee done from the Pulpitt of said Persons, that all offence and dissention may be taken away which God Knowes is alreddy to mutch in the Church.

Sam^{ul} States
Jo. D^e Peyster
Johannes Kerfbeye

NOTES

QUEER LEATHER AND STRANGE USE
Editor of Magazine of American History:

—In the year 1846, while briefly stopping at a hotel in Toledo, Ohio, I made some acquaintance with an old gentleman of very respectable appearance, a Mr. Piatt, who with his son was on his way toward his home at Covington (on the Wabash, as I supposed, yet possibly the Covington opposite Cincinnati, Ohio). In our conversation he informed me that his father's family lived near where Lieutenant Boyd was killed (in Sullivan's campaign), and that Murphy, an Indian fighter of some note, was well known by his father's family, and upon one occasion was chased by an Indian so near the American post, that a soldier fired and killed the red-skin. Some one whose name I have forgotten offered a certain sum to any person who would take off the skin of the Indian's legs sufficient for a pair of boot-legs, which offer was accepted and the work done. Mr. Piatt, when a small boy, often heard the circumstances spoken of, and remembers well seeing the boot-legs more than once; they had been nicely tanned in Philadelphia, he believed; it was in 1792 when he last saw them. The possessor valued them highly, and said he trusted they would always be kept in his family as a trophy and a memorial of the period. Mr. Piatt said that he himself did service in the West, in the war of 1812. H. H. H.

CHICAGO, *June*, 1888.

ZACATECAS—Extracted from "Notes on a Mexican Trip" by Miss Catharine Weed Barnes: "Zacatecas is called the

greatest mining camp in the world. The Indians worked here ages ago, but were driven out by the Spaniards, leaving the name of their chief to the town. The greater part of the mining interest is held in Spain, and the mines, after producing richly for centuries, show no signs of being exhausted.

As our heavy train slowly ascended the mountains, on our approach to the place, up the steep grade which necessitated many curves and windings, we were constantly passing mining-shafts, reduction-works and adobe-huts, until suddenly we emerged from a long cutting and there, crowded into a narrow ravine, lay Zacatecas. Before we fairly stopped, some of our party started to catch a train for town and we spent the evening wandering about, very quietly, for our weary lungs realized, if our minds were not cognizant of it, that we were more than 8,000 feet above sea-level.

Back into the far past goes the history of the quaint old town to the time when Philip II., of Spain, gave it the title of 'ciudad' or city. Above it rises a ridge of porphyritic rock called the 'Bufa,' but that, as all others in the vicinity, is filled with mines. After a visit the next morning to the plaza and richly ornamented cathedral, where we heard some excellent music, we took tram-cars for Guadalupe, some five miles distant. The ride is exciting, for the cars are allowed to swiftly descend an inclined road by the power of gravitation and are drawn back by burros. The church is not especially expressive after that in Zacatecas, but the chapel adjoining is an exquisite bit

of architecture, and though rarely shown to visitors, was kindly opened for us. Its beauty yields only to the glory of the Græco-Russian churches. Near it is a large college and orphan asylum founded by General de la Cadena.

Returning to Zacatecas we spent hours studying the streets and people, curious, picturesque and fascinating. In one large square was an immense fountain surrounded by crowds drawing water into jars that looked like oat-meal cans, carried over their shoulders, as is the custom with the Venetian water-carriers. We began to feel that at last, without crossing the great ocean, we were in a 'strange country.' One lady said, impulsively, as we watched the animated scene about us, 'How in the world can such a place as this be described?' Another said, 'It is like Syria and the Nile, yet that description would not be just.' It is far enough away from our borders to preserve its distinctive character, which, however interesting it may be to a foreigner, does not begin to show the solid and general prosperity of the United States. A thoroughly prosperous country is said to have no history, and it certainly loses in picturesqueness in proportion as it becomes more comfortable for a place of residence. Picturesqueness and poverty too often go hand in hand."

ABOUT MARIETTA, OHIO—Washington said in one of his letters, "No colony in America was ever settled under such favorable auspices as that which has just commenced at Muskingum. Information, property and strength will be its characteristics. I know many of the

settlers personally, and there never were men better calculated to promote the welfare of such a community." This colony opened the way for Congress to discharge its just debts to the soldiers, to found states, and lay the solid basis of civil and religious liberty, and of universal education. The settlement at Marietta was national in its scope, for it was the first settlement of the first territory of the United States, and it opened up the west, made a gateway thereto, and turned the attention of the country to the vast and unknown region beyond the mountains. There was as little knowledge in the eastern states in those days about the west as there is in this country now about Central Africa. The settlement at Marietta was the great starting point, the beginning of colonization and emigration. From the mouth of the River Muskingum the people spread out till they filled the great states that were cut from the Northwest Territory, and finally redeemed the whole of our western country.

AN OLD ADVERTISEMENT—*Editor Magazine of American History*:—Having been a reader of your periodical for many years, I take pleasure in forwarding to you the following clipping from a Hartford paper one hundred and thirteen years old, which may interest the antiquarian.

WM. L. RANSOM

Frederick Bull,

At his Store near the Landing Place in

HARTFORD,

HAS FOR SALE,

THE most universal assortment of iron
HOLLOW WARE perhaps ever

brought into any one store in this town, such as large kettles and coolers, large, middle sized and small pots, spiders, bake pans, basons, skillets, dogs, cart boxes, TEA! (I ask pardon) COFFEE kettles; together with a small assortment of earthen and delph WARE.-----Best French indigo, wholesale and retail. Rum. Sugar, by the barrel, or single pound. French Brandy by the anchor or gallon. Geneva. Coffee. Chocolate in large or small quantities. Tar, Pitch, &c. The smallest favours gratefully acknowledged by

FRED. BULL.

May 15, 1775.

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HISTORIC KINGSTON—An interesting work will shortly appear from the pen of Hon. Marius Schoonmaker, to be entitled the "History of Kingston," which, as is

well known, was at one period in the exciting days of the Revolution considered the third town of importance in the state. It was the point to which the government fled when the British took possession of the metropolis, and it was the scene of many exciting events and romantic incidents. Mr. Schoonmaker, whose rare qualifications for such a work give assurance of a production of great interest and thorough accuracy, has traced the Indian and French wars as well as the struggles of the Revolution. He describes the invasion and barbarities of the British and the burning of the town, and gives not only a plan of the stockade in 1661, but the plan of Kingston before it was destroyed by the enemy in 1777, and a full description of it in 1820. The book is to be published by subscription. Price \$4.00.

QUERIES

FAMOUS AUTHORS—Who are the chief authors in history made famous by the achievement of one great work?

Who are the chief authors in American history made famous by the achievement of one great work?

INFORMANT

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

THE OLDEST STATUE IN THE WORLD—Will some one of the readers of the *Magazine of American History* oblige a class of young scholars in art, by stating for their benefit the name and location of the oldest statue in the world?

ARTISTS IN WOOD

REPLIES

LOCAL HISTORY [xvii. 86]—There is no work devoted exclusively to the settlement of North Oyster Bay, Long Island. Thompson's "History of Long Island," and the "Townsend Memorial" comprise about all that has been published in relation to this locality. Thompson says, in alluding to the town of Oyster Bay: "In the spring of 1640 an attempt was made to form a settlement upon the

present site of the village of Oyster Bay, by Captain Edward Tomlyn, and a few other persons from the town of Lynn, without having obtained permission from the Dutch or consent of the agent of the Earl of Stirling. They met with such opposition from the Dutch, who remonstrated against their proceedings, that they abandoned the enterprise and returned to Massachusetts." For other

facts bearing upon the matter, we refer to Winthrop's "History of Massachusetts."

As to the parents of Tristram Dodge the query can be answered by Robert Dodge, of Hempstead, who has prepared the work "Tristram Dodge and his Descendants in America." We know of no history devoted exclusively to the Baptist early settlers of Long Island. The Rev. Charles S. Wightman, of Oyster Bay, has prepared a very interesting monograph of the Baptist church of that village, one of, if not the oldest church of that denomination upon the Island, the original structure still standing having undergone numerous changes in its architecture, but still retaining some of its original features. In the same, the Rev. Marmaduke Earl officiated for many years, with eminent satisfaction.

T. D. C.

LOCUST VALLEY, L. I.

JUAN MANUEL DE SALCEDO [xx. 78]
—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Don Juan Manuel de Salcedo, a brigadier-general in the armies of Spain, arrived in Louisiana about the 15th of June, 1801, to act as governor of the provinces of Louisiana and West Florida. One of his first measures was directed toward checking the dangerous designs of the Americans, one of whom, well known to fame, he designates as "del bandido Americano, Felipe Nolan."

On the 30th of November, 1803, Salcedo, accompanied by a commissioner sent out from Spain for that purpose, surrounded with troops drawn up in line and a large concourse of spectators, the

thunder of salvos of artillery giving additional effect to the scene, delivered up at the Place d'Armes, the keys of the city of New Orleans, to the French commissioner Laussat, thus virtually terminating his own tenure of office as the last Spanish governor of Louisiana. At the same time his fellow commissioner, General Casa Calvo, declared the people of Louisiana absolved from their oath of fidelity and allegiance to the Crown of Spain.

Twenty days afterwards, on the 20th of December, 1803, Laussat in his turn delivered the keys of the port and city to the American commissioners, Governor Claiborne, and General Wilkinson, and with them the whole of Louisiana, an act of which we can scarcely conceive the effect upon the future of this our great country.

DAVID FITZGERALD

WASHINGTON, D. C.

GROUND RENTS.—The third number in the series of monographs on Political Economy and Public Law, edited by Professor Edmund J. James, and published by the University of Pennsylvania, will shortly appear. It treats of Ground Rents in Philadelphia, that device by which the acquisition of real estate has been made so easy to people of moderate means that Philadelphia has become known as *par excellence* the "City of Homes," having more separate dwelling houses in proportion to its population than any other great city of the world.

SOCIETIES

THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its annual meeting May 29, at its rooms in the Athenæum, Hartford. The meeting was called to order by the president, the Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull, and the secretary having read the minutes, the treasurer, Mr. J. F. Morris, presented his report showing that the funds of the society were safely and profitably invested. The librarian, Mr. F. B. Gay, reported the receipt during the year of 137 volumes by gift, two by exchange and one by purchase; also 225 pamphlets and 19 miscellaneous articles, including manuscripts, an oil portrait, a silver pitcher, photographs, steel engravings, etc., a total of 384 items. Many of the books and pamphlets have been catalogued in the Watkinson library, especially those relative to local history and genealogy. The library is in great need of small funds for the purchase of books in these two departments, to raise them to an equality with the other portions of the library, as there are constant and heavy calls upon it from all sections of the country, in relation to Connecticut local and family history. Not only are many letters sent to it for information on these subjects, but personal note is made of its stores by readers, from practically every state in the Union.

Hon. J. Hammond Trumbull who has occupied the presidency for a quarter of a century was re-elected, notwithstanding his earnest wish to retire. Other officers elected for the coming year are J. F. Morris, treasurer; Frank B. Gay, recording secretary; Charles J. Hoad-

ley, corresponding secretary; with seven vice-presidents: Henry Barnard, Prof. Franklin B. Dexter of New Haven, John P. C. Mather, of New London, L. N. Middlebrook, of Bridgeport, John W. Stedman, Robins Battell, of Norfolk, James Phelps, of Essex, and Dwight Loomis, of Rockville.

On June 26 the society visited Mystic, and contemplated the scenes of Captain Mason's exploits in the battles with the Pequots, which put an end to the hostilities between the early settlers of Connecticut and the famous Indian tribe. Many of the party were descendants of the original Hartford settlers, and some of them of those in Captain Mason's gallant party. This field day ended with a dinner, speeches, etc., and was a very great success.

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY—At a meeting held May 23d by this society, President Wilson in the chair, an interesting address was delivered by the Rev. Randall R. Hoes, Chaplain in the United States Navy, and now stationed at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, his subject being "Genealogical research in America." After the address remarks were made by Edward F. De Lancey, Dr. Ellsworth Eliot and others. The valuable paper of Chaplain Hoes will appear in the October number of the "New York Genealogical and Biographical Record." Jacob Wendell with some other gentlemen were elected members of the society. In the audience were Mrs. Grant Wilson, Mr. and Mrs. Jacob Wendell, Mr. and Mrs. Livingstone, Mr.

and Mrs. Servoss, Mr. and Mrs. Gibson, Mr. and Mrs. Evans, Colonel Casey, of the United States Army, William H. Lee, Edmund A. Hurry and Henry T. Drowne.

THE ROCHESTER (N. Y.) HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its last meeting for the season June 14, at the house of Mrs. G. H. Pukins. Mrs. Jane Marsh Parker read a paper upon "The Opening of the Genesee Country, and one of its Representative Pioneers," a careful study of the character of Colonel Nathaniel Rochester, as well as a summary of events pertaining to the settlement of the Phelps and Gorham purchase. The Hon. Henry E. Rochester presented a memorial of General A. W. Riley, a prominent pioneer of early Rochester. Several historical personages were present: Hon. Mortimer F. Reynolds, the first white child born in the city of Rochester; Hon. Henry E. Rochester, the youngest son of the founder of the city; Hon. Hiram Sibly, whose name is associated with telegraphy; Dr. E. M. Moore, and Schuyler Moses, who settled in Rochester in 1818, and has lived there ever since. The Rochester Society has been late in organizing, but it promises to do good and permanent work.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting, July 3, in the afternoon, at the Cabinet, in Providence, President Gammell in the chair. After reading the records of the last quarterly meeting the secretary laid before the society several communications, the most important of which related to the Rhode Island pioneer settlers of

Ohio and the centennial celebration at Marietta on the 7th of April last, and the exposition that was inaugurated this Fourth of July at Cincinnati. This society sent to the Cincinnati Exposition the portraits of the three most distinguished pioneer settlers of the Northwest Territory, viz.: Commodore Abraham Whipple, Colonel James M. Varnum, and Dr. Solomon Drowne, all of whom took an active part in the struggle for the independence of the country.

The librarian reported that the society had been unusually favored during the last quarter, having received from various sources 274 bound volumes, 602 pamphlets, and 186 articles, not readily classified, consisting of historical relics, souvenirs, mementoes, and works of art. Particular attention was called to an admirable portrait of the late Elisha Dyer, painted by Lincoln, the gift of Mrs. Francis J. Vinton in the name of her lamented nephew, Daniel Wanton Lyman.

Messrs. William D. Ely, C. W. Parsons, Edwin Barrows, and Amos Perry were elected members of the committee on Indian localities and names, and the hope was expressed that the results of the researches and investigations of this committee would be reported.

Mr. Henry T. Drowne, of New York, then being called upon by the president, presented to the society a copy of "The Society of the Cincinnati in New York," a royal 8vo illustrated volume of 366 pages, and took occasion to set forth a great amount of information relative to the Cincinnati societies that were established at the disbanding of the Continental army in 1783 in the thirteen original states.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

An interesting anecdote is told of ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes, by Rev. Dr. MacCracken, Vice-Chancellor of the University of the City of New York. While pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Toledo, Ohio, Dr. MacCracken was one of a committee of four who founded the Green Springs Academy. He says :

“ When, with others, I had fixed on Green Springs as the best point for an academy, I suggested that we obtain ex-President Hayes as president of our trustees. It was just after his retirement from the office of President. The objection was offered that he would hardly step directly from the Presidency of the United States to the presidency of Green Springs Academy. I insisted, and he was invited to be present at our first meeting. It was on the academy grounds, near the great springs from which the village was named. There was a fine shaded knoll on the grounds on which Mr. Hayes threw himself, being fatigued with the ride from his home. I moved that ‘Inasmuch as there was one comfortable seat provided by nature on these grounds, the gentleman occupying it be elected president of the board.’ Receiving a second, I put the motion, which was adopted. President Hayes sprang up saying, ‘ Then if I am President, here where I place my cane in the sod shall be the corner-stone of the new academy. ’ ”

The first literary venture of William H. Prescott, the historian, was in 1817. The *North American Review* had then been in existence some two years, and was considered a very respectable journal. “ It offered,” says Ticknor, “ a tempting opportunity for the exercise of his powers, and he prepared an article for it. The project was a deep secret, and when the article was finished, it was given to his much-trusted sister to copy. He felt, she thinks, some misgivings, but on the whole looked with favor on his first-born. It was sent anonymously to the club of gentlemen who then managed the *Review* and nothing was heard in reply for a week or more. The two who were in the secret began, therefore, to consider the venture safe, and the dignity of authorship, his sister says, seemed to be creeping over him, when one day he brought back the manuscript to her, saying, ‘ There, it is good for nothing. They refuse it. I was a fool to send it. ’ ”

Henry W. Longfellow received from Edgar A. Poe the following letter in 1841 : “ Dear Sir : Mr. George R. Graham, Proprietor of *Graham's Magazine*, a monthly journal published in this city (Philadelphia) and edited by myself, desires me to beg of you the honor of your contribution to its pages. Upon the principle that we seldom obtain what we very anxiously covet, I confess that I have but little hope of inducing you to write for us—and to say the truth, I fear that Mr. Graham would have opened the negotiation much better in his own person, for I have no reason to think myself favorably known to you ; but the attempt was to be made, and I make it.

I should be overjoyed if we could get from you an article each month—either poetry or prose—length and subject *à discrétion*. In respect to terms, we would gladly offer you *carte blanche*, and the periods of payment should also be made to suit yourself.”



The value of free public libraries cannot be too highly estimated. Unlike charities, the free library is equally gracious to those who have means and those who have not. Books are no respecters of persons. They are the best substitutes for teachers, and next to a college, a good library is the most efficient means of education, and the purest source of enjoyment the world affords. Public libraries have increased rapidly during the past few years, springing into existence in remote towns and country villages. Nowhere is the public library more beneficial than in manufacturing communities. The density of the population, the scarcity of books in private ownership, the dreariness and dangers of boarding-house life, and the generally unemployed evenings of most of the people, offer conditions which render such an institution practically desirable.

The old recipe for cooking a hare, which begins with "first catch your hare," will apply admirably to the important question of the selection of books for such a library. Don't make the mistake of buying those of too solid a character, such indeed as ought to be read. But supply such books as are wanted by your tired people; fiction in moderate quantities, well chosen, if the indications are in that direction; and when you have secured and interested your readers, then there will be ample opportunity to regulate and elevate the public taste of your community. The real mission of the public library is to furnish not recreation, not the means of earning a better living, but culture. To accomplish this books must not only be furnished, but readers educated in their use.

Age is no criterion of mental capacity. Height of stature might as well almost be taken for its measure as length of years. Some young minds, of peculiar gifts and precocious development, are as fit to cope with the masterpieces of literature at ten years of age as the average person at twenty; and from this class come the minds that rule the world of mind and confer the greatest benefits upon the human race. Hence no child should be excluded from the treasures of the library on the flimsy ground that the child is too young to read good books.

Original thinkers are always ready to acknowledge their obligations to the wisdom which has been hived in books. Dr. Franklin traced his entire career to Cotton Mather's essays, which fell into his hands when a boy. Cobbett at eleven bought Swift's "Tale of a Tub" and it proved what he called "a birth of intellect." An odd volume of Racine picked up at a stall on the quay, made the poet of Toulon.

The first national library of Egypt was under the protection of the divinities whose statues adorned the temple; the inscription on the front was: "The nourishment of the soul"—or, according to Diodorus, "The medicine of the mind." The Ptolemies founded the great library of Alexandria; and one of these sovereigns refused to supply the famished Athenians with wheat until they presented him with the original manuscripts of Æschylus, Sophocles and Euripides. After the siege of Athens, Sylla discovered an entire library in the temple of Apollo, which having carried to Rome, he founded the first great Roman public library. After the taking of Carthage, the Roman senate rewarded the family of Regulus with the books found in that city. A library was a national gift, and the most honorable they could bestow. The opulent Roman—Lucullus—distinguished himself by collecting all the books of the then known world, and giving liberal access to them.

BOOK NOTICES

AMERICAN FISHES. A popular treatise upon the **GAME AND FOOD FISHES OF NORTH AMERICA.** With special reference to habits and methods of capture. By G. BROWN GOODE. 8vo, pp. 496. With numerous illustrations, 1888. New York: Standard Book Company.

Who is not interested in fish and fishing? The results of scientific investigation gathered into a succession of readable pages, is sure to find a cordial welcome. Professor Goode has aimed to include every North American fish likely to be of interest to the general reader in these descriptions; but he has not written for naturalists, and while all that is stated is scientifically correct, obstructive technicalities of zoological description are scrupulously avoided. Thus we have before us an interesting, popular work on American fishes, where available information, in almost every direction of importance, may be found on the theme in question, without the trouble of wading through a library.

No one is better qualified for the authorship of such a work as this than Professor Goode. He has thorough knowledge on the subject in all its varied aspects, that has been acquired through long years of study, opportunity and experience. He possesses also the skill and the taste to make his almost boundless information accessible and available for anyone interested in fish and fishing, and the book is of such convenient size that it will accompany many a tourist during the present summer in delightful excursions to lake, brook and sea. Portrait illustrations are scattered freely through the text. Here, for instance, we find the picture of the "American sole or Hog-choker," "the Striped Mullet," and the "Catfish." Of the latter Professor Goode says, "the metropolis of its popularity is Philadelphia, but wherever taken from clear, cool water it is palatable, and when properly cooked even delicious, its texture and flavor resembling that of the eel. Since every small boy begins his angling experiences with catfish, instructions for its capture would be superfluous. Its appetite is always good, and its palate, or whatever stands for palate in fish architecture, by no means delicate. A spice of danger attends its capture, and perhaps the excitement of taking one of them off the hook atones in part for its lack of gameness in the water, for a well-constituted catfish always gorges the hook, and its spines, always erected, inflict painful wounds. Certain anglers, I believe, essay the capture of catfish with fly and fancy tackle. It would be cruel to deprive ingenious tyros of the privilege of learning this method for themselves."

The scope of the volume is wide. The fishes of the brook and of the sea, the fishes of the Atlantic and the Pacific coasts, of the great inland lakes and the many rivers, fishes that are caught with the fly, and fishes that are caught with the net, nothing that has ever attracted the ambition of boyhood or of manhood seems to have been overlooked or forgotten. There are three full-page illustrations, a frontispiece in colors, representing a brook trout struggling with a red ibis fly; an exhibition of twelve striped bass, which fell to one rod in a couple of hours, and which weighed over five hundred pounds; and a picture of a salmon leaping a fall, made from an instantaneous photograph. Professor Goode gives a sentence of warning to whoever angles for perch: "Do not yield too unreservedly to the fascination of the pastime." He quotes the words of the unfortunate angler in Bulwer's "My Novel," ending as follows: "'The mocking fiend! Seven times since that day in the course of a varied and eventful life, have I caught that perch, and seven times has that perch escaped. . . . Good Heavens! If a man knew what it was to fish all one's life in a stream that has only one perch; to catch that perch nine times in all, and to see it fall back into the water. Humph! Why then, young sir, he would know what human life is to vain ambition.'"

A MANUAL OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF CANADA from the earliest period to the year 1888; including the British North America Act, 1867; and a Digest of Judicial Decisions on Questions of Legislative Jurisdiction. By JOHN GEORGE BOURINOT, LL.D., F.R.S.C., Clerk of the House of Commons of Canada. 12mo, pp. 238. Price, \$1.25.

Dr. Bourinot is favorably known to our readers through his scholarly contributions to this magazine. Any carefully prepared treatise from his pen cannot fail to attract interest and attention. The manual before us bears to the present constitution of Canada about the same relation that Dr. Israel Ward Andrews' excellent manual does to the constitution of the United States. Both have been produced for the convenience of University students, and both must ever be immensely helpful to all who take an interest in public affairs—and particularly to those who write for the press or speak on the platform. Dr. Bourinot's new manual is based on a portion of his larger treatise on parliamentary practice and procedure; that is, certain chapters of the latter have been revised, and

brought down to date for the former with all the recent great appeal cases which bear upon the interpretation of the Canadian constitution fully discussed. It is a work which has long been greatly needed. It opens with a sketch of Canada under the French Régime, showing how public meetings for any purpose were jealously restricted, even when it was necessary to make parish or market regulations, and that no semblance of municipal government was allowed in the town and village communities. In 1760, Canada became a possession of Great Britain. The Constitutional Act of 1791 was framed with the avowed object of assimilating the constitution of Canada to that of Great Britain, as nearly as the difference arising from the manners of the people, and from the present situation of the province, would admit. "The union of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada forms a chapter of more than ordinary interest. But the judicial decisions, and the rules of construction, embodied in the last part of this instructive handbook will command the lion's share of studious attention from those who wish to learn the general character of the constitutional system of the Dominion. Such test cases as Russell and the Queen, Hodge and the Queen, the Presbyterian Temporalities Case, the Converted Electors' Act, the Fishery License Case, the Canada Temperance Act, are analyzed, and the constitutional principles defined are developed in their effects on federal and provincial legislative powers. No such compact and useful treatise has hitherto appeared in Canada, and it supplies a widely-felt need.

LIVES OF THE PRESIDENTS: WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON, JOHN TYLER, AND JAMES KNOX POLK.

By WILLIAM O. STODDARD. 16mo, pp. 380. New York: Frederick A. Stokes & Brother.

The compression within a single book of the lives of three presidents speaks volumes in regard to the importance of their respective administrations as compared with the more stirring periods covered by others of the series. Confessedly, however, the administrations of Tyler and Polk were in some sense uneventful. Of the three included in the present volume, Harrison's is far the most important, and occupies nearly as many pages as the other two. It is quite possible that if the author could have foreseen the action of the Republican National Convention in nominating a grandson of President Harrison, he would have written with an eye to the results of the campaign. Perhaps, we may add, for the sake of the series as a whole it is quite as well that the spirit of prophecy did not descend upon him. The old hero can well afford to stand upon his merits without borrowing from the excitements of contemporary politics.

BRIEF INSTITUTES OF GENERAL HISTORY. Being a companion volume to the author's Brief Institutes of our Constitutional History, English and American. By E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS, D.D., LL.D., Professor of History in Brown's University. 12mo, pp. 452: Silver, Rogers & Co. Boston.

In this single volume Professor Andrews deals with the entire sweep of history. He calls it a precipitate rather than an outline, being to history at large what the spinal cord is to the nervous system, or the Gulf Stream to the Atlantic. It is not an exhaustive treatise on the subject of general history, but an excellent guide in the study of history. The author ignores unimportant details, treats some of the most notable in notes, and studiously renders prominent the rationale of historical movement. He says that in historical as in other instruction nothing can supply the place of the living teacher; but he has aimed to make this book a help to the teacher, synthetic in method, articulate, progressive, unitary. One of its important features is the plan it embodies to encourage and facilitate collateral reading. At the head of every chapter and of nearly every paragraph other historical works are named which can be consulted in any well-appointed library. Students who are not within reach of side lights of this character will find valuable illumination for each chapter in the corresponding chapters of "Fisher's Outlines." Thus it will be observed that this does not in any sense supplant that work, but is designed to supplement it. Professor Andrews says that although the Institutes was primarily intended for the class-room, he hopes it will be found the best sort of a Manual for general readers in history. In the opening chapter he treats of history and the study of history from a scientific and philosophical standpoint, laying down fundamental principles. He says "history is a part of nature, amenable and explicable by law in the same sense as nature at large." Then, again, he says, "Such as find no science of history *a fortiori*, admit no philosophy, which is usually, though not always, the case. Many believe in a science, but reject all philosophy of history."

The book is written in a terse and vigorous style, and to the independent student of history it will prove a great blessing. Even teachers who use their own lectures will find it a great time-saver, and particularly helpful to their classes as a syllabus and as a register of the best literature for side readings. It seems to us the very best work of the kind extant. The volume is handsomely printed on the finest quality of paper, and bound in elegant cloth. It will grace the shelf of any library, and will prove welcome to all students and readers of history.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE ENGLISH PEOPLE. By JOHN RICHARD GREEN. With maps and tables. New edition, thoroughly revised. 12mo. pp. 1872. New York, 1888. Harper & Brothers.

It is interesting to note how the study of history was awakened in the mind of the distinguished author of this volume. When he was about sixteen, Gibbon fell into his hands, "and from that moment the enthusiasm of history seized him. 'Man and Man's history' became the dominant interest of his life." Mrs. Green tells us in the introductory chapter of this new volume that when he returned to Oxford with a scholarship to Jesus College, an instinct of chivalrous devotion inspired his resolve that the study of history should never become with him a matter of classes or fellowship, nor should he be touched by the rivalries, the conventional methods, the artificial limitations, and the utilitarian aims of the schools. "College work and history work went on apart, with much mental friction and difficulty of adjustment and sorrow of heart. Without any advisers, almost without friends, he groped his way, seeking in very solitary fashion after his own particular vocation. His first historical efforts were spent on that which lay immediately about him; and the series of papers which he sent at this time to the *Oxford Chronicle* on 'Oxford in the Last Century' are instinct with all the vivid imagination of his later work, and tell their tale after a method and in a style which was already perfectly natural to him. He read enormously, but history was never to him wholly a matter of books. The town was still his teacher." There was then little help to be had for the history of Oxford or any other town. "So wholly had the story of the town," he wrote later, "passed out of the minds of men that there is still not a history of our country which devotes a single page to it." . . . "It was during these years at Oxford that his first large historical schemes were laid. . . . 'No existing historians help me,' he declared in his early days of planning; 'rather have I been struck by the utter blindness of one and all to the subject which they profess to treat—the national growth and development of our country.'" It was the last charge of the historian to his wife that she prepare a thorough revision of this work, which commission has been carried out in a thorough and laborious manner. Taking great care not to interfere in any way with the plan or structure of the book, the work of the reviser has been rather in the correction of minor errors of date and detail, such as are certain to occur in a large and important work covering so much ground. In essentials there is no change, and Green's history therefore remains a unique and important contribution to the literature of history. In his preface to the

first edition Mr. Green significantly remarked that the work was "a history, not of the English Kings or English conquests, but of the English people." He added further that he preferred to pass lightly over the details of foreign wars and diplomacies and the personal adventures of kings, to dwell at length on the incidents of that constitutional, intellectual and social advance in which is made the history of the nation itself. The unique value of the work is due to this general departure from ordinary methods of tuft-loving historians. A more admirable record, consistent, comprehensive and accurate, it would be difficult to find. There are genealogical tables, chronological annals and a running index upon every page. Those who wish to gain an outline of English history that is something more than a skeleton, will find Green's history to be just what they want. The original publication met with great favor, and this new edition will be warmly welcomed.

CONSTITUTIONAL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. By SIMON STERNE of the New York bar. 16mo. pp. 350. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

A fourth edition of Mr. Sterne's history of the Constitution is a sufficient proof of the necessity for such a work, and the task of preparing it could not well have been entrusted to abler hands. As originally designed it embraced a professional estimate of the Constitution as it has been interpreted by the Supreme Court, accompanied by a history of the political movements which have helped to reconstruct it in certain important particulars. Such a consideration could not but embrace a presentation of the political situation with an eye to the future, and at no time in the history of the commonwealth has such a study been fraught with more important interests than the present. That period of our history subsequent to the Civil war has been perhaps the most momentous of any, and the question of perpetuity is still one which may well engage the attention of thoughtful Americans. That our institutions should bear the strain of the conditions in which the war left them was one of the marvels of the age, and many of the evils of administration still exist and promise to afford a subject for consideration to generations yet unborn. To attribute the present commercial prosperity of the country to its institutions would be futile, but that they had much to do with it is undisputed. Natural advantages, the system of interstate commerce and individual enterprise, have had an incalculable effect in securing for us the position we now occupy among the great powers of the earth.

Upon all aspects of our constitutional history Mr. Sterne has brought to bear a wide knowledge of the law and of the political history of nations

as well as of parties. He has much to say upon topics of current interest, which deserves to command attention during the present political campaign.

ABSTRACT OF THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE VIRGINIA COMPANY OF LONDON, 1619-1624. Prepared from the RECORDS in THE LIBRARY of CONGRESS. By CONWAY ROBINSON; and edited with an INTRODUCTION AND NOTES. By R. A. BROCK. Vol. I. Collections of the Virginia Historical Society. [New Series.] Vol. VII.

The late eminent jurist Conway Robinson, who prepared the abstracts which form this volume, was one of the founders of the Virginia Historical Society in 1831, its first treasurer [John Marshall, being its first president] and long its vice-president, and chairman of its Executive Committee. These abstracts were recently generously presented to the society by his widow, having been made, it is believed, about 1856. They are very carefully described in the introduction by Mr. Brock, which is to all intents and purposes an elaborate bibliography of what has been published in this country bearing upon the early history of Virginia. An error, probably typographical, appears on the forty-first page, by which the excellent article by Luther Henry Porter, on "Popular Government in Virginia," in the June *Magazine of American History*, is credited to Charles H. Tuckerman. But as a rule the whole work is authoritative as well as comprehensive and valuable. The notes furnish biographical data of much interest. "At a great and general quarter-court held the second of May, 1621," we find that John Jefferson, the ancestor of President Thomas Jefferson, was present—the list of prominent names, including those of the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Warwick, Lord Cavendish, Lord Pagett, Sir Samuel Sandys, Sir Edwin Sandys, Sir Richard Worsly, and Sir Walter Earle. The third Earl of Southampton was a patron of Shakespeare, and had been one of the contributors to the expedition, under Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, in the *Concord*, in 1602. The second Earl of Warwick was Admiral for the long Parliament, and much in the confidence of Cromwell.

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PAMPHLETS, No. 4. Loughery's Defeat. An Account of Pigeon Roost Massacre. With Introductory sketch by CHARLES MARTINDALE. 12mo, pp. 32. Pamphlet. Indianapolis. The Bowen-Merrill Co. 1888.

This little brochure contains material of

value. We only wish there was more of it. The diary of Captain Isaac Anderson, beginning with August, 1781, and continued until July 16, 1782, is included; also a letter from Haldimand to Lord George Germain, giving his version of Loughery's defeat. Pigeon Roost was the name of a small settlement formed in 1809, five miles south of Scottsburg, and the terrible massacre recorded occurred on the afternoon of September 3, 1812.

FRANCE AND THE CONFEDERATE NAVY. 1862-1868. An International Episode. By JOHN BIGELOW. 16mo. pp. 248. New York. Harper & Brothers.

The author of this most valuable and interesting contribution to our war literature represented the United States at the court of the Third Napoleon at a time when the possibility of foreign interference was uppermost in the North and South. To Spain, France and England the confederacy made overtures ranging from the guarantee of Cuba to restoration of her long lost colonies to the mother country. To France was held out the hope of Mexican sovereignty, and so far were the negotiations carried that as early as 1863, the French Emperor secretly authorized the construction of several iron-clads and armored cruisers in the government yard. Had these vessels been completed and set afloat it is quite possible that there might have been a different result to the war, and Gettysburg might have been fought and won in vain. Mr. Bigelow tells his story in a straightforward way, concealing and setting down naught in malice. In connection with Captain Bullock's "Secret Service of the Confederate States," it covers a great deal of diplomatic history which had a most important bearing on the progress of events at that time, and makes a valuable addition to the library of the collector of War Memorabilia. Documents are given in full wherever possible and references to authorities are cited with painstaking care.

YANKEE GIRLS IN ZULU LAND. By LOUISE VESCELIUS SHELDON. 16mo, pp. 285. New York: Worthington Co.

From the first page to the last of this unique and entertaining book, the reader's curiosity is piqued concerning the possible personality of the author or authors, namely the "Yankee Girls," who are three in number, presumably sisters, and at the opening of the narrative residents of London. One of the number is advised by her physician to visit, for her health, the high table lands of South Africa, including the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Cape Colony. Upon this, all three, being apparently blessed with unlimited means, pack up their

belongings, write to their stay-at-home American mamma, and, without thought of chaperones and the like, embark for Cape Town. They visit the diamond fields; they traverse the *veldt* in a Boer ox-cart with sixteen yoke of oxen; they ride, walk and picnic wherever their sweet wills lead them, they are received everywhere by church dignitaries and the best local society, and have a capital time generally until the invalid recovers her health and marries a diamond merchant.

This little episode, however, does not really make any perceptible difference, for the original number seems still to be maintained, and to the last chapter the clever artist goes on depicting the three girls, even as at the outset with no disturbing masculine element within the visible horizon. The wide margins and numerous illustrations lend an attractive air to the book, which is certainly sprightly and entertaining throughout, though evidently not the work of a careful writer for the press.

THREE INTRODUCTORY LECTURES
ON THE SCIENCE OF THOUGHT. By
F. MAX MÜLLER. 12mo, pp. 123. Chicago :
Open Court Pub. Co.

These lectures were delivered by their distinguished author before the Royal Institution, London, in March, 1887. They at once attracted the attention of the English-speaking world, and were republished in the autumn of that year by the publishers of the present volume. These lectures embody in an introductory way much of the more important matter of Prof. Müller's larger work "The Science of Thought" which has caused so much discussion among the philosophers of our time. Many of Prof. Müller's ideas may be termed revolutionary, but they are presented with a force and cogency which make their perusal indispensable for every one who would keep abreast with the philosophical thought of the times.

HOW TO JUDGE OF A PICTURE. By
JOHN C. VAN DYKE. 16mo, pp. 168. New
York : Phillips & Hunt.

The author sets himself a difficult, nay an almost hopeless task, when he undertakes to tell his readers how to judge of a picture. Probably he is well aware of this himself, but his motive is excellent, and his book contains much that will prove of value to the Chautauqua students of art for whom it was primarily undertaken. It is quite time that persons who habitually visit the picture galleries should have more information; not one in ten knows a good picture from a bad one, and it is equally certain that no ten acknowledged experts, connoisseurs,

artists and critics can ever be found to agree as to the relative merits of ten different pictures. The study of pictures under competent leadership no doubt helps to raise the standard of artistic appreciation, and Mr. Van Dyke's effort is a most praiseworthy one. We cheerfully recommend it as a safe guide to students.

MEMORIAL TO MY HONORED KIN-
DRED. By CHARLES W. DARLING. 8vo
pamphlet, pp. 109. Privately printed. Utica,
1888.

This work embraces appreciative biographical sketches of Rev. Charles Chauncey Darling, the father of the author, of Rev. Richard Ely, of Hon. Thomas Darling, the grandfather of the Rev. Charles Chauncey Darling, of Rev. Joseph Noyes, the father of Mrs. Thomas Darling, of Rev. James Pierpont, of Rev. Joseph Haynes, of Judge Charles Chauncey, LL. D., and of the second President of Harvard College, Rev. Charles Chauncey. Also of Adeline Eliza Dana, the wife of Rev. Charles Chauncey Darling, and of their second son Elisha Colt Darling, and some others. There are several good portraits in the brochure, and much genealogical information that will be greatly prized by the family. The Rev. Chauncey Darling was born in New Haven in 1799, was graduated from Yale College in 1820, in the same class as President Woolsey, and studied for the ministry. He was connected with many religious and charitable institutions. He was actively identified with the New York Tract Society for more than thirty years, and for a much longer period was chaplain of the Magdalen Benevolent Society.

MISSOURI. By LUCIEN CARR. American
Commonwealths. 16mo, pp. 377. Boston :
Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

This admirable series now embraces twelve volumes, with others in preparation, and its value, under Mr. Scudder's careful and discriminating editorship, increases with each volume. The story of Missouri involves much of romance, and the rude border warfare of early days. Indeed, within the present generation Missouri has been the scene of many exciting episodes. Of course, the history of the state must deal largely with the early French explorations and with the parallel history of the Louisiana purchase. The author has used conscientiously and intelligently the best authorities available, and is apparently in sympathy with his subject, which greatly enhances the living character of the narrative. His version of the Kansas-Nebraska troubles will be received with different degrees of toleration in different sections of the country, but it is well enough to hear both sides in the present year of grace.



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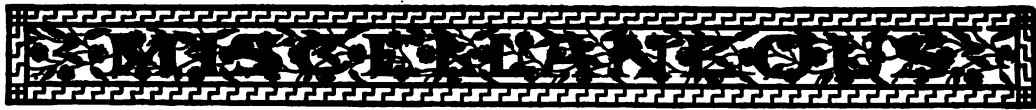
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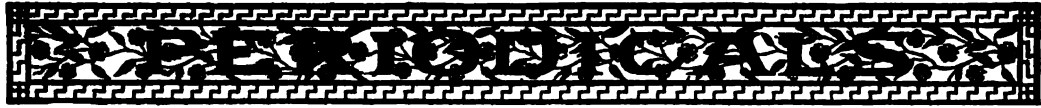
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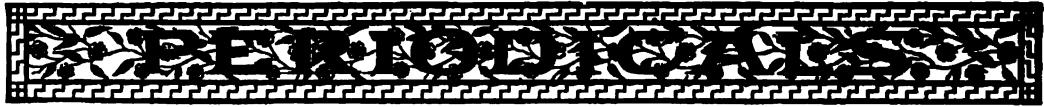
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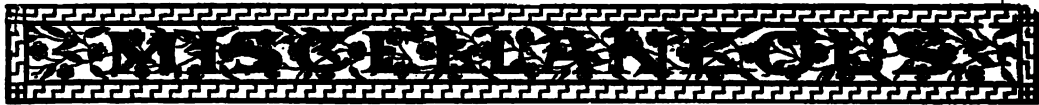
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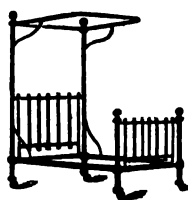
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For the year ending December 31st, 1887.

ASSETS\$118,806,851 88.

Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1887	129,927	\$393,809,303 88	Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1888...	140,943	\$427,623,933 51
Risks Assumed.....	22,305	69,457,468 37	Risks Terminated.....	11,369	35,637,738 74
	152,232	\$463,266,771 25		152,232	\$463,266,771 25

Dr.

Revenue Account.

Cr.

To Balance from last account ...	\$104,719,734 31	By Endowments, Purchased Insurances, Dividends, Annuities and Death Claims.....	14,128,423 60
" Premiums.....	17,110,901 63	" Commissions, Commutations, Taxes and all other Expenses.....	3,649,514 49
" Interest, Rents and Premium on Securities Sold.....	6,009,020 84	" Balance to new account.	110,061,718 68
	\$127,839,656 77		\$127,839,656 77

Dr.

Balance Sheet.

Cr.

To Reserve for Policies in force and for risks terminated. . .	\$112,430,096 00	By Bonds Secured by Mortgages on Real Estate	\$49,615,268 06
" Premiums received in advance ..	82,314 36	" United States and other Bonds. .	43,439,377 81
" Surplus at four per cent.....	6,394,441 58	" Real Estate and Loans on Collaterals.....	30,159,173 37
		" Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest ..	2,619,363 66
		" Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit and Sundries.....	3,973,169 98
	\$118,806,851 88		\$118,806,851 88

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884	\$34,681,430	\$351,789,285	\$4,743,771
1885	40,507,139	368,981,441	5,012,694
1886	56,534,719	393,606,303	5,643,663
1887	69,457,408	427,623,933	6,394,442

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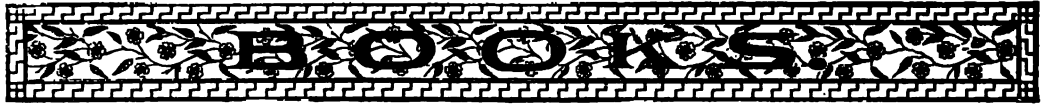
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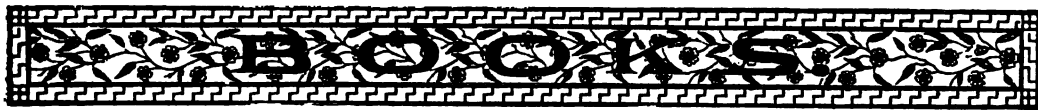
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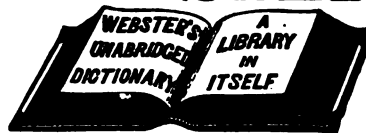
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Arthur St. Clair

ARTHUR ST. CLAIR, FIRST GOVERNOR OF THE NORTH-WEST TERRITORY.

[From the original painting by Charles Wilson Peale.]

1700

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

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MARIETTA, OHIO, 1788-1888

FOUNDATION OF CIVIL GOVERNMENT BEYOND THE OHIO RIVER

FEW American cities, large or small, have ever come so prominently before the intelligent public of the country within a twelvemonth, or commanded more universal consideration than Marietta, Ohio. The reason for all this is obvious to the student, but to the general reader it is still something of a conundrum. The taste for historic research which has been stimulated, and the fresh interest awakened in neglected mines of historic lore, have, however, awakened a healthful spirit of inquiry in the American brain. The career of an old college town is usually picturesque and always interesting. But the circumstances attending the origin, settlement, and century's progress of Marietta, irrespective of the charms of classical associations, have been such that it seems as if old Rome herself never emerged from a more fascinating crucible of fact, romance, and tradition.

The beginnings of this beautiful town were the beginnings of Ohio and of the great Northwest. It has often and appropriately been styled the "gateway" to the vast unexplored regions beyond. The causes and sources of its birth and being, the moral, religious, and intellectual character of those who first planted their homes upon its soil, and its development in the midst of Indian wars and seasons of great distress, form a study which has of late commanded closest attention from many of the ablest and ripest scholars in the land.

The whole story is of national significance. At the recent centennial celebration in Marietta, in which commercial attractions had no part whatever, the rare phenomenon was witnessed of continuous public exercises of a strictly historic and literary character for five successive days, and that without any perceptible weariness or diminution in the enthusiastic audiences. These meetings were held in a temporary structure built for the occasion, which accommodated with comfortable seats some four or five

thousand people, and it was crowded to its full capacity, morning, afternoon and evening. Distinguished statesmen and brilliant orators stood upon its artistically decorated platform and thrilled the listening throngs with the music and magnetism of their eloquence. From the earliest ages of the world historic writing and historic discourses have been esteemed the greatest of intellectual achievements. And just here in the heart of America this truth was forcibly illustrated. In an assemblage which only the theme itself could have brought together, and while reviewing a past that has no parallel in importance or in romantic incident since the landing of the Pilgrims on Plymouth Rock, the speakers displayed powers hitherto unrevealed, and history appeared in its marvelous depth and beauty of color. The Northwestern and many other states sent representatives, while from New York came Senator William M. Evarts, former Secretary of State, to participate in the jubilee. He pointed out in brilliant sentences the reason for this anniversary in "the specific transaction of the promulgation of civil government and the opening of the courts" just a century ago—"a wonderful exhibition of the energy and courage and purpose and forecast of the forerunners of this present population." He furthermore said, "the great fact exists that this civil government, in all its virtues, and in all its powers, that was then opened on the edge of the great forest, has never been overthrown, and the courts of justice in the Northwestern country that were then opened have never been closed in this great region then and thus taken possession of in the name of law and government and justice."

The spacious centennial building occupied historic ground in the city park on the high bank of the Muskingum river close by its junction with the Ohio. It was erected upon the exact spot where General Arthur St. Clair was inaugurated the first governor of the Northwest Territory one hundred years ago, July 15, 1788. Senator John W. Daniel, of Virginia, in his masterly oration, drew a graphic picture of the inaugural scene—the new governor, whose portrait is so familiar to us all, "with the few settlers grouped about him in a leafy bower, and the Ordinance of 1787 for a constitution"—a picture which Senator Daniel declared "worthy a frame of diamonds and gold, and a drama grander than any ever seen in the white temples of the Greeks and Romans."

In our illustration of the park, the temporary building must be imagined; the grounds were set apart and reserved for commons by the original settlers. The oldest church edifice in the Northwest Territory overlooks the park, as may be observed, and also the family mansion of Governor Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., the first postmaster of Marietta, and

the state executive, it will be remembered, who did more during the war of 1812 than any other governor of his time to aid the country in organizing militia and garrisoning forts.

Marietta, as laid out in the long ago, included the ancient remains of a fortified town, the elevations, truncated pyramids, etc., being similar in form to those since discovered in Central America. The greater part of these pre-historic earthworks were reserved as such for many years, and two of the more notable squares are still the property of the city, for

public uses.

Mound square, on the high ground, is an object of surpassing interest; the mound itself is a perfect circle at its base, one hundred and



fifteen feet in diameter, and from the summit — reached by stone steps — a magnificent view is obtained of the Ohio river and its fruitful banks for



1. MOUND SQUARE. 2. MARIETTA'S HISTORIC PARK.

many miles. This perfectly symmetrical mound is in the centre of the square, which since 1801 has been used as a cemetery.

The founders of Marietta represented the best blood of the eastern states, very many of them were college bred and highly cultivated by study, and the influence of their lives was a benefaction to the forming communities about them and to all the generations since their time. A

writer in the *Family Magazine* of 1834, who professes to have known many of them personally, says, "A better set of men altogether could scarce have been selected. With the information which belonged to them was mingled a little of that pedantic love of ancient learning which tinged the better educated of those days. This showed itself in a meeting of the directors and agents held, July second, upon the banks of the Muskingum, for the purpose of naming the city which had just been laid out, and also the public squares. As yet the settlement had been called merely 'The Muskingum,' but the name Marietta was now formally given it, in honor of Marie Antoinette."

The naming of Marietta was in graceful recognition of the courtesy shown to Franklin by the Queen of France, together with her efforts to influence the king and the French court in behalf of America in the time of its great need. The meeting of the directors and agents adjourned from July 2 to August 14, when the following was adopted. "Resolved; that the city near the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum be called Marietta; that the directors write to His Excellency the Count Moustiers, informing him of their motives in naming the city; and request his opinion whether it will be advisable to present to Her Majesty of France a public square." Marie Antoinette was much gratified when she received this intelligence, and immediately ordered a bell sent to the new town for a public building, but unfortunately the bell was lost at sea.

The founders next gave imperishable proof of their classic tastes in the names they bestowed upon the wonderful ruins about them; they called one ancient square *Quadrandon*, one *Cecelia*, another *Capitolium*, the great road through the covert way *Sacra via*, and the square upon which quarters were erected for their garrison, with block-houses at the corners, *Campus Martius*.

Hildreth leaves a pleasant record of the first Fourth of July celebration in the wilds of Marietta. The day was ushered in by a salute at Fort Harmer, and at two o'clock the ladies and gentlemen were conducted to a spacious bowery that stretched along the banks of the Muskingum. He says: "the table was supplied with venison, bear-meat, buffalo and roasted pigs, with a variety of fish. Among the latter was a pike which weighed one hundred pounds, and when suspended upon a pole from the shoulders of two tall men, its tail dragged on the ground. The officers of the garrison attended, and many patriotic toasts were drank. Among the toasts (there were fourteen) were "The Friendly Powers Throughout the World," "The New Federal Constitution," "His Excellency General Washington," "The Society of the Cincinnati," "The Memory of Those who have Nobly

Fallen in Defense of American Freedom," "The Amiable Partners of our Delicate Pleasures," and "The Glorious Fourth of July." An oration was delivered by General James M. Varnum, one of the recently appointed judges of the territory, in which he said: "We have made provision among our first institutions for scholastic and liberal education; and, conscious that our being as well as prosperity depends upon the supreme will, we have not neglected the great principles and institutions of religion. Many of our associates are distinguished for wealth, education, and virtue, and others, for the most part, are reputable, industrious, well informed planters, farmers, tradesmen, and mechanics. Were the paths of life entirely strewn with flowers, we should become too much attached to the world to wish even to exchange it for a more exalted condition. Difficulties we must expect to encounter in our infant state; but most of the distresses common to new countries we shall never experience, if we make use of the means in our power to promote our own happiness."

These festivities occurred two weeks prior to the establishment of civil government under St. Clair's rulership. On the same day a code of laws suited to the exigencies of the colony were posted upon the smooth trunk of a large beech tree. The settlers who dined together that Fourth of July were without roofs to their heads as yet, were living in tents chiefly; but there was apparently no lack of hilarity at the banquet. The bright, clever men present indulged in sallies of wit and humor as heartily as if they were dwelling in marble halls. They were exultant over their prospects under the new order of government; yet while they were as familiar with the provisions of that immortal document, the Ordinance of 1787, as our readers are supposed to have already become, they could hardly have prophesied the magnitude of the blessings it was destined to secure to them, to their children and children's children, to all future generations, and to the millions yet unborn. The eminent author, Dr. Hinsdale, truly says: "No act of American legislation has called out more eloquent applause than the Ordinance of 1787. Statesmen, historians, and jurists have vied with one another in celebrating its praises. In one respect it has a proud pre-eminence over all other acts of legislation on the American statute books. It alone is known by the date of its enactment, and not by its subject-matter. It is more than a law or statute. It was a constitution for the territory northwest of the river Ohio. More than this, it was a model for later legislation relating to the national territories; and some of its provisions, particularly the prohibition of slavery, stand among the greatest precedents of our history."

The steps through which the nation acquired its title to the Northwest

Territory—the discussions, protests, remonstrances and petitions, which finally resulted in the cession to the Union by the states of their vacant lands—is an interesting morsel of our country's annals, but does not come within the scope of this paper. The simple facts are that New York conveyed her claim to Congress on the 1st of March, 1781. Virginia released hers upon the first of that month, three years later. Massachusetts delayed till the 19th of April, 1785, and Connecticut till the 14th of September, 1786. And when this public domain was secured it could not be fully nationalized under the Articles of Confederation. Thus the land-question, with its inevitable mixture of state and national ideas, harassed and tormented the public mind until the Constitution went into operation. In the meantime the Ohio Company of Associates was formed, negotiated for and purchased of Congress one and a half millions of acres in the Muskingum valley, and the forty-eight pioneers led by General Rufus Putnam had

been on the site of their chief city since the 7th of April. The details of these preliminary events bristle with instruction; but they have been so many times and so admirably recited within the past few months that neither student or citizen can hereafter be excused for lack of information. The coming of the first governor was daily expected, and as his approach could not as now be heralded by electrical instrumentality, it was a season of anxious outlook. On the 9th of July the guns at Fort Harmer announced his presence there, and a glad shout echoed through the woods of Marietta.

Governor Arthur St. Clair was then fifty-four years of age, a distinguished soldier, a sterling patriot, skilled in the civil law, and an

accomplished gentleman. He was of Scotch birth, the son of the Earl of Roslyn. He had been educated at the University of Edinburgh, and in 1758, when only twenty-four, came with Boscawen's fleet to America and served in the remainder of the French war. In 1760 he married Phebe Bayard, whose



OUTLINE OF THE NORTHWEST TERRITORY.
[From an Old Print.]

mother was the sister of Governor Bowdoin of Massachusetts. He was an officer in the Revolution, a friend of Washington, and at the time of the passage of the Ordinance of 1787, president of the old Congress. At five o'clock in the afternoon of the 15th of July he stepped from the barge in which he had crossed the Muskingum from Fort Harmer with his attendants, and was received with military honors in the bowery (now the park) by General Rufus Putnam, the supreme judges, and all the principal inhab-



GENERAL RUFUS PUTNAM.

itants of the place. Winthrop Sargent, the secretary of the territory, a young man of ability from Massachusetts, "a soldier, civilian, a member of learned societies and a poet," read the governor's commission, the Ordinance of 1787, and the commissions of the first judges, General Samuel Holden Parsons, General James M. Varnum, and Hon. John Cleves Symmes. The provisions of the Ordinance made the governor and these judges a temporary legislature with all necessary powers.

Foremost, as you will notice, among those to welcome Governor St. Clair on this memorable afternoon was Rufus Putnam, one of the original founders of the Ohio Company and afterwards its superintendent. He was a tall, well-proportioned man of fifty, of soldierly bearing and commanding presence, and of quick, decisive, almost abrupt manners. Being very kind-hearted, however, he never failed to be conciliatory when the occasion warranted. He was charming and impressive in conversation, possessing a rich fund of anecdote and ready information on all topics. In his youth he had been a careful student of mathematics, and attained great proficiency in its application to navigation and surveying. It was the ability he displayed as an engineer that first attracted Washington, who pronounced him a more competent officer in that line than any of the French gentlemen who had been trained in the profession. Through his correspondence with Washington at the close of the war he was the motive-power in creating the system of laying out the public lands in townships. Congress, in 1785, appointed him to command the survey of a part of the Ohio country, but having important engagements General Benjamin Tupper was appointed in his place. The latter proceeded to Pittsburg, but trouble with the Indians obstructed the contemplated survey until General Parsons should succeed in concluding a treaty with them. General Tupper was a close observer, and became enthusiastic over the fertility and beauty of the land. When he returned east he visited General Putnam at his home in Rutland, Vermont, and the two men spent the whole night of January 10, 1786, devising the scheme of an association for purchasing a large tract west of the Ohio river. Thus originated the Ohio Company. The next day they issued a public notice; and in due course of time the learned and versatile Rev. Manassah Cutler was sent, accompanied by Winthrop Sargent, to New York city to make the purchase, and arrived there in time to take a hand in the great act of legislation, the passage of the famous Ordinance, which was to be so beneficial in its results. General Putnam removed his family to Marietta in 1790, which then consisted of his wife, six daughters, two sons and two grandchildren.

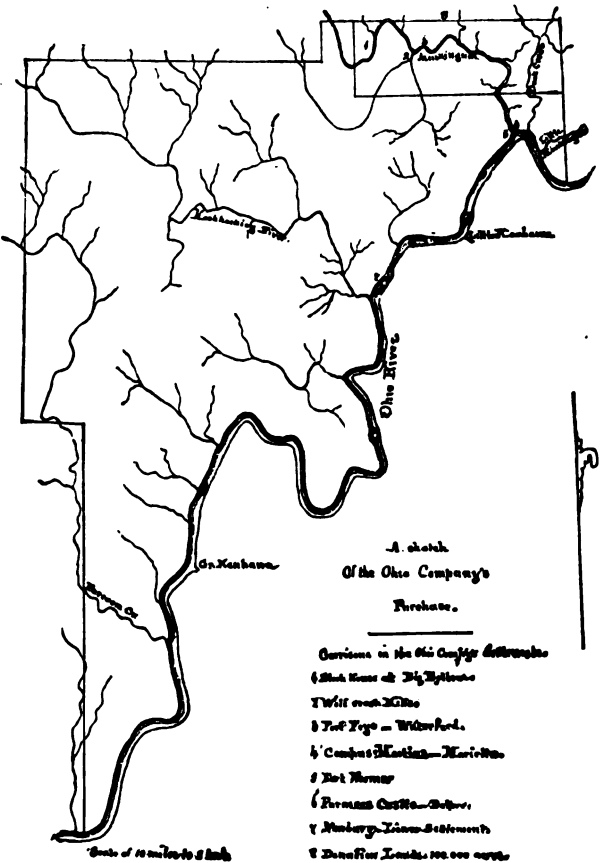
General Tupper journeyed west the second time in June, 1786, and the survey was completed under his direction. He returned home, and brought his family to Marietta in the summer of 1788. His eldest son, Anselm, who like his sire was an expert surveyor, and also the first school teacher in Marietta, came with the pioneers on the 7th of April. General Tupper took his family to reside in Campus Martius as soon as a habitation was ready. His home was in the west-front facing the Muskingum river. General Putnam's was in the south-front facing the town. Colonel Ichabod Nye's

was in the line facing the west-front; and Winthrop Sargent's was next to General Tupper's. Minerva, the eldest daughter of Tupper, then twenty-four years of age, was the wife of Colonel Ichabod Nye, and with their two little ones had made the tiresome journey over the mountains at the same time as her father and family. Their descendants are now among the prominent residents of Marietta. Rowena, the general's youngest daughter, was a beauty of twenty-two, and presently had won the heart of their next-door neighbor, the secretary. She had a twin sister, Sophia, the wife of General Nathaniel Willys, who was left behind in Massachusetts. General Tupper had two younger sons, Edward and Benjamin, who subsequently intermarried with the Putnams. The general died in 1792, at the age of fifty-four.

The first judges were notable men in many respects. Samuel Holden Parsons was a trained jurist, with a clear con-



FORT HARMER.



OUTLINE MAP OF THE OHIO PURCHASE.

ception of human rights and a wide acquaintance with the principles of common and international law. His age was fifty, about the same as that of Generals Putnam and Tupper. He was born in Lyme, Connecticut; his father was the minister of the town, and his mother a sister of Governor Matthew Griswold. He had been esteemed a military genius in the Revolution, was one of Washington's major-generals, and had since filled many positions of trust. In 1785 he had been sent by Congress to the Ohio country to treat with the Indians for their title to a considerable tract of land, which was accomplished January 31, 1786. He was one of the active spirits in locating the Ohio purchase. The fact that Fort Harmer had been completed by the government in 1786, at the confluence of the Ohio and Muskingum rivers—a fort large enough to receive a regiment of soldiers, affording protection to settlers in the vicinity—was one of the potent influences that guided the choice. General Tupper was in favor of it, and the Rev. Manassah Cutler was advised by Thomas Hutchins the geographer, by all means to decide upon the Muskingum in preference to any other part of the state. Thus these three directors of the company appear to have controlled the question of location. Our view of Fort Harmer is from a sketch made in 1790 by Joseph Gilman. General Parsons married into the celebrated Mather family of New England.

James M. Varnum was the youngest of the three judges, being in his fortieth year, which he had indeed but just completed prior to his sudden death. He was reputed one of the most eminent lawyers and distinguished orators of his time; he came from Rhode Island, although of Massachusetts birth, and was a graduate of Rhode Island College. A sketch of his career with an excellent portrait appeared a year ago, in the *Magazine of American History* for September, 1887.

Hon. John Cleves Symmes arrived with his family and a party of thirty settlers August 27, 1788. His equipage consisted of eight four-horse wagons. He was an educated man of Long Island birth, who had been a member of the old Congress, and was chief justice of New Jersey at the time of his appointment as judge of the Northwest Territory. He married Susan, the eldest daughter of New Jersey's famous war governor in the Revolution, William Livingston, the lady who by her heroism and tact saved her father's correspondence with Washington and Congress from falling into the hands of the British. A party of the latter crossed the bay into New Jersey at night with the avowed purpose of seizing Governor Livingston, and a farmer's son on a fleet horse, without saddle or bridle, galloped in advance to the governor's residence to give him warning; he escaped, and in the moment of departure confided these papers to his

daughter, who crammed them into the box of an old sulky and had them taken to the attic. Then she stepped out upon the roof of the piazza to watch for the red-coats. Day was just dawning when they approached, and a horseman dashed forward and begged her to retire lest some of the soldiers from a distance mistake her for a man and fire at her. She tried to climb in the window but could not, and the officer seeing her dilemma sprang from his horse, and running into the house gallantly lifted her through the casement. In thanking him she inquired to whom she was indebted for the courtesy.

"Lord Cathcart," was the reply. Quick as thought she asked him to do her a favor—to protect a little box which contained her own personal property, offering in the same breath to unlock the library where her father kept his papers. A guard was promptly placed over her box while the house was ransacked. The Hessians stuffed a quantity of old law papers into their sacks to which the young lady with affected reluctance directed them, and found when they had tramped back to New York that their troublesome burden was worthless. This lady was a descendant not only of the long line of Livingstons, but through her mother of Lieutenant-Governor Brockholls, and the first lord of Phillips manor. Her daughter married William Henry Harrison, and was the grandmother of the present Republican candidate for the Presidency—Benjamin Harrison. General Lew Wallace in his new biographical volume describes the wedding of "Old Tippecanoe" from which the following is extracted :

"When Fort Washington was established at Cincinnati, Harrison was stationed there. Duty called him to North Bend, and he became a guest at Judge Symmes residence. It was not long until he succumbed to the black eyes of Miss Anna. She was at the time twenty years of age, small, graceful, intelligent, and by general agreement, beautiful. He was twenty-two, with a reputation well established as a gallant soldier. The two were mutually pleased with each other, and an engagement followed, which could hardly fail to be satisfactory to the father. The judge, in fact, consented to the marriage; but, hearing some slanderous reports of Harrison, he withdrew his approval. The lovers were in nowise daunted. November 29, 1795, the day appointed for the wedding, arrived. Judge Symmes, thinking the affair off or declining to be present, rode to Cincinnati, leaving the coast clear. In the presence of the young lady's step-mother and many guests the ceremony was performed by Dr. Stephen Wood, a justice of the peace.

Some time afterward Judge Symmes met his son-in-law. The occasion was a dinner-party given by General Wilkinson to General Wayne.

" 'Well, sir,' the judge said, in bad humor, 'I understand you have married Anna?'

'Yes, sir,' Harrison answered.

'How do you expect to support her?'

'By my sword and by my own right arm,' was the reply.

The judge was pleased, became reconciled, and in true romantic form happily concluded the affair by giving the couple his blessing."



CAMPUS MARTIUS.

[From an antique sketch by Mr. Horace Nye.]

Until the 19th of August, 1788, there were no women or children in the Marietta settlement, the families having been left behind until the pioneers prepared something better than tents to dwell in. On that date General Tupper and his party arrived, Colonel Nathaniel Cushing and family, and

Major Nathan Goodale with his wife and seven children, two of whom were young ladies. They had met Rev. Manassah Cutler on his way to Marietta to attend a meeting of the directors, and all came down the Ohio river together. Colonel Nye left the travelers at Wellsville and finished his journey by land on the Virginia shore, reaching Marietta a little in advance of the others in time to provide shelter for his young wife and little ones. The other ladies and children slept that night upon the boat. The next day they landed amid the greatest enthusiasm, and were ceremoniously conducted to their quarters in Campus Martius.

Dr. Cutler had made the journey from Ipswich, Massachusetts, in four weeks. He says in his entertaining journal that in nearing the new town he first saw the fort which was very pretty. "We landed at the point and were very politely received by the honorable judges, General Putnam, and our friends. General Putnam invited me to his lodgings which is a marquee. It rained extremely hard in the evening and at night I drank tea with General Parsons. Wednesday, August 20—Went a little over the ground. Major Sargent and myself went over to the garrison; paid my compliments to His Excellency. Was introduced to General Harmer and lady, Major Doughty, Captain McCurdy and lady. We came over in the barge to the hall with His Excellency, the ladies and officers. Barge rowed

by twelve oars—awning—Sargent in the stern, the word ‘Congress’ painted on the blade of each oar; well disciplined in rowing. . . . We landed up the Muskingum opposite to the Campus Martius. A handsome dinner with punch and wine. The governor and the ladies from the garrison very sociable. Miss Rowena Tupper and the two Misses Goodales dined, and fifty-five gentlemen.”

Hildreth as well as Dr. Cutler furnishes a picturesque glimpse of this dinner given in honor of the governor, the northwest blockhouse to the fortress being so far completed that the tables were laid in the new hall. The arrival of Dr. Cutler and the ladies added immensely to its attractions. On the Sabbath following Dr. Cutler preached in the same hall. He says in his journal, “People came from the Virginia shore and from the garrison. Began with short prayer, read Scripture, and sang three times.” The local courts were about this time instituted, and the first judges of the court of common pleas were General Putnam, General Tupper and Archibald Crary; the clerk was Return Jonathan Meigs, Sr., the sheriff Colonel Ebenezer Sproat, a man six feet four inches high and large in proportion. The opening session of this court was on September 2, and the ceremonies attending it were extremely imposing. A procession in which all the inhabitants and the military officers from Fort Harmer participated, headed by the stalwart sheriff, Colonel Sproat, with a drawn sword in his right hand and the wand of office in his left, marched through the town escorting the judges and Governor St. Clair and the supreme judges of the territory to the hall in Campus Martius, which from a dining-room and a church was now converted into a court-room. Prayer was offered by Dr. Cutler. The formalities ended, Paul Fearing, a young lawyer of twenty-six was admitted to the bar; he afterwards became an eminent judge and member of Congress. A few months later Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., then twenty-three years of age, was admitted to the bar, and these two young attorneys were the only practitioners in Marietta for nearly three years. At the adjournment of the first session of this court, Dr. Cutler writes: “The judges and myself dined with the governor at Fort Harmer. Genteel dinner; fine fruit. Mrs. Harmer is a fine woman. Returned before night.” On the 7th of same month, which was Sunday, Dr. Cutler writes: “Pleasant day and full meeting. Many of the people on the Virginia shore were over, and most of the gentlemen from the garrison. Dined with Captain McCurdy and Dr. Scott on venison steak and squirrel pie. Very good dinner. Mrs. McCurdy is very agreeable.”

A few days later the court of quarter-sessions was first opened. The justices were Generals Putnam and Tupper, and the assistant justices,

Return Jonathan Meigs, Sr., and Thomas Lord, from Lyme, Connecticut, a graduate of Yale who had studied theology and often officiated as a clergy man, and Isaac Pearce. The early settlers of Marietta were not all judges and justices, as the mention of so many might indicate, but they were very numerous. In 1790 Joseph Gilman succeeded Judge Crary in the court of common pleas, and in 1792 Dudley Woodbridge, John J. Petitt, Daniel Loring, and Robert Oliver were appointed to the bench. Griffith Greene was appointed judge of the court of quarter-sessions, and after the death of Varnum became one of the directors of the company. He brought his family to Marietta in 1788, moving his household goods, mechanical and agricultural implements, and a large library of valuable books from Rhode Island in three large wagons. He was under forty, a tall, graceful, talented man of refined manners, who always dressed in the fashionable style of the Revolution. Another Rhode Islander in the Marietta colony was Commodore Abraham Whipple, of Revolutionary fame, whose wife was the sister of Governor Hopkins, and whose daughter Catharine married Colonel Sproat. One of Rev. Manassah Cutler's sons, Major Jervis Cutler, came at the age of nineteen with the forty-eight pioneers, but he did not make this place his permanent abode. Ephraim Cutler, the eldest son of the minister, removed to Marietta in 1795, and was appointed a judge, a member of the legislature, was in the convention that framed the Ohio constitution, and in many other ways led an active and useful life in the growing town.

The first frame house in Marietta was built by Joseph Buell and Levi Munsell. Buell was a young unmarried officer in the garrison stationed at Fort Harmer as early as 1786, two years before General Putnam and his party reached the Muskingum. He brought his bride to Marietta in 1789, and became one of the leading men in affairs—was a judge in the court of common pleas, state senator for several terms, and one of the two major-generals of Ohio from 1802 until his death in 1812. One son and one daughter are still living, charming representatives of old-time manners and principles.

A writer from Marietta in October, 1788, gives us the following picture of the fort: "*Campus Martius* is the handsomest pile of buildings on this side of the Alleghany Mountains, and in a few days will be the strongest fortification in the territory of the United States. It stand on the margin of the elevated plain on which are the remains of ancient works, thirty feet along the high bank of the Muskingum. It consists of a regular square, having a block-house at each angle, which serve as bastions to a regular fortification of four sides. The curtains are

composed of dwelling houses two stories high, eighteen feet wide, and of different lengths. The block-houses and curtains are so constructed by high roofs, etc., as to form one complete and entire building. The block-house intended for the bell, with a part of the adjacent curtains, has a hall appropriated to public use, where three hundred people may assemble. The open space within the square of buildings is one hundred and forty-four feet, on each side, in the center of which a well is digging (upwards of eighty feet deep). There will be seventy-two rooms in the building exclusive of the lofts and garrets, which at twelve persons to a room (a moderate proportion in case of necessity) will lodge eight hundred and sixty-four. I expect the whole will be completed by the 1st of December."

The first town meeting in Marietta was held February 4, 1789. Judge Crary was chosen chairman, and the clerk was Colonel E. Battelle, a graduate of Harvard College in 1775. Judge Crary, Robert Oliver, Elijah Backus from Norwich, Connecticut, Winthrop Sargent, and Haffield White were chosen a committee to form a system of police. Two days later the little community was treated to a genuine wedding. Rowena, the pretty daughter of General Tupper, bestowed her heart and hand upon Winthrop Sargent, secretary of the territory and subsequently governor of Ohio from 1798 to 1801. General Rufus Putnam in his judicial robes performed the ceremony. This was the first wedding in Marietta.

The reports that found their way to the East from the settlement were not altogether cheerful, even during the first year. One writer said: "I find Marietta a poor muddy hole—the mud here is more disagreeable than the snow in Massachusetts." Another wrote: "A few log huts are scattered here and there, only a few feet above the tall stumps of the trees that have been cut away to make room for them. Narrow footpaths meander through the mud from cabin to cabin; while an occasional log across the water courses afford the pedestrian a passage without wetting his feet." General Parsons, however, writes in a different strain under date of December 11, 1788, and gives some bright glimpses of social life. He says: "We are constantly putting up buildings, but arrivals are faster than we can provide convenient covering. Between forty and fifty houses are so far done as to receive families, and ten more are in building. We still continue our Sabbath exercises, and last Monday we had the first ball in our country, at which were present fifteen ladies, as well accomplished in the manners of polite circles as any I have seen in the old states. I mention this to show the progress of society in this distant country, and believe we shall vie with, if not excel the old states in every accomplishment necessary to render life happy. My wife agrees to

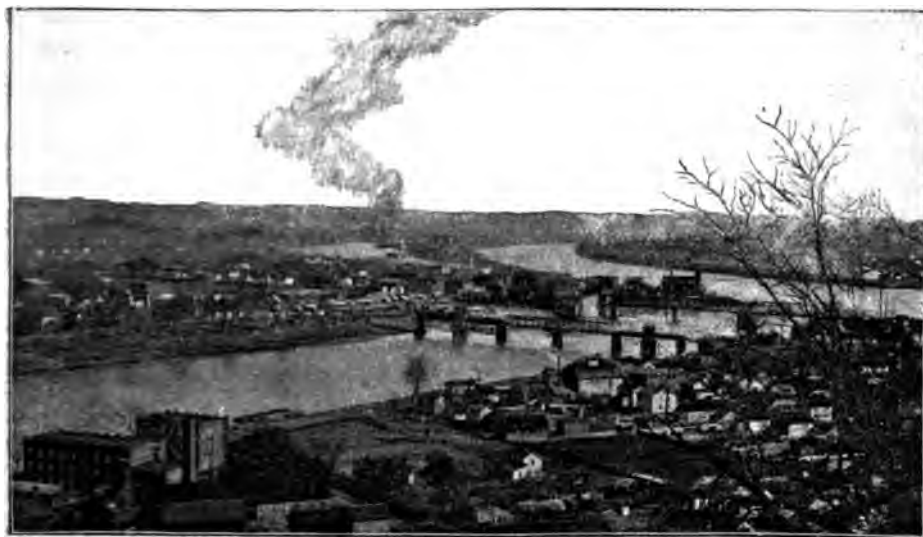


VIEW OF MARIETTA IN 1790.

[From an antique sketch by Judge Joseph Gilman.]

send one of our daughters next summer, and with the family to remove when I can make it convenient."

Governor St. Clair brought his family to live in Campus Martius in 1790, and occupied the southwest block-house which had been fitted up for his convenience. His household consisted of three daughters, one son, and a housekeeper. Mrs. St. Clair remained in charge of their princely domain in Pennsylvania, known as "Pottsgrove." The governor's eldest daughter, Louise, was a bewitching beauty, refined, intelligent, animated and witty, and soon turned the heads of all the young men in the settlement. She was in perfect health and extravagantly fond of out-of-door life. She rode spirited horses, dashing through the open woodlands at full gallop, leaping over logs and obstructions without fear; she out-skated the best skaters in the garrison with graceful ease, eliciting plaudits from young and old; in hunting she was an expert, and could load her rifle and fire with the accuracy of a backwoodsman—killing a squirrel in the highest tree and cutting off the head of a partridge with wonderful precision; and she would often walk for miles with the rapidity of a ranger. One of the most unique tableaux in the historic "pageant" at the recent celebration, represented "Louise St. Clair and her admirers." The irresistible belle was seated on a log upon a primitive sled, drawn by a dozen or more young men. She was wrapped in furs, and a furious



GLIMPSE OF THE SAME LOCALITY AT MARIETTA IN 1888.

[From a Photograph.]

snow storm was raging ; but she was distributing her words and her smiles all the same between three or four of her more determined suitors who walked by her side.

The historic "pageant" referred to above deserves more than a passing word, but our space is limited. It was a study of the people of a century ago, admirable in conception and charming in execution as delineated under an electric light. Descendants appeared in the actual costumes of historic characters, in many instances representing actual scenes in their lives. "The first civil court, September 2, 1788," was particularly effective. There were so many judges in those days that if a group of men were standing together and some one in passing shouted "Judge," they would all turn to respond. There were also sixty commissioned army officers among the settlers during the earlier years of Marietta. "The Party at Blennerhassetts in 1805," displayed some rich costumes, and the identical furniture of the Blennerhassetts was shown in the tableaux. Studies of this character are instructive, and we commend the example of Marietta to other towns of Ohio at their approaching centennials.

The Indians were perfectly friendly for a time, and visited the settlement with great frequency. But troubles arose, and there were five years when it was unsafe to travel from place to place ; the inhabitants were

obliged to dwell imprisoned within the forts. In the works of the wildest fiction can be found no parallel to the tales of hardships and heroism, of thrilling adventures and tragic events, that characterized this period. A fortress similar to Campus Martius was constructed in 1789, at Belpre, twelve miles below Marietta, on the high bank of the Ohio, opposite Blennerhassett Island, in which about two hundred people were crowded until Indian hostilities ceased. And here, as in Marietta, refinement and culture were conspicuous. Elijah Backus, one of the pioneers of the country, in 1792 purchased of a Virginia gentleman two islands in the Ohio river, subsequently for half a dozen years known as "Backus's Islands."

In 1798 Harman Blennerhassett paid \$4,500, for the upper half of one of these islands, which has ever since borne his name. He was a scion of the nobility of Ireland. The old home of his family was Castle Conway, in the county of Kerry. He was classically educated, sharing the honors of Trinity College, Dublin, with his celebrated relative, Thomas Addis Emmet. The two read law together, and were admitted to the bar on the same day in 1790. Blennerhassett instead of practicing his profession gave his attention to the sciences, music and literature. He inherited a princely fortune, but becoming involved in political troubles sold his estate and went to England, where he married the accomplished daughter of Lieutenant-Governor Agnew, of the Isle of Man, whose father, General Agnew, was of the British army in America and fell in the Revolution. Blennerhassett and his wife sailed for New York in 1797, and becoming dazzled with the wonderful stories about the Ohio country went to Marietta the same autumn, and spent the winter there. They found the society congenial and the country charmed them. They explored the vicinity for a plantation and finally bought this wild romantic island-property of Mr. Backus. They chose it partly for its beauty, were however influenced by its near proximity to Belpre with its well-educated settlers and protecting fort, but the turning point in the decision was the fact that the island was under Virginia laws enabling its owner to hold slaves, which he could not do on Ohio soil. Both Blennerhassett and his wife went to the island and occupied a deserted block-house while projecting improvements and preparing to build a permanent home. Fifty thousand dollars were quickly expended, much of which fell like a benefaction among the mechanics and farmers of Marietta and vicinity. It was the first large amount of money that had stirred their ambition within the decade. The grounds and gardens and river landing were fashioned after European models. An English landscape gardener was imported to superintend the planting of ornamental trees, hawthorn hedges, and flowering shrubs. These were grouped

in the most tasteful manner, among which serpentine walks were graveled, bordered with flowers; and arbors and grottos covered with honeysuckles and eglantine roses, were dropped here and there at convenient distances apart.

The mansion was built on a costly scale. The front with its wings formed the half of an ellipsis, one hundred and four feet in extent, facing the north and overlooking a handsome lawn of many acres, with a view of both sides of the Ohio river as far as the eye could reach. Smooth drives and walks and an imposing gateway with large stone pillars gave to the whole a pleasing effect. A large farm below the house was brought under cultivation, and orchards of the choicest varieties of fruit, in part imported from Europe, were planted and cherished with constant care. The interior of the house was correspondingly elegant in its appointments. The entrance-hall was broad and decorated after the fashion of the old Tudor mansions of England. The drawing-rooms were luxuriant with mirrors, gay colored carpets, rich curtains and light airy furniture of the Marie Antoinette style, and the side-boards in the great dining room were filled with massive silver plate and costly glass. Blennerhassett had before leaving London provided himself with a large and valuable library of classical, scientific and other books, and with a philosophical apparatus. He fitted up one apartment for these, calling it his study, where he passed much of his time in reading and experimenting.

During these months of building and furnishing they were much in Marietta, and were hospitably entertained by the best families. Mrs. Blennerhassett, who was very fond of dancing, was present at most of the balls and assemblies which were frequent in Marietta and Belpre after the Indian war. When the island mansion was completed, Mr. and Mrs. Blennerhassett returned these civilities in the most delightful manner. Parties of young people were invited, who usually came down the river in row-boats, as the country was so new that carriages were little used. Ladies at whose houses the Blennerhassetts had been honored guests, came in response to their hospitable summons, and spent days and even weeks at the "enchanted isle." Dinners were given to many celebrities in military and civil life, the formalities of which had the flavor of courts. Mrs. Blennerhassett was an accomplished scholar, and sparkling in conversation. She fascinated everyone with whom she came in contact. She was tall, dignified and graceful, in fact almost as tall as her husband, who stood six feet in his slippers. Blennerhassett dressed in the English style of the times, wearing scarlet or bluff small-clothes, a coat of velvet or blue broadcloth, and silk stockings and silver shoebuckles. Mrs. Blennerhassett wore a great variety of colors.

Her costume when she rode on horseback was a scarlet broadcloth riding habit with gold buttons, and a white beaver hat crowned with a long white ostrich feather. She often rode a spirited horse to Marietta, twelve miles, to do the shopping and marketing for the family. On these rides she was generally accompanied by a colored man-servant in showy livery who, Hildreth tells us, "had to apply both whip and spur to keep in sight of his mistress as she dashed through and under the dark foliage of the forest trees, reminding one of the gay plumage and rapid flight of some tropical bird winging its way through the woods." The residents of Marietta for eight years were accustomed to the coming and going of this pretty apparition; and Mrs. Blennerhassett left the contents of many a well-filled purse among the merchants and trades-people. In 1806 the fatal acquaintance with Aaron Barr turned the tide of affairs—the results of which to the Blennerhassetts are too well-known to be recited here.

From the very first, as might have been predicted in such a community, schools were maintained in Marietta. Teachers were always to be found among the new residents, and some of those who taught while the settlers were pent up in the forts were university graduates. As early as 1790 the question was successfully agitated of appropriating funds for school purposes. After the Indian war ended steps were taken to found an academy. The first public meeting with this in view was held in 1797, and Rufus Putnam, Paul Fearing, Griffin Greene, Return Jonathan Meigs, Jr., Charles Greene, and Joshua Shipman, were appointed a committee to prepare a suitable house. The "Muskingum Academy" resulted therefrom, and is said to have been the first seat of learning of its character west of the Ohio river. The original academy building was used for church worship until 1808. David Putnam, who graduated from Yale in 1793, was its first principal. Among its teachers subsequently were graduates from Dartmouth, Yale, Harvard, Williams, Amherst, and other eastern colleges. The standard of instruction was such that almost uninterrupted facilities during its first one third of the century were furnished in Marietta for education in the higher English branches, and for such classical training as was needful in preparation for college. In 1830 was established the "Institute of Education," a further step in advance, embracing a group of four schools, the two higher being known as the High School and the Ladies' Seminary.

But the time was drawing near when Marietta was to have a veritable college of her own. The intellectual and moral forces which had conspicuously ruled her destiny thus far sought expression in this broader field. The valley of the Ohio was becoming popular, and the province of Mari-



MARIETTA COLLEGE IN 1883.

[From a Photograph.]

etta was obviously to educate, or in the language of Rev. Dr. Linsley, "to make herself a radiating point for the diffusion of wisdom and knowledge." Her sons had been sent east for college training during the decades of primitive travel; now when the improved facilities rendered journeying comparatively easy she would open her arms, not only for her own, but for the sons of her neighbors and her friends. The college was distinctively the outgrowth of Marietta culture. The movement in 1832 was really the beginning of the institution, but the preliminaries were not settled until 1835, when it was duly incorporated as "Marietta College." Its first nine trustees all bear familiar names. Douglas Putnam, Dr. John Cotton a graduate of Harvard, Rev. Luther G. Brigham, John Mills, Arius Nye, Caleb Emerson, Dr. Jonas Moore of Dartmouth College, Anselm Tupper Nye, and John Crawford. As the college was founded by Marietta men it was fitting that it should be christened with the old historic name of the town. The southern building of the present group was built in 1833, and for nearly seventeen years it served all purposes—for chapel, library, recitations, etc. The history of the rise of this college is very like that of other colleges, with, however, some interesting variations. The buildings were erected almost entirely with home funds, although in its infancy extraneous aid came towards the payment of professors and other

expenses. The first attempt to raise money for building, in 1833, resulted in \$8,000, of which the trustees contributed about one half. Just as the institution was starting into life a gift came of \$1,000 for books, and the scholarly trustees proceeded immediately to invest it in Greek and Latin classics, with lexicons, grammars, and other helps. It was said of these trustees, perhaps truly, that they held books in higher esteem than buildings, but they were evidently determined to build up a college whose high intellectual culture might be blended with all the Christian graces. They represented three denominations of Christians, but as trustees they knew no religious differences. Their work grew, and in 1845 they obtained an amendment to their college charter enabling them to increase the number of trustees; thus fifty or more names have since appeared upon their lists. The same year (1845) the corner stone was laid for the middle building of the sketch (finished in 1850), the ceremony being performed by Hon. Lewis Cass, who was connected by marriage with the Nye family. The northern edifice was erected in 1870. This now is the home of the library of the college, which has grown into such admirable proportions that it is full a third larger than Yale could report at its one hundred and fiftieth birthday.

In the same ratio that the college was an outgrowth of an atmosphere of taste and learning has the institution in return given its own vigorous literary influence to the town. Where scholars, professors, and active students reside, the young breathe a perpetual admonition to beware of ignorance. A college never fails to give tone and stimulus to other educational enterprises in its neighborhood. And the edicts of fashion keep society in the same line of culture. The presidents of Marietta college have all been among the best equipped of their profession. The first was Rev. Joel H. Linsley, D. D., succeeded in 1876 by Rev. Dr. Henry Smith; he was followed in 1855 by Rev. Israel Ward Andrews, D.D., LL.D., who filled the position for thirty successive years; in 1885 he retired, still holding a professorship, and Dr. John Eaton, the eminent educator, was chosen in his place. The professors and teachers have all been men of talent and profound scholarship, and their work honors them. The graduates may be found in every state in the Union, in the pulpit, at the bar, in statecraft, in medicine, and in business. More than one-third of them since the college was opened have become clergymen. The college buildings are located on high ground, surrounded by a park of beautiful sycamore, maple, and other trees, with the effect of a miniature forest. The home of the president is less than a block distant from the college, in the shady street opposite Mound Cemetery. The rear windows over-



HOME OF THE PRESIDENT OF MARIETTA COLLEGE

look the town below in summer through a leafy ocean of tree-tops. The most wonderful sights afforded from this picturesque point in the past have been when the Ohio river indulged in its mad pranks of trying to overflow the whole valley. The house is of historic interest, having long been the home of President Andrews. It is now occupied by President Eaton and his family. The adjoining residence, to the right in the picture, is the home of William H. Buell, a grandson of Joseph Buell, mentioned on a former page, whose circumstantial journal kept on the frontiers of the Ohio from 1785 to 1788 is esteemed by antiquarians and historians an important chapter in western history.

There is a charm about Marietta that does not bend itself readily to the language of description. It is individual in its reposeful style and general characteristics. Its pretty modern villas are planted here and there, and its antique homes and buildings cherished. During its one hundredth anniversary week, Governor Foraker, with his wife, children, servants, household supplies, his entire staff and several guests, took pos-

session of one of these villa residences and kept open house for seven days. The presence of the governor of the state at all the exercises was a notable feature of the celebration. Senator John Sherman was also present, and Gen. Thomas Ewing, and scores of Ohio's notable sons and daughters, all assisting in doing the honors and extending hospitalities to guests from the other states. The collection of relics, one of the most complete of its kind that was probably ever brought together in this country, was on free exhibition during the week, illustrating, as words often fail in doing, the life, customs, and costumes of the pioneers. These came generally from the actual descendants, who have preserved and treasured them conscientiously for a century. We trust they will be gathered into a permanent museum for future examination and study. In another building set apart for the purpose was an exhibit loaned by the Government at Washington that was visited by thousands with never flagging interest. In one grand sweep Marietta has gathered in with her own the salient points of the history of the beginnings of that vast country beyond the Ohio, and the world is benefited thereby.

Martha J Lamb

INDIAN TRIBES IN PREHISTORIC TIMES

THEIR LOCATION AND MOVEMENTS

In an article published in the *Magazine of American History* of May 1884, reasons were given for believing the Cherokees were mound builders. In a more recent article attention was called to evidence indicating that the typical works of Ohio were built by the same people, who are also known in tradition as the Tallegwi. In the present paper I propose to indulge in speculations—based chiefly on the discoveries made by explorations of the mounds—in regard to the location and movements of some of the tribes in prehistoric times.

How far tribal distinctions manifest themselves in the works, is an undetermined point; nevertheless it would seem to follow, as a necessary result, that differences in habits and customs would appear to some extent in the works and minor vestiges of art. Nor is this a gratuitous assumption, as the correctness of the theory is becoming more and more apparent as the explorations proceed. Our hopes of being able, ultimately, to mark out the different archæological districts are based primarily upon this theory.

That the mound builders were Indians, pertaining to or ancestors of the tribes found inhabiting this country when discovered by Europeans, is now too well established to admit of a reasonable doubt. Those who question this conclusion are certainly not familiar with the evidence. The questions, therefore, regarding the origin, builders, uses and objects of the mounds and other ancient works, and articles found in them, are merged into the discussion and study of the history, habits, customs, arts, beliefs and superstitions of the Indians. That here and there a tribe may have disappeared or become extinct in the past, as in historical times, is doubtless true, but this does not affect the general proposition.

In marking the boundaries of the archæological districts and following the lines of migration, the indications which guide us are sometimes seemingly slender and unimportant; but those variations and distinctions which at first appear of minor importance, are often the most persistent and decisive. Sometimes the distinguishing character is a slight variation in the mode of burial, the presence or absence of a pit beneath the mound, the form of a pipe, the figure on a shell, or the ornamentation of pottery.

While variations in many respects may be found in a single group built by the same people, there are certain characteristics which seem to indicate invariably the presence of a different people. This fact is too well known to archæologists to need any proof ; nevertheless, what we give here will form illustrations.

Take, for example, the evidence relating to the Cherokees. From some slight indications found in a mound in Lee county, Virginia, some years ago, Mr. Lucien Carr was led to believe that this was the work of the people of this tribe. The explorations of the Bureau of Ethnology in east Tennessee and North Carolina have not only served to strengthen this belief, but have shown it to be founded on fact. Similarly slender indications brought to light by these explorations led us to believe we might trace this tribe back to the Kanawha Valley of West Virginia. An examination of the extensive groups of ancient works at Charleston not only confirmed this supposition by ample and satisfactory evidence, but furnished data which leave but little if any doubt that the authors of these works were the builders of the typical works of Ohio. It is probable that the fertile valleys of this state were occupied for a long time by the people of this tribe, who, in all likelihood, lived in comparatively undisturbed possession of it until, as tradition informs us, the Lenni Lenapes, coming down from the north, waged an incessant war against them.

From whence did they—the Tallegwi—come into Ohio? The same kind of evidence which has traced them back thus far from their historic seats in east Tennessee and western North Carolina, points us westward to northwestern Illinois and eastern Iowa. Coming, as we presume, from the northwest, they seem to have halted for a time on and near the banks of the Mississippi, in this latitude. No traces of them have been found farther west than the eastern third of Iowa.

Crossing the Mississippi, the evidences of their presence in western Illinois are numerous, but cease going eastward soon after crossing the Illinois river, and do not appear again until we reach the eastern part of Indiana. One chain of evidence, which is without a break from the first indications in Iowa to the historic times in North Carolina, is the series of pipes. Commencing with the simple "monitor" or "platform pipe," we trace, step by step, as we proceed eastward and southward, the development of the modern Cherokee pipe. There are also other chains equally significant.

As intimately connected with the history and movements of Cherokees is the history of the Shawnee tribe. The line of migration of these Indians to their earliest known seat, the valley of the Cumberland river, is very uncertain. Judging by the mound evidence, especially the box-shaped stone

graves, of which they appear to have been the chief builders, the following is all that we can say in regard to their movements in prehistoric and early historic times. The chief area over which their movements appear to have extended antecedent to historical notices, is an irregular belt commencing with St. Louis and St. Genevieve counties, Missouri, thence running southeast through southern Illinois, western and middle Kentucky, middle Tennessee, and northern Georgia, to the head waters of the Savannah river.

The mounds and graves of southern Illinois belong apparently to widely separate periods; some of the stone graves, as is well known, being the burying places of Illinois Indians in comparatively modern times. These which are found chiefly in Monroe and Randolph counties, appear to have no relation to mounds.

The other graves (we allude here to the box-shaped stone graves), especially those of Jackson, Union and Alexander counties, are in a majority of cases not only directly connected with mounds, but are evidently in most cases built by the same people who built the mounds and buried in the graves about Lebanon and Nashville, Tennessee, and are as old or older than the latter. We therefore attribute these to the Shawnees, who must have been in this section at a comparatively early date. The graves in St. Louis and St. Genevieve counties, Missouri, belong to a subsequent period, when bands of this tribe occupied these sections in historic times. The remains about the Salines near Shawneetown indicate two periods of occupancy. It is possible, therefore, that this tribe made its first entry into its historic seat from the northwest, crossing the Mississippi in the region of southern Illinois.

The valley of the Cumberland in the northern portion of middle Tennessee was their principal seat and the section longest and most permanently occupied by them. The mound and grave testimony and the glimpses we obtain regarding their past from history and tradition agree on this point.

The occupancy of northern Georgia by the people of this tribe reaches back into prehistoric times. There is, in fact, some evidence bearing upon the date of this occupancy, as it appears they had not lost their foothold in the northwest of what is now the state when De Soto passed through that section, although they had been driven from their possessions on the head waters of the Savannah. Their first entry, therefore, into this section could not have been later than the fourteenth century. We know, historically, that a band had separated from the main body and located on the Savannah near its mouth. These facts have apparently a strong bearing in favor of the theory and tradition which brings this people from the ex-

treme southeast. But this theory cannot stand for a moment before the test of linguistic evidence. They belong to the Algonquin stock and are closely related to the Delaware and Illinois tribes, people whose northern origin no one doubts. We must, therefore, look to the north or northwest as the direction from which they entered our country.

Notwithstanding the well known fact of the long existing hostility of the Cherokees and Shawnees toward each other, there are indubitable evidences that a band of the latter dwelt for a considerable time with the former in the "over-hill towns" in east Tennessee. This was after the appearance of the whites on the continent, and the stone-grave testimony is confirmed by history.

The mound and grave testimony indicate that the same tribe penetrated at an early date into southwest Ohio, and as this was probably after the Delawares had driven the Tallegwi out of that region and had themselves moved on eastward toward their historic seat, they may have pushed up into the central part of the state, where the Iroquois, when they came into power, first met them, giving to them the name "Satanas." But there is no reason that I can find for identifying them with the Eries; on the contrary, all the facts are against this supposition. Moreover, as we shall see, the ancient works of northern Ohio are of a wholly different type from those of the central and southern portions of the state, and show no characteristics of those attributable to the Shawnees. There are stone graves of the kind alluded to in the central portion of the state, but these we know are mostly due to the Delawares on their return westward in historic times. A few are due to the Shawnees of a later day.

That these Indians roamed over Kentucky, and even into West Virginia, in early times is evident from the remains they have left scattered throughout this area, marking the sites of more or less temporary villages of their bands.

We are left, therefore, in doubt as to the route by which they entered the Ohio and Cumberland valleys. As before stated, the tradition which brings them originally from the southeast cannot stand the test of thorough criticism, as their linguistic relation to the Algonquin tribes renders it certain that their ancient home must have been in the north or northwest. It is more than likely that when, in their progress southward, they reached the Savannah, they there came in contact with some tribe or tribes more powerful than themselves, hence a check and recoil, a fragment breaking off finding a resting place near the mouth of the river, whence it finally removed to the home of the Delawares on the banks of the Delaware river.

The box-shaped stone coffins—also used by the Delawares—bear such a close resemblance to the sepulchres of the whites that the mind is disposed to see in this an explanation of the origin of this custom among the tribes. So strong is this impression that Jones, after studying this mode of burial in Tennessee, remarks: "In looking at the rude stone coffins of Tennessee I have again and again been impressed with the idea that in some former age this ancient race must have come in contact with Europeans, and derived this mode of burial from them."

It is worthy of notice here that so far nothing has been found west of the Alleghenies indicating the presence of the Delawares in that section until their return in historic times from the banks of the Delaware. They do not appear to have adopted this mode of burial until they reached their eastern home, nor is there any reason to believe they ever built mounds. Possibly they may have adopted this burial custom from the Shawnees.

As the Shawnees, according to Mr. A. S. Gatschet, are more closely related, linguistically, to the Illinois and Miamis than to the eastern tribes, the theory which I have heretofore advanced, that they entered the country from the northwest, probably crossing the Mississippi in the region of southern Illinois, appears to agree more nearly with the data obtained than any other, and accounts for the older works in southern Illinois. On the other hand, this leaves the question of the origin of the box-shaped stone graves more deeply involved in mystery.

In the northern part of Kentucky, from the mouth of Big Sandy river to Union county, and in the extreme southern part of Ohio along the Ohio river, are found certain types of mounds wholly or partly of stone, and certain stone graves or vaults which are peculiar to that region. These are accompanied by other characteristics, chiefly relating to the mode of burial and construction of the mounds and vaults, which indicate the presence in this section of a different tribe from either of those we have mentioned; a tribe which has become extinct, or that we are unable to identify. It is possible they were driven out or destroyed by the Shawnees, and that the term "Dark and Bloody Ground" applied to this region is an echo which has floated down the ages from prehistoric times.

Turning now to the northern part of Ohio, especially to Cuyahoga county, we discover, as heretofore stated, an entirely different type of ancient works from any we find in the central or southern part of the state; different in fact from any we find anywhere else south of this latitude. These consist, chiefly, of enclosures and defensive walls. We may therefore consider the variation as indicative of ethnic signification, and this we

find to be true. Going into New York, the ancient seat of the Iroquois tribe, we find that precisely the same kind of remains marks the localities of their fortified places. In other words, as Squier was compelled to admit after a thorough investigation of these works, they are to be attributed to the Iroquois, and we may add that they appear to be found only where people of the Huron-Iroquois stock obtained a foothold.

Possibly the works of Cuyahoga county and other parts of northern Ohio may be attributable to the Eries, but if so we would have another chain of evidence connecting this lost tribe with the Huron-Iroquois family.

As the area of the works of this type in the United States, commencing at the northeast corner of New York, includes the northern, central and western parts of this state, and extends in a comparatively narrow belt along the southern shore of Lake Erie and up the eastern part of Michigan to and including Ogemaw county, we may conclude that here we find the former seats of the tribes of this family.

This conclusion is greatly strengthened by the fact that it agrees with history, so far as this extends, and with the linguistic evidence.

The ancient works of Canada, so far as they have been examined, present nothing opposed to this view, as they appear in most cases to be attributable to the tribes of this family. Two small enclosures, apparently of the type of which we have been speaking, have been found in the eastern border of Wisconsin, possibly the result of temporary occupancy by wandering bands of Iroquois.

Basing our opinion wholly on the mound testimony, we would conclude that the tribes of the Huron-Iroquois stock made their entry into the United States territory from the north, a conclusion which is confirmed by history and tradition. It is, we admit, unnecessary to appeal to the mound testimony to arrive at this conclusion, but one object we have in view is to show the close agreement between this testimony and history, where the latter exists. The reader will readily perceive the two important bearings this has: *first*, the agreement between the two tends to strengthen both; *second*, the agreement of the mound testimony with *Indian* history is strong proof that the authors of these monuments were Indians.

Although the Delaware tradition indicates that on their arrival at the "great river" (not the Mississippi, but probably the Detroit river), they found in the vicinity tribes of this stock (if the *Talamatan* were Hurons), yet, as Morgan* contends, it is evident that the Algonkins preceded the Iroquois in the occupancy of the eastern territory. "It is plainly to be inferred," he remarks, "that the Iroquois area was originally Algonkin,

* *Beach's Indian Miscellany*, pp. 211-216.

and that the irruption of the Iroquois into this area explains the spread of the Algonkin nations along the Atlantic coast."

Whether the latter part of this statement be correct is somewhat doubtful, as this would throw back the date when the Iroquois came into power beyond that usually assigned by our historians and antiquarians. Nevertheless, it is evident that some strong pressure had pushed the eastern Algonkins into the narrow limits they were found occupying at the arrival of the Europeans, and we know of no such power except the Iroquois.

According to the Delaware tradition, as preserved in the "Bark Record," they "settled their council fires south of the lakes," while the Hurons (if the Talamatans were Hurons), remained on the north side. Mr. Horatio Hale, one of our best authorities in all that relates to the languages of the tribes of which we are speaking, thinks the Iroquois entered from the northeast; moreover, the apparently oldest aboriginal works of New York are those found in Jefferson and St. Lawrence counties. But this does not militate in the least against the theory which would bring them originally from the northwest. The region of Niagara river being probably occupied by Algonkins, they were compelled to move on eastward to the foot of Lake Ontario before they could find a point where they could readily cross over to the south side. The movement, therefore, south of the lakes, would be westward, but north of them it was, as I think, certainly eastward.

I would keep before the mind of the reader as we proceed the fact that none of the eastern Algonkin tribes, so far as we know, were mound builders—an important factor in the attempt to solve this problem.

The effigy mounds of Wisconsin and of the immediately adjoining portions of Iowa and Illinois (very few are found in Minnesota, and those in the extreme southeast part of the state,) are extremely puzzling to the archæologist; nevertheless the evidence pointing to their Indian origin is so strong that we are fully justified in arriving at this conclusion. It is only on this supposition, whether acknowledged or not, that any attempt to explain them has been or can be made. But the next question, "What Indians?" is more difficult to answer; and the sign-boards which mark the way are so dim that the result will appear to be little more than a guess; nevertheless, the threads which lead us, though extremely slender, are too persistent to be without meaning.

As a preliminary step we adopt the view advanced by Dr. Lapham and advocated by Rev. S. D. Peet—that of the mounds of this region the true effigies and more complicated forms are the most ancient, and that the

tendency was toward the simpler forms. This view I believe will be accepted by any one who studies carefully these strange works and the methods of grouping them. This conclusion is not necessarily based upon the idea that all these monuments are attributable to one tribe or people, but has reference chiefly to the chronological sequence of the types. Nevertheless, there are numerous indications that the same people modified their customs so far as they affected the character of their works. In other words, there are reasons for believing that the tribes which built the effigy and elongate mounds changed this custom and built at last only burial tumuli.

There are indications that Wisconsin has, in the past, been occupied by two if not three different mound-building tribes, though the effigy mounds and the groups with which they are connected are probably due to one people. These, we are inclined to believe, belonged to the Dakotan stock, the Winnebagoes being the modern representatives.

A rule which appears to have but few if any exceptions is, that the Algonkin tribes were not mound builders in the true sense, except where brought into relation with or close proximity to mound-building people. On the other hand, some of the Dakotan tribes were mound builders, in fact most of them to some extent, as is yet evident from the remains scattered over the Sioux country. When the first news of the inhabitants of Wisconsin reached the French, it was of the Winnebagoes, who were then dwelling on Fox River and about Lake Winnebago; and certain ceremonies which were performed by this last-named tribe indicate that they formerly built mounds.

The direction from which the authors of these works—whoever they may have been—entered this area can now only be judged of by the mounds. Basing my conclusion wholly upon the data these furnish, I am inclined to think they came from the southwest through what is now northern Iowa. It is quite certain they did not enter at the northeast or northwest. The distribution of the ancient works over the southern part of the State, and some other facts, indicate repeated movements back and forth between the Mississippi River and Lake Michigan; also that there was some opposing element which prevented them from advancing around the south end of the lake.

The "Ground House Indians" of tradition, who occupied the northwest part of the State, over which are scattered numerous small burial tumuli, were in all probability the Mandans, or one of the house-building tribes found subsequently on the upper Missouri river.

Such are some of the conclusions we are inclined to draw from the

mound data so far obtained; future discoveries may and probably will modify them to some extent, but I think the tendency will be to confirm rather than to contradict them.

The mound testimony taken as a whole, so far as it relates to the northern and middle districts, evidently leans toward the theory which brings the tribes from the northwest. The direction from which the Algonkin tribes came is indicated by the distance toward the west and northwest to which the outlying branches extend. It is possible and even quite probable that, as the stream pushed southeastward and the process of segregation into tribes was going on, the Delawares and those afterward found along the eastern coast turned eastward and passed onward north of the lakes. The Shawnees and Illinois tribes moved on southeastward, crossing the Mississippi at different points; others may have crossed in the region of Sault Ste. Marie; others over the Detroit River; the western branches (Cheyennes and Arapahoes) lingering in the region of the Red River of the north, until driven westward by the Dakotas; and the Arkansas tribes pushing their way on southward west of the Mississippi. I find very little if any mound testimony to support the theory that the latter formerly dwelt on the Ohio. Some of the works on the Wabash appear to belong to the same type as the monuments of southeastern Missouri and northeastern Arkansas. It is possible, therefore, that they may have dwelt here for a time in their movement southward.

Supposing the Cherokees to be distantly related to the Iroquois stock, the mound testimony compels us to look to the northwest as the point of separation, far distant and ages ago it may have been, nevertheless it must have been in that direction, as the former came eastward south of the lakes and the latter north.

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Cyrus Thomas

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

IN SAVANNAH, GEORGIA

So tardy were the means of communication at a period when the electric telegraph and conveyance by steam were unknown, that the Declaration of Independence—publicly proclaimed in Philadelphia on the 4th of July, 1776—was not heard of in Georgia until the 10th of August. On that day an express messenger arrived and delivered to President Archibald Bulloch a certified copy of the memorable document, accompanied by a letter from John Hancock, president of the Continental Congress. The Provincial Council was at once convened; and to its members did President Bulloch read that historic and brave utterance of the delegates of the thirteen united Colonies. Profound was the impression created on the minds of all, and rapturously did the assembled councilors hail the elevation of British colonies into the dignity of an independent nation.

This ceremony concluded, the president and council repaired to the public square, where, in front of the building set apart for the deliberations of the Provincial Assembly, the Declaration of Independence was again read; and this time amid the acclamations of the congregated citizens of Savannah. The grenadier and light infantry companies, which had been quickly summoned, then fired a salute, and a procession was formed consisting of

- The grenadiers in front;
- The Provost Marshal on horseback, with his sword drawn;
- The Secretary bearing the Declaration;
- His Excellency the President;
- The honorable the Council and gentlemen attending;
- The Light Infantry;
- The Militia of the town and district of Savannah;
- And lastly the citizens.

Thus constituted the procession marched to the Liberty Pole, where it was reinforced by the Georgia Battalion. Here the Declaration was for third time read. At the command of Colonel Lachlaw McIntosh thirteen volleys were fired from the field pieces and also from the small arms. Thence the entire concourse proceeded to the battery at the Trustees' Garden, where the Declaration was publicly read for the fourth and last

time. From the siege guns planted at that point a salute was fired. His Excellency, President Bulloch, the members of Council, Colonel McIntosh, many gentlemen, and the militia subsequently dined under the cedar trees, and cordially drank to the "prosperity and perpetuity of the United, Free, and Independent States of America."

In the evening the town was illuminated. A funeral procession, embracing a number of citizens larger than had ever been congregated in the history of Savannah, and attended by the grenadier and light infantry companies, the Georgia battalion, and the militia, with muffled drums, marched to the front of the Court House—where his Majesty King George the Third was interred in effigy, and the following burial service prepared for the occasion was read with all solemnity:

"For as much as George the Third of Great Britain hath most flagrantly violated his coronation oath, and trampled upon the Constitution of our country and the sacred rights of mankind, we therefore commit his political existence to the ground—corruption to corruption—tyranny to the grave—and oppression to eternal infamy—in sure and certain hope that he will never obtain a resurrection to rule again over these United States of America. But, my friends and fellow citizens, let us not be sorry, as men without hope, for Tyrants that thus depart:—rather let us remember America is free and independent, and that she is, and will be, with the blessing of the Almighty, great among the nations of the earth. Let this encourage us in well doing, and to fight for our rights and privileges, for our wives and children, and for all that is near and dear unto us. May God give us his blessing, and let all the people say, Amen!"

With similar joy was the Declaration of Independence welcomed in the other parishes of Georgia. St. John's parish—the home of Hall and Gwinnett, two of the Signers—was most pronounced in its demonstrations of loyalty and approval.

Charles C. Jones, Jr.

AUGUSTA, GEORGIA, July 26, 1888.

RECONSTRUCTION

Much has been written and said in general terms concerning the reconstruction of the Union after the close of the civil war. Some have characterized that measure as a mistake, while others deemed it the best that could be done under the circumstances. Meanwhile the national government continues to come in for a share of censure for not having performed its full duty in the premises ; that is, in having freed the slave and made him an American citizen, and then failed to institute proper measures for training him by education to fulfill his duties of citizenship and to protect him in the exercise of his newly acquired privileges. But the national government did not design in freeing the slave to virtually hand him over to his former master with only one portion of his bondage removed, that of being bought and sold. Its policy was much more comprehensive.

When the slave was freed it was once for all time, both for him and his posterity, while "reconstruction," in contradistinction to "restoration," was designed to secure for him, in every sense, the rights of the American citizen. These rights were presumed to be secured by an organic arrangement when three-fourths of the states ratified the 13th, the 14th and the 15th amendments to the Constitution of the United States.

Perhaps there is no portion of our recent history so little understood by even the majority of intelligent American readers, as that pertaining to the period of reconstruction. Questions are often asked why that particular policy was adopted in bringing back the "erring sisters" into the household of the nation. Where was the necessity of giving the ballot to the ignorant and illiterate freedmen? Why should not the policy of *Restoration* have been preferred to that of *Reconstruction*? We propose to answer these questions as concisely and as distinctly as the subject and our space will permit, in order that the reader may judge of the expediency of Congress adopting the policy of reconstruction. It is due to truth and justice that the reasons should be known which influenced the statesmen of that critical period to receive back into the Union on such conditions, that if honestly carried out would, in the end, promote the mutual interests of all classes of citizens, white or colored.

The Thirty-eighth Congress closed its second session March 3, 1865, and the Thirty-ninth would not meet in regular session till the fourth of December following, nine months afterward. Andrew Johnson, on the

death of Mr. Lincoln, became President April 15, 1865; General Lee surrendered on the ninth of the same month, as did General Johnston eight days afterward. The President, in the course of about six weeks after assuming office, indicated by unmistakable signs that a change was taking place in his sentiments toward the leaders of the rebellion just closed. It was rumored, meanwhile, that the President had devised a plan by means of which these states could be restored to the Union. This scheme he characterized as "my policy," and with it the leaders just mentioned were satisfied, and they co-operated earnestly with him in the preliminary measures necessary to make it effective. The President's plan has since been known as that of "restoration" in contradistinction to that afterward adopted by Congress and known as "reconstruction." The difference between these two policies in their influence upon the future of the nation are recognized as very great by the intelligent and thoughtful.

Restoration contemplated the return of the lately rebellious states into the full fellowship of the Union. They were only required by the President "to acquiesce in the abolition of slavery; to repudiate the rebel debt and repeal the ordinances of secession." These conditions of re-admission ignored the once slave population, now become free and of course citizens, and who were left subject to the laws that might be enacted in respect to themselves by the legislatures of these several states thus restored, while in making these laws, as voters, they had no voice.

Instead of calling an extra session of the Thirty-ninth Congress, that legislative measures might be taken on the occasion, the President, of his own motion, resolved to restore these states, and that with as little delay as possible. He urged forward the project with his usual zeal and energy, without reference to what the people of the North might wish in the premises, or to give their representatives in Congress an opportunity even to express an opinion on the subject. The President, between May 29th and July 13th, appointed seven provisional governors over as many states: to these officials he gave special instructions. These governors had about four months and a half to prepare their respective states for "restoration," to do which they went to work energetically. As authorized by the President, they gave directions for the people to choose and send delegates to state conventions, which should repeal the "ordinances of secession," repudiate the debt of the "pretended confederacy" and "acquiesce in the abolition of slavery." Complying with these conditions, they had the implied assurance of the President that they would be restored to the Union, and if prepared, admitted to the national councils at the first meeting of the Thirty-ninth Congress. Accordingly, the conventions

were soon called, and they at once repealed the now obnoxious ordinances and complied with the other requirements. The managers, meanwhile, hastened to have the people elect members of Congress and also of the state legislatures; the latter meeting soon after chose United States senators. In this unprecedented haste the usual laws in regard to the ordinances passed by such convention being submitted to the people for their sanction were ignored, nor were writs issued in legal form for the election of the members of Congress and of the legislatures.

It may be well to notice briefly the character of the national legislature that was about to assemble at Washington. The Senate of the Thirty-ninth Congress was unusually strong in the number of its experienced statesmen; while the Lower House was equally remarkable in regard to its composition. Of the members of the two houses, two were afterward Presidents of the United States, and one lacked only about one thousand votes of being so; three were Vice-Presidents; eleven, members of the cabinet; four, ministers abroad; and five, governors of their respective states. More than half the members of the Lower House had belonged to the Thirty-eighth Congress, and many had also been members of previous ones. It is thus evident that in this crisis (1864) in the nation's life, the majority of the people were anxious to secure the services of statesmen who had had experience in public affairs, as upon them, in all probability, would devolve the duty of re-admitting to the Union the states then in rebellion. It is remarkable that *two-thirds* of the members constituting the majority (Republican) of the Lower House had also been members of previous Congresses, while more than *three-fifths* of the minority (Democratic) were new men.

The crisis was, indeed, full of complications hitherto unknown: on the one hand, were the freedmen, recognized as citizens, but in an abnormal condition; on the other certain leaders, military and political, fresh from an attempt to destroy the Union by force of arms, but now demanding that their states, so recently in rebellion, should be admitted again to that Union unconditionally, and they themselves to the councils of the nation.

When the Thirty-ninth Congress assembled, a majority of these ex-confederate Congressmen and Senators, chosen in the peculiar manner already noted, were on hand, and eager to enter upon their duties in the national legislature. Of the whole number, not one had been a "Union man;" all had been directly or indirectly engaged in the rebellion. Many were unpardoned, numbers could not take the prescribed oath, and it was evident there existed in their minds, for the most part, a profound under-current of hostility toward the United States government. These gentle-

men claimed their seats in Congress in virtue of President Johnson's policy, and his explicit or implied assurance that they would be re-admitted. Congress refused to recognize the claim—one objection being that the President, as executive, had no authority derived from the Constitution or otherwise, to re-admit these states to the Union, that power belonging to the legislative, not to the executive branch of the government, and which authority the former had hitherto always exercised. In addition, these states were still under martial law, and the provisional governors could exercise military authority merely to preserve order, while the President, the chief military executive, could only depute similar authority to his subordinates. This was far different from the legislative and legal authority of admitting states to the Union. The President could have called an extra session of Congress, but he did not. On the other hand, the undue haste in which these preliminary measures were pushed, and the disrespect indirectly shown by the chief executive to the authority of the legislative branch of the government, roused in the minds of the thoughtful in the northern states a distrust of his proposed measures, about which an unusual reticence was preserved, not only by the President himself, but by those who appeared most active in promoting his "policy."

The President's first annual message (Dec. 4, 1865) to the Thirty-ninth Congress revealed, however, to the country a partial outline of the policy of restoration, which he designed to carry out. Up to this time the position of the freedman as a citizen of the nation had not been authoritatively defined, yet what it was *assumed* to be in the states now seeking re-admission to the Union may be inferred from a series of laws then in process of enactment by their legislatures. One phase of the political status of the freedman, either by an understanding or remarkable coincidence, was held by the President, and also by his co-laborers in promoting the former's "policy." Several of the state conventions called into existence by the provisional governors denied the right or the duty of Congress to enact laws in respect to the political status of the freedmen, and coincident with that view of the subject, the President in this, his first message to Congress, says: "In my judgment the freedmen, if they show patience and manly virtue, will sooner obtain participation in the elective franchise through the states than through the general government." Then he volunteers the opinion that "it is not competent for Congress to extend the elective franchise in the several states." This coincidence, connected with the hitherto carefully preserved reticence on the subject, appeared ominous, while the adoption of this theory of the freedman's political status by the President and the members of these legislatures may explain the rationale of

certain laws enacted by the latter in respect to the freedmen and their interests.

A brief summary of the laws alluded to, and which bore upon the rights and privileges of the freedmen as American citizens, is as follows: in North Carolina, in accordance with the laws recently enacted, the evidence of a colored person, now free, was received in the courts only in trials that were between colored persons. "In all other civil and criminal cases such evidence shall be deemed inadmissible, *unless by consent of the parties of record.*" Laws bearing on the same point and similar in character were enacted in Georgia, South Carolina, Virginia, Alabama and Texas. Under such ruling how could trials be conducted impartially when a white person and a colored one were the contestants?

The term *vagrant* was found convenient for one special purpose. Several of these legislatures utilized it as a pretext for passing laws in respect to the children of freedmen. It was assumed, as a general rule, that colored parents would not support their own children, though in that climate it required very little exertion. They were, however, graciously allowed to nurture them during infancy and until their labor might be worth something. The civil authorities were therefore enjoined to take the children of colored parents against whom this charge was made, and under the plea of *vagrancy*, apprentice them to white masters. Former owners, all things being equal, had the preference in securing these apprentices. The laws, as a general rule, were so drawn that interested persons could easily trump up that charge. In addition, civil officers were *required to look out for such minors* and report them to the courts, to which came plenty of white persons who were in readiness to avail themselves of the services of these children as apprentices. Such service was valuable. The males were to be apprenticed till they were twenty-one years of age, and the females till they were eighteen. The laws in respect to apprentices went much into detail, were very stringent, and even tyrannical. The wishes of parents were evidently little respected, either by the courts or by those who wished to obtain the control of these minor children, while colored fathers and mothers were indirectly charged with idleness and improvidence. Had these law-makers forgotten that these same fathers and mothers, of their own free will, had labored during the immediately preceding years of the war, and had not only supported themselves and their own children, but also their white mistresses and their children, while their masters and the elder sons of the family were in the Confederate army? This they had done without the aid of overseers, but of their own accord and good will toward their masters and mistresses. "History records no instance of such

disinterested loyalty. Though they had heard of the proclamation of their freedom, yet they protected and supported these defenseless women and children and committed no outrages."*

The states of Mississippi, South Carolina, Virginia and Louisiana adopted laws of this character; all were earnest to secure, and seemingly on their own terms, the services of the freedmen and their children. The code in relation to the freedmen adopted in South Carolina was so outrageous that Major-General Daniel E. Sickles, commander in the department, blotted it out by military order (January 17, 1866), and Provisional Governor Perry dissolved the convention of the same state as a revolutionary body, notwithstanding it had assembled under the President's "Instructions." Major-General A. H. Terry, at Richmond (January 24, 1866), issued an order forbidding the enforcement of the *vagrant act* passed by the Virginia legislature, on the ground of "unjust and wrongful combinations, having been entered into for the purpose of depressing the wages of the freedmen below the real value of their labor," saying: "The effect of the statute in question will be, therefore, to compel the freedmen, under punishment as criminals, to accept and labor for wages established by these combinations of employers. The ultimate effect will be to reduce the freedmen to a condition which will be slavery all but name." President Johnson himself, to whom an appeal was made, refused to interfere with this order.

The subject of education was ignored by all these legislatures except that of Florida, which made provision for the schooling of the freedmen's children, but the law, however, "required a tax of one dollar to be levied on every male person of color between the ages of twenty-one and fifty-five, and a tuition fee to be collected from each colored pupil." Out of this fund they were to pay a superintendent and teachers; of course the latter were white. At the same time by law it was ordered that the "interest from the school fund of the state should be applied to the education of indigent white children."

Another remarkable feature of the legislation under review was that it often put hindrances in the way of the industrial progress of the freedmen. The laws already noticed infringed their rights as contestants in the civil courts, outraged their feelings and rights as parents, and depreciated their wages; and now we notice a series of laws whose influence trammelled them in making an honest living by engaging in ordinary business. For illustra-

* Testimony of Senator Gordon of Georgia. Report of Committee of Congress on Outrages, Vol. VI., p. 334. These former owners and lawgivers appeared unable to recognize the love of colored parents for their own children, and passed these laws while seemingly unconscious of their injustice and inhumanity.

tion, in Mississippi the law would not "allow any freedman, free negro, or mulatto to rent or lease any lands or tenement, except in incorporate towns and cities, in which places the corporate authorities shall control the same." Again, if not employed, a colored person, male or female, must obtain a license from the mayor or police "authorizing him or her to do irregular and job work." In South Carolina the "law provided that no person of color shall pursue or practice the art, trade or business of an artisan, mechanic, shopkeeper, etc., *on his own account and for his own benefit*," without a license. The person of color for violating this law "was punished by fine or corporeal punishment." No mention is made of such license being required of the colored person if *hired* by a white man.

The Louisiana legislature enacted (December 21, 1865) that all laborers should make contracts for the entire ensuing year, within the first ten days of the following month of January. These contracts were to be put in writing and read to the freedman, and he signed them by his **mark** in the presence of witnesses; they were made with the heads of **families**, and, as a general rule, embraced the labor of all the members of the family. The rules made by the employer were very strict. If the freedman went to work upon the terms proposed, well and **good**; but if he, as an American citizen, stood upon his presumed **rights**, and refused to work on such terms, he was declared a *vagrant*, for whose punishment ample provision was made in **another** section of the statute. To the casual reader these laws **would** imply that the employer was also bound to fulfill his part of the contract, and indeed he was to be fined quite severely if he did not. But in another section we find the following significant clause: "All difficulties arising between the employers and laborers under this section shall be settled, and all fines imposed by the former." To be sure the freedman, if dissatisfied, could appeal "to the nearest justice of the peace and two freeholders, citizens," one of whom chosen by himself, the other by the employer. It was provided, however, that "*all* the fines imposed and collected under this section shall be deducted from the wages due the laborer." Of course the freedman, on such conditions, would seldom appeal; he would *accept* the less of two evils.

If a freedman happened to be out of work he could be arrested as a *vagrant*, and become subject to the stringent laws bearing on such colored persons. The judges of the state were enjoined by law "to give this act" (the vagrant) "especlaily in charge of the grand juries at each jury term of their respective courts. In addition, the laborers or freedmen, under the charge of willful neglect, were held responsible for the injuries that might happen to the animals or to the implements used in the work; the

employer being the judge, had also the right to deduct the estimated amount of such damage from the wages due; or in other words, the freedmen, as laborers, were virtually held responsible for the wear and tear of the plantation. Upon the whole it would seem that at this time all the laws enacted in these states in respect to this subject, were so drawn that in some sections they read fairly, yet in others their interpretation could be invariably so construed as to discriminate against the interests of the freedman.

Laws, appropriate under the circumstances, were also enacted in all these states to regulate the domestic relations of the freedmen in respect to the legitimacy of children and of marriage. Some of the other laws had a flavor of the times of slavery; for instance, "impudence to his employer," "willful disobedience of orders," "using seditious language," "unlawfully assembling themselves together," "exercising the functions of a minister of the gospel without a license from some regularly organized church, vending spirituous or intoxicating drinks, or committing any other misdemeanor," were to be punished by fines and imprisonment. No freedman was permitted to have weapons of defense, such as knives or fire-arms, and was generally fined in twice the price of the arms that were taken from him. If a freedman who had been apprenticed, left his master, any person who "shall knowingly give or sell such deserting freedman any food, raiment or other things" could be punished by fine and imprisonment. "For all absence from home without leave the laborer will be fined at the rate of two dollars per day." (Condensed from Handbook of Politics for 1868, by McPherson, pp. 29-44).

It is difficult to discover provisions in these laws that protected the rights of the laborer equally with those of the employer, while it was ominous of additional evil to the former, that these law-makers seemed unconscious of the injustice and the inhumanity involved in these codes, which, though couched in different legal forms in the several states, all tended to the same end—that at as little expense as possible to utilize for the interest of the former master alone, the labor of the former slave, while at the same time keeping the latter in ignorance, and virtually crushing out his ambition to improve himself or his children. In this view these law-givers were then sustained by the great majority of the former slave owners; and what is strange, both these parties thought they themselves were in the right. This theory may serve partially to account for the imprudence of their legislatures in enacting laws of that character, when in anticipation of the speedy restoration of their states to the Union. Had these legislators been rendered so callous in respect to the negro by the influ-

ence of slavery that they were unable to conceive why the people of the free-labor states might possibly look upon these laws with abhorrence, as being not only unjust but inhuman, and as designed, in extorting labor from the freedmen, to take the place of the former overseer and his lash? Neither did they seem to realize that they were thus crippling about one half their own citizens by taking from them nearly all the hope of reward. They even made no provision for educating this great laboring class, by which it would become the more effective in promoting the special industries of their own section. The modifications which were afterward made in these laws were the outgrowth of the principles involved in the measures introduced by Congress when adopting reconstruction.

Such is a brief summary of the laws already passed, and in process of framing, for they were all enacted within six months (from November 22, 1865, to May 25, 1866), that confronted the Thirty-ninth Congress at its first session. The members of these legislatures and the congressmen and senators elect fully expected that their states, in accordance with the President's "policy," would be at once restored to the Union. This belief may partially account for the haste in which the laws in relation to the freedmen were enacted; another motive had also much influence, that of enabling the former masters to utilize the labor of the freedmen in the planting season, now near at hand.

In the presence of these laws the freedman was almost helpless. What means could be devised to protect him in his rights as an American citizen? Congress was in a dilemma; the crisis was pressing and could not be ignored; a settlement of the difficulty must be made at once, and on terms so just as to last forever. That body had obtained from these laws an inkling of the animating spirit which almost universally pervaded the ruling minds in the late Confederate states in respect to the civil rights and political status of the freedmen. It required all the skill of statesmanship in the national legislature to inaugurate measures that would ward off the evils impending in the future. Congress therefore did not, as has been charged, legislate so as "to fix by enactment his (the freedman's) *social* rights," but so as to secure his *political* rights as a citizen, and wisely left his *social status* to take care of itself; the latter belongs to the intercourse between individuals and families in the community, and by no process can be made a creature of law. One result would be certain; that if these once slave-labor states should again take their places in the Union in accordance with the policy of restoration, the treatment of freedmen under state laws could be no more modified by the national government than were the state slavery codes before the recent war. The

freedmen in one sense were citizens, but owing to their peculiar relations and former condition, it was essential to define more clearly their political status. Would it be right of itself or promote the material progress and political peace of the nation at large, to hand them over, and that too without legal redress, to the tender mercies of law givers such as these had shown themselves? The alternative was to give the freedmen a voice in making the laws under which they and their children were to live. That could be done in one way only—to bind the states of the Union by constitutional guarantees to protect all their citizens against the infringement of their rights. This could be accomplished by insuring to them the privilege of suffrage, which implied not only the right of all citizens to cast their votes as they *wished*, but, as a sequence, to have them *counted* honestly. Congress had to grope its way, as it could act only in accordance with the popular will, and therefore it was essential that it should introduce measures just to every citizen, and set in train influences that would, in the end, promote the best interests of the nation. The condition of the freedmen in respect to their lack of intelligence, their peculiarities of race with its pliability of character, together with a certain servile spirit, the outgrowth of a terrible experience in slavery, combined to present a problem very hard to solve. These almost insuperable difficulties demanded prompt action rather than a dilatory and vacillating policy that would permit the evils on hand to grow stronger and stronger. The freedmen could be encouraged by insuring to them their rights as citizens, while the ex-slave-holders might, at that time, be more willing to acquiesce in whatever Congress should adopt, than they would be hereafter, under the influence of a combination, indications of which were cropping out, of the ex-Confederate politicians and their present and also former sympathizers in the northern states.

To reach the desired result the Constitution of the United States must be amended; and both houses of Congress (June 13, 1866) proposed to the states for their ratification the Fourteenth Amendment, which they ratified by February 7, 1867. Afterward, the Fifteenth Amendment, in the usual manner, was proposed and ratified by the states March 30, 1870. The Fourteenth Amendment, Section 2, says: "When the right to vote is denied to any of the male inhabitants of a state and citizens of the United States, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such state." This principle applied to all the states of the Union, and if New York or Ohio disfranchised in any manner their Irish or German citizens, in the

same proportion would the number of their representatives in the Lower House of Congress be diminished; and if South Carolina or Mississippi in any way disfranchised their colored citizens, they laid themselves open to the same penalty. It is a fundamental principle in the Constitution and government of the United States, that all its citizens in good and regular standing should have the right to vote, and that self-government in the several states is under the protection of the United States Constitution. Should this principle be violated by any state, the remedy was at hand in the application of Article IV., Section 4, of the Constitution, which says: "The United States shall guarantee to every state in the Union a republican form of government."

Soon after the Fourteenth Amendment was ratified, Congress took measures *to reconstruct* the Union by passing an enabling act (March 23, 1867), "to provide efficient governments for the insurrectionary states." Then followed the registration act, by which the provisional governors were instructed to order in their respective states the registration of all the male citizens "without reference to color or former condition of life." This registration was to be completed by September 1, 1867. Under this act the colored men were practically recognized as citizens, and having registered, they soon after voted, for the first time, in choosing delegates to conventions which were to form state constitutions.

It is proper, in this connection, to record the fact that every measure passed and designed by Congress to aid the freedmen, even including a bill to "establish a bureau for the relief of freedmen and refugees"—the latter being poor whites who had been Union men—was passed over the President's veto.

In due time reconstruction was accomplished; but in deciding upon which Congress was beset by almost insuperable difficulties. We cannot go into detail; but a brief summary of the impediments to be removed or overcome may not be out of place in this connection. It would be but an experiment, yet safety was more possible in acting justly toward the freedmen and their former masters, as well as toward the nation at large. In justice we must look at these objections—some of which were plausible and some liable to become practical—as they presented themselves *at that time* to the minds of the people as well as to Congress, and not as *we are now inclined after more than twenty years* of the practical workings of reconstruction, to look back upon them as having been futile. There were two prominent objections in the way—one theoretical, the other political—and neither without influence. First came the numerous prophets of that day, who were clamorous in predicting that without

doubt the colored race, now deprived of the benign care of their former owners, would surely die out; but, on the contrary, it has since been increasing at a rate that, without the aid of immigration, will double its number every twenty years. With equal assurance it was foretold that in freedom the negroes would not be industrious, but idle; yet they have since been raising cotton and other staples at such a rate that at present they produce nearly twice as much a year as they did when in slavery. It was also demonstrated that, being idle and improvident, great numbers of them would become paupers; but to-day in the south, in proportion to the population, there is a less number of the colored people paupers than there is of the whites. It is also a striking fact that since they have had access to public and other schools, their zeal in learning to read and write, among old and young, has been far in advance of that found among the illiterate whites and their children. They also manifest much more zeal, in proportion to their means, in their efforts to maintain schools.

Having seen the outcome of the theoretical objection, we will notice the other, which consisted in the relation at that time of the main political parties to each other. In the north were the leaders of that class which during the war sympathized more or less with the Confederates. These leaders had strong faith in the prophets and their predictions, and were in favor of restoration, under whose shield the poor freedmen were to find guardians. In addition were numerous voters who did not thoroughly understand the subject in all its bearings, near and remote; they knew and felt that they were wearied with the political turmoil, while it was continually urged by certain speakers and portions of the press that it was all about the negro; instead of taking in the importance of the whole idea from a national point of view, they only wanted, even at any cost, political peace. So evenly balanced were these parties that there was danger of the undisguised enemies of the policy of reconstruction then, or soon afterward, getting control of the government and trampling out all that had been done, and instead instituting measures that might be ruinous to the hopes of the freedman ever improving himself and his children, and thus hampering the progress of the whole nation, by continuing within it a retarding element. These clashing opinions made Congress hesitate, and in the end act very cautiously in making reconstruction *stable* by constitutional amendments. For more than two years these questions were discussed in Congress, in the newspapers, and among the people themselves.

During this discussion and political agitation only two prominent theories were proposed as to the principles on which the Union should be

made whole; the one—that of restoration, confronting the Thirty-ninth Congress at its first meeting—ignored the fact that the former slaves were now free and equal citizens; on this theory the laws cited above were partially based; the other—which developed into reconstruction—not only recognized that fact, but made provision for the protection of these freedmen as citizens. The great mass of the northern people sympathized much more with the poor, innocent whites of the south, because of the distresses that the war—for which they were not responsible—had entailed upon them, than they did with the freedmen, who had lately received the great boon of having their shackles stricken off. This sentiment was so strong and so pervading during the nine months between the close of the Thirty-eighth Congress and the first meeting of the Thirty-ninth, that the northern people might, with some modifications, have acquiesced in the President's policy of restoration, and might not have been so radical in respect to the political status of the freedmen, as was afterward adopted in reconstruction.

Reasons soon appeared that changed the opinions of the northern people. The hostile spirit manifested by the members of Congress and the Senators-elect from the lately rebellious states caused the Thirty-ninth Congress to hesitate; meanwhile, portions of the laws quoted above were appearing in the newspapers. The character of these laws excited misgivings in the minds of intelligent people in the north in relation to the danger that would be incurred in handing over the freedmen and their posterity to these states without guarantees for their protection. Had the law givers referred to treated the freedmen kindly and justly, recognized them in their new relation as citizens, and manifested a desire to give them even a moderate chance to make their living and elevate themselves and their children by education and industry, the impression made would have been far different. On the contrary, the peculiar character and probable influence of these laws in the future led thinking minds to recognize the vast importance of the crisis. The experience of the past had just proclaimed, and in no uncertain voice, that the re-adjusted Union, if it would preserve its integrity, must be based on justice to all, on intelligence, as well as on common-sense legislation. Was it right, or even expedient, under the policy of restoration, to incorporate in the new Union an element of social and political gangrene, that was certain in time to poison the prosperity and peace of the nation; to put the freedmen in a position whence they could never be extricated, except, in all probability, by a bloody revolution? In three distinct senses they were no longer slaves: they could not be bought and sold; as citizens they

could live where they pleased; nor could they be hindered from learning to read and write. Had restoration been adopted, the stimulus for self-improvement and industry would have been virtually taken away, as they scarcely would have had an inducement to labor.

Seemingly many intelligent people do not fully understand why the privilege of suffrage was conferred upon the freedmen. One explanation is, that the reasons for that act of Congress have not been published in such form as to reach the reading public. In consequence of this lack of information, the political and social evils that have since occasionally appeared in the recent Confederate states have often been, and most erroneously, attributed to reconstruction. It is evident that had restoration been adopted there would have been no Ku Klux outrages, but instead the same class that enacted the laws we have cited would have still been utilizing for their own benefit the labor of the freedmen, while the latter would have had no means of redress worth naming, and but little opportunity of making known their wrongs to the nation. Let it therefore be borne in mind that reconstruction was made the *occasion* for committing these crimes, and that it never could have been the *cause*, since the Ku Klux outrages, and other annoyances of similar character, were designed to *neutralize* the effects of the amendments embodied in the policy of reconstruction, as these deeds of violence were intended to deter from voting the freedmen and those native whites who had dared stand up for the Union.

There was still another view of the subject—the political. In the time of slavery, *three-fifths* of the slave population were counted as citizens, and they had at the commencement of the civil war twenty-one representatives in the Lower House of Congress—but they had had no voice in electing them. According to the theory of restoration *all* the colored population would be represented in the Lower House, but still they would have no vote in choosing their own members of Congress. This would be grossly unjust in respect to those states wherein *all men* had the privilege of voting.

It has been sometimes assumed that Reconstruction was a failure, and Congress made an enormous mistake in admitting the illiterate freedmen to the privilege of the ballot. This objection would have greater force if Congress had not long before permitted illiterate white men to vote, who, though nearly all foreigners, were so numerous in the free-labor states that they held the balance of power between the two leading political parties of the Union. We admit that these white illiterates, because of their coming in contact with intelligent people, and with whom in a political sense they

were on an equality, knew more of politics and general subjects than the freedmen.

Congress, fully alive to this feature of the case, took measures to prepare the freedmen and their posterity for their new position by means of an education, and accordingly it made efforts to establish public schools throughout these states, not only to teach the freedmen, but the illiterate whites, and the children of both classes. At that time Congress did not have a surplus of numerous millions, a portion of which could be appropriated to aid the people of the south in bearing this burden; the latter were poor, yet for the most part they have done nobly. As a partial aid, great numbers of the benevolent in the north entered upon the work of teaching the colored people, as well as the illiterate whites, and this good work has been going on for twenty years. Said Mr. Cable some years since: "The private charities alone of the other states have \$20,000,000 in the same good cause. Their colored seminaries, colleges and normal schools dot our whole southern country, and furnish our public colored schools with a large part of their teachers."

The Hon. Henry Wilson, of Massachusetts, introduced into the United States Senate about twenty years ago a bill designed to aid public schools, especially those in the south, the funds to be drawn from the sales of the public lands. Since then more than half a generation has passed away, and the bill, so amended as to appropriate \$77,000,000, has passed the Senate under different forms half a dozen times—more recently at the close of the first session of the Forty-eighth Congress, and again at the first session of the Forty-ninth, and also at the first session of the Fiftieth—and at this writing it is on the calendar of the House of Representatives. One of the objections to the bill, as manifested in the Senate, was the ghost of the effete state sovereignty dogma, which professed to fear "centralization!"

It will take two generations, at least, to educate the children of an illiterate people up to the ordinary standard of to-day, demanded of the graduates of our public schools. But that policy, if fully carried out as already begun, will enhance the material progress of the South, and indirectly of the whole nation.

Why may not the era of reconstruction, with education—moral and intellectual—in its train, be recognized by the future historian as a new departure in the nation's progress?

Jacob Harris Patton

CANADA'S FINANCIAL AND BUSINESS CONDITION

RESULTS OF NATIONAL PROTECTION

The business condition of the Canadian Dominion at present is a subject of great interest to this Republic, as well as to Great Britain, with which it is closely connected, not only by political ties but commercial relations. A considerable portion of the last session of our neighbor's parliament was taken up by discussions in relation to that condition, for which a large amount of information had been collected from committee investigations and other reliable channels. Undoubtedly differences of opinion with respect to the actual state of the country still prevail, but this may be partly due to the colored political media through which they are regarded by the rival parties.

It has always been the rule in Canada to judge of the merits and success of any government by its financial management, the effects of which have been mainly tested by the condition of the country's trade and commerce at some suitable period. This practice, though probably in the main a safe one, may be sometimes carried too far; for in a country of different races, with exceptional problems to work out occasionally, ruling parties should be tried by other considerations than the nature of their financial excellence, which may be, in some cases, the only thing laudable to set against a host of errors and shortcomings. But in Canada all parties are sensible on the financial situation; each shows an anxiety, truly remarkable as well as proper, to prove itself right in its views and actions.

That this should be the case is not strange, for the country is of immense extent, possessing a rugged climate and a population hardly numerous enough to present, over the larger and newer portion of it, adequate signs of possession. The population could all be accommodated easily in the eastern provinces, while obliged to keep up the machinery of government and means of communication needed by a numerous and wealthy people. Consequently, the population is poor, and, regarded from the experience of the American Republic, grows slowly as to numbers and resources—a fact which produces in many of the most intelligent and calculating Canadians a natural feeling of depression which, with other unfortunate effects, checks local enterprise and discourages foreign investments.

No wonder all parties agree that, in view of the phenomenally rapid growth and development of this Republic, the only chance for the separate

existence and even moderate growth of the Dominion depends upon its prudent financial administration, with a fairly rapid increase of its population. To this end not only is a larger immigration than Canada has hitherto known necessary, but a termination of that emigration of Canadians to the United States which has for many years naturally constituted a telling theme of censure with the opposition critics and orators.

Now, coming to the practical issue, in the style of the average Canadian politician—what is the actual financial situation, and what are the prospects for the ensuing few years? To find a reliable answer to the most important inquiry, official documents as well as the late Budget speech of Sir Charles Tupper, made toward the close of last April, are used in this article with perfect fairness, and the leading views of the Liberal opposition being also given, in order that justice may be done to their side of the case.

At the outset it may be remarked that even ministerial journals observed, in their reviews of the budget, that the understanding that no tariff changes were designed robbed it of much of that interest it usually commands. In truth, the ruling party were afraid to take any liberties with it on this occasion, aware of their incessant high claims of its excellence, of late years, no less than of the danger of raising the duties on any commodity largely imported at present. Of course all parties expect any alterations to take the direction of increase, as the public outlay ever expands, and must thus continue during many years, though the opposition contend now, as they have held ever since quitting office in 1878, that this expansion is far too rapid, and its rate unnecessarily oppressive.

The Financial minister had no serious errors to defend since his assumption of the office, over a year ago, when he found the existing tariff in operation, with a fiscal and general policy upon which he could have exerted little or no influence, even if so disposed. He had, moreover, no little assistance in accounting for the hard times, or the particular extent of their inflictions, by reference to the Ontario bank failures of the year, the curtailment of lumbering and other industries, in consequence, the cessation of useful outlays, from the stoppage of railroad building by the Canadian Pacific Railway and other companies, and by the reduction of the average harvest, in that province. He might have included Quebec and other provinces, where grain crops, owing to summer droughts principally, fell from 15 to 35 per cent. below the usual average.

Sir Charles Tupper ventured to claim for the financial year 1886-87 (ending 30th June) a surplus of \$97,313—the revenue mounting to \$35,754,903, and the expenditure to \$35,657,080. But, this favorable showing was partly attributable to the unusually large release from bond of goods

expected to be further burdened by increases of the tariff. This year, 1887-88, suffered in consequence, its customs duties in April falling short of the year before by \$227,000. Sir Charles' anticipations for the ensuing year 1888-89, manifest caution and a spirit not extravagant. He evidently desires to avoid lofty expectations and the excitement of unreliable hopes in the business world. He does not, even with all reasonable desire to put the best face on the country's prospects, wish to excite the people with the vision of a more prosperous state of things next year than the past two or three have afforded. He expects from customs \$22,500,000; from excise, \$6,650,000, and from other sources \$7,750,000, or a total of \$36,900,000. This he hopes will balance the expenditure, which he first placed at one million more; economies he claims to have exercised warrants this "second thought." *Nous verrons.*

A significant symptom of Canada's unenviable position is the fact admitted by ministerial journals like the *Montreal Gazette*, that "the charge for the public debt and sinking fund shows an increment, part of it owing to the fact that the Post-Office Saving Banks deposits have enlarged;" also, "the vote for civil government steadily increases, and the pensioned classes seem ever eager for more." The services demanding those increases, for which ministers can usually make a plausible case on grounds really or assumably patriotic, before majorities of political friends in parliament and on the hustings, include new permanent military corps, railways and canals, with repairs, and other government works embracing the Intercolonial Railway, which, itself, calls for \$290,000 beyond the vote of 1887-88.

To some extent these menacing additions are offset by reductions for the ensuing year, including, as largest, \$745,000, under "public works," and \$100,000 from the grant for immigration. The Imperial Institute loses \$97,000 voted last year. Nothing could more eloquently express the government's sense of the need of economy, and of creating in the public mind the great importance of economies of this kind. They have also resolved, we are told with all possible care and emphasis, to stop all further outlay on capital account—*i.e.*, to enter upon no more public works beyond those to which the country has already pledged itself.

The Liberals, on the other hand, led by Sir Richard Cartwright and Hon. Wilfrid Laurier, argue now, as they have for a long time urged, that the public debt and expenditure have been augmented altogether too fast for the country's growth and population—that the annual outlay should not exceed \$26,000,000. Why, ten years ago, when the Liberals left office, the yearly outlay was about \$24,000,000, while now it reaches the appalling, threatening total of \$35,500,000! There is no rapid increase

of the population or public business to warrant such a speed. In truth, the country's position has been little better than a standstill one, during the last four or five years of hard times especially.

Of course the Canadian Pacific Railway can be pointed to with pride as a national work of great present value and promise. It was very rapidly and cheaply built, all the difficulties considered ; and already it is helping Canada in attracting more emigrants than she has obtained in former years. But the country has paid dearly for the road in subsidies and loan guaranties, while as yet uncertain whether, for a long time, it can be worked so as to pay much more than running expenses, in view of such naturally difficult and storm-pelted sections as the north shore of Lake Superior, some six hundred miles, as well as similar perilous and costly reaches on the prairies west of Winnipeg and in the Rocky Mountains. Men who have traveled several times over the road are strongly of opinion that the Lake section will have to be abandoned. There is also the Intercolonial Railway connecting Halifax with Montreal—uniting Quebec, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia by steel if not by affection—which, though run through an old, long-settled region near the sea, and five degrees south of the Canadian Pacific Railway, cannot be made to pay within a quarter to half a million of its annual working expenses, with all the boasted advantages and economy of government management.

The critical condition of Canadian business affairs, and, as a consequence, of the political, has been clearly manifest throughout the parliamentary session at Ottawa ended a short time ago. In all the important debates on subjects affecting trade and commerce, such as the Fisheries Treaty, Free Trade with the United States, Imperial Reciprocity, the freeing of the St. Lawrence route from harbor and channel dues, the abolition of the C. P. R. North West monopoly, new grants to a host of provincial railroads and other public works, both parties appeared much impressed with the strained financial condition of the country, the people's need of relief, and the doing of everything possible to improve business and remove existing suffering and discontent.

The most brazen-faced government apologists could not well deny that the farmers are and have been hard up ; that laborers' wages in the country were never so high and farmers' prices never so low ; and, as a result, mortgages never were so numerous or oppressive, while even in the cities, the recent increase which our conservative protectionists continually belaud as ample proof of their supreme wisdom, as well as abundant compensation for any possible mistakes elsewhere, idle people have not been phenomena. Some of the factories have had to run on short time, occasionally.

A few sentences, with figures, will shed more useful light on the condition of the government at Ottawa and the recent trade of the Dominion; also, showing that the movements, latterly, cannot be styled uniformly progressive. The *Canada Gazette* (official) at the end of April last showed the total debt to be \$276,632,163, with assets, whatever actually worth, claimed as \$48,696,292. The expenditure for the ten months of 1887-88 on capital account was \$4,076,966. Compared with last year, the net debt has swelled nearly \$2,830,000, the assets increasing nearly \$3,729,398. Revenue for the ten months of 1887-88, \$28,624,132, and expenditure, \$26,004,486. For last year, ten months' revenue, \$28,160,936; outlay, \$25,585,548. Customs receipts for last April, \$1,702,899, or \$148,000 less than in April, 1887; excise, \$484,964, or \$59,000 below amount for April of last year.

Sir Charles Tupper, who is behind the scenes, felt it his duty on Budget night, and on other occasions, to avoid boasting and exhibit a cautious temper, this attitude best becoming the government, and being most likely, under existing circumstances, to preserve our business men from serious mistakes. A useful commentary upon ministers' policy and real opinions is supplied by the resolution which Sir Charles felt the need of having carried towards the close of the session, of which the first and chief portion is as follows: "That in addition to the sum now remaining unborrowed and negotiable of the loans authorized by parliament by any act heretofore passed, the government-in-council may raise by way of loans such sum or sums of money, not to exceed in the whole the sum of \$25,000,000, as may be required for the purpose of paying the floating indebtedness of the Dominion of Canada, and for the carrying on of the public works authorized by the parliament of Canada."

It is evident from many quarters and indications, also, that the present ministry feel fully convinced that not only their continued hold upon office, but the existence of the confederation itself, demands much care, considerable diplomatic conciliation towards the dissatisfied elements, as well as all the judicious business management which they can command.

Prosper Bender

BOSTON, July, 1888.

THE CONSTITUTION AND THE ORDINANCE OF 1787

THEIR RELATION TO EDUCATION

The Constitution of the United States is a document which marks a new era in the world's history and the world's civilization, and deserves more careful study than has yet been given it, even by those who enjoy its blessings.

When Columbus opened a pathway across an unknown sea to an unknown continent, broad and penetrating would have been the mind which could have foreseen and foretold the least of the great results which have been achieved for humanity by those who were to become the citizens and rulers of the new domain. No one then thought that here was to be the battle ground of liberty—that here a new experiment in government was to be tried, nor that the experiment was to become a grand success.

America's shores soon became the haven of refuge for the oppressed of all nations, as well as the El Dorado of seekers for wealth and power. The latter sought only the gains of conquest—the former sought freedom to worship God according to the dictates of conscience, to whom we owe the overthrow of the doctrine of the divine right of kings.

The American colonies naturally yielded obedience to the jurisdiction of the European power from which they sprung. Even when galled by the oppression of a tyrannical parent, few were the minds so broad or the hearts sufficiently patriotic to harbor the idea of building a great nation by the consolidation of the colonies into one homogeneous whole. Each was jealous of the other, but under the pressure of danger and the terrors of actual war they entered into "a league of friendship" for the common welfare and for mutual defense, and this league of friendship was the controlling factor of the Articles of Confederation which preceded and paved the way for the Constitution which followed.

The onward march of great events, and the grand ideas born of the dangers, privations and bloody sacrifices of the Revolution, compelled the abandonment of the Confederation, and in its place arose the majestic form of constitutional popular government, which has excited the admiration of the world, has brought us unparalleled prosperity and greatness during the century of its existence, and of which we are all so justly proud.

The Constitution ordained by the people of the United States for their own government a century ago, was not the outgrowth of experience in self-government, nor was it a copy of an older constitution or civil code.

It was rather the epitome of the best thoughts of lovers of liberty, brought down through centuries of revolt against the tyrannies of monarchical government and the idea that might makes right, and finally crystallized under the heat of oppression and wrong-doing into that great fundamental law which yet deserves the encomium once passed upon it by Gladstone, as "the most wonderful work ever struck off at a given time by the brain and purpose of man."

The very tests to which it has been subjected, the trials and adjudications by courts and legislatures both national and of individual states, and finally by the great arbitrament of battle, have served only to exhibit its strength, and the wisdom of the patriotic body to whose brain and to whose virtue we owe so inestimable a boon.

The Articles of Confederation which preceded it had proven inadequate to the wants of the new nation, but how to alter and amend them, how to get rid of the fetters, were questions which caused serious tribulation and infinite labor to those who tried to build a great nation out of the materials furnished by a collection of envious, jealous states, with diverse and conflicting opinions, predilections and necessities.

There was, however, a common desire for closer union; and the wisest statesmen concluded the time had come for the creation of a new form of government, which should be invested with powers commensurate to the country's needs. Under the Confederation Congress could declare war, but must wait for the states to furnish troops. It could maintain an army and navy, and contract debts for their support, and for the other expenditures of the government, but it could raise no funds to pay those debts, except by issuing bills of credit, and could not pay them until the states saw fit to levy taxes for the proportionate share of each. It could make treaties, but could not enforce them. It had no judiciary, and no officers who could levy and collect a tax or a debt. It had a president, but only as president of Congress, and a legislative department, but neither had authority, and proved more ornamental than useful.

States refused to execute the laws of Congress; they enacted laws impairing the obligation of contracts, declined to pay the taxes imposed by Congress, and through other hostile acts demonstrated the inability of the Confederation to meet the wants of the hour. The best in the way of improving this condition of things that a committee of Congress could offer were seven amendments to the Articles of Confederation, reported

in August, 1786, but upon these Congress was unable to agree, and the report slumbered forever. Interstate questions were constantly arising, with nowhere a tribunal possessing authority to settle them, and the weakness and approaching downfall of the Confederation was every-where apparent.

Washington and his supporters were for a strong government—a nation with power to protect itself. Their opponents were for retaining all powers in the states which in their opinion were not needed by the nation for its own sustenance, and there were as many different opinions as there were men as to what powers were necessary and what should be withheld.

We seem to owe to a dispute between Virginia and Maryland over the rights each claimed in the waters of the Potomac and Chesapeake Bay, the Constitution whose benefits we now enjoy. Congress had again and again been called upon to settle this controversy under the Articles of Confederation, but found itself not only powerless to enforce a decision, but also unable to reach one that was satisfactory to the states. It even failed to agree upon the question of calling a convention of the states, although urgently requested so to do. Party rancor ran high, and the danger of absolute chaos seemed imminent.

In this emergency Virginia took the initiative and invited the other states to choose commissioners to meet in convention at Annapolis in September, 1786. Only five of the central states, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Virginia and Delaware, sent delegates, but they acted wisely and adjourned, after recommending a convention of all the states "to meet at Philadelphia on the second Monday of the next May (1787) to consider the situation of the United States, and devise such further provision as should appear necessary to render the Constitution of the federal government adequate to the exigencies of the Union," etc. Congress failed even in this emergency to meet the wants of the people, and refused to adopt the suggestion and call the convention.

To James Madison of Virginia we are indebted for the assembling of the convention, for he issued an address to the people of all the states calling upon them to assemble at the time and place appointed; and they responded to the call. The opening day found no quorum present, but on the 25th of May seven states were represented, and a quorum was thus completed.

Washington was selected president, and William Jackson secretary, and the convention adjourned to the 28th. On re-assembling nine states were represented, and soon all the states except Rhode Island sent delegates. The doors were closed, and each member took an oath of secrecy, which

was so well kept that it was many years before the debates, proceedings and acts of this important assemblage were known to the public, except as disclosed by the Constitution itself. The convention was composed largely of men who had won fame and distinction in the war for Independence or as statesmen of that period, and of many who were yet to become presidents, law-makers, and distinguished men in the republic. Washington was among the most progressive—a leader among leaders. He spoke with no uncertain voice. Before the convention met he had written to Madison, "My wish is that the convention may adopt no temporizing expedients, but probe the defects of the Confederation to the bottom, and provide a radical cure whether agreed to or not."

At every point of the discussions the line was sharply drawn between the rights of the states and the powers to be granted to the general government. The battle did not end there, for the same contest has been waged down to our day, and one of the marked lines dividing political parties in our times is that called the doctrine of "states' rights."

It was on the 17th day of September, 1787, that the convention finished its labors, and the members affixed their signatures to the result. It needed the ratification of nine states, and it was the 21st of June, 1788, before the last of the nine had come to the rescue. Delaware, Pennsylvania and New Jersey, in their order, ratified it before the year ended; Georgia and Connecticut in January. February brought the assent of Massachusetts, but also a proposal to add nine amendments. Maryland ratified in April, South Carolina followed in May, but proposed four amendments, New Hampshire joined in June with twelve amendments. This secured its adoption as the organic law of the nation, but it was not yet complete. When Virginia ratified, it proposed twenty amendments, and New York presented thirty-two.

Congress, almost moribund, on the 13th of September, 1788, fixed the first Wednesday of January following as the time for electing Presidential electors, the first day of February as the date of their meeting, and the first Wednesday of March as the date on and after which the new Constitution should be in force.

Only a little more than a month later, the Congress of the old Confederation died for want of a quorum, and the country was without a government from the last of October, 1788, to the 4th of March, 1789. The Supreme Court afterwards decided that the Constitution did not become operative until the inauguration of the government for which it provided. Thus the constitutional government under which we now live dates from the 30th of April 1789.

The first national Congress had to deal with the proposed amendments. The House passed seventeen. The Senate reduced them to twelve, and of these the states ratified ten, which were in force December 15, 1791. The first of these was the one forever establishing the freedom of religious thought, the freedom of the press, and the right of the people peaceably to assemble and petition for the redress of grievances. Another amendment was added in 1798, and one in 1804, after which none were added until the close of the civil war.

To my mind the two grand salient features of the original instrument are—first, that providing for a trinity in the government, the creation of three co-ordinate departments, each moving in its own independent sphere, and yet combining into one harmonious whole, offering to people and to states the means for a peaceful solution of every difficulty and every question possible, if only they choose to set the machinery in motion, and are willing to abide the result. With the legislative department to make the laws, the judicial to construe, and the executive to enforce, and all deriving their power from and responsible to the people, surely, in the absence of blind passion and prejudice, the rights of all are secure. This feature has been copied by each of the states, and most of the municipalities of our great commonwealth, for the form of their local governments, and nowhere do we hear of suggestions, much less of a desire for any change. Thus is it proven to be the best plan for the accomplishment of the desired end.

Second, that providing for the dual existence of the state as a sovereign state with a separate autonomy, and as a member of the aggregation of states forming the nation. The powers of the nation are as boundless and independent in its sphere as the powers of the individual state are in its sphere, yet these powers blend in one great idea, the good and the welfare of the whole people, at home or abroad, high or low, rich or poor, within the boundaries of their own state, or wherever pleasure or duty may find them. Our state may fold its flag about and protect us at home, but abroad we look to the banner of the nation, and its folds protect us in every land and upon every sea.

Next to these in importance are the provisions for checks and balances; the national legislature composed of two houses, the members of which are chosen by the states, but in different ways and for different terms, the Senate which never dies, and the House which is a perennial fountain flowing from the people every two years, the equality of the states in one branch, the proportionate rights of the people of the whole country in the other, and the necessary concurrence of both to enact a

law; the independence of the judiciary, being elected for life, and thus removed as far as possible from the influence of the tumults of partisan strife; the veto power of the President, and the power of the representatives of the people to veto the veto itself. All taken together, they stamp the product of that grand convention as the work of wise, patriotic, far-sighted statesmen, who builded for all time, and builded perhaps better than they knew.

It is to their credit that so few and unimportant changes have been found necessary or even desirable in a century of trial—a century of progress which has seen the number of the states tripled, and the number of the people tripled five times.

Strange to say, the provision almost universally considered the most important for our rights and welfare was omitted from the original Constitution, but was the first grand idea to be promulgated by the first amendment—that establishing religious liberty and liberty of thought.

Let us not neglect to give due credit to the man to whom above all others, we owe this comprehensive, far-reaching, and most valued portion of our Constitution. The same man, who in 1765, had led the attack upon the stamp act in the Virginia House of Burgesses, and won a victory, the man who ten years later electrified not only the House of Burgesses but all the colonies and the civilized world with that oratorical outburst which struck down forever, in America, the power of the crown and made the revolution possible—the indomitable patriot, fearless advocate, and peerless statesman of his age, Patrick Henry. He was the leader in this new battle for the rights of man, and compelled the broad recognition of his demands on behalf of the people which was embodied in the first amendment to the Constitution. His life seemed one great battle for liberty and human rights.

In Virginia the Church of England was from the first established by law, and the churches sustained by a tax on all persons over sixteen years of age. This tax was rebelled against before the days of the stamp tax, and Patrick Henry won his first fame as a lawyer, as well as much malediction from the churchmen, by his successful defense of a test case brought by them to enforce the collection of the church revenues in 1763.

Two years later he signalized his advent into the House of Burgesses by his famous resolutions, and his bold advocacy of them, denying the power of the crown to impose a stamp tax upon the American colonists. Ten years later, when the wave of revolution was about to break over the colonies, and timorous men were proposing to compromise with tyranny lest war might come, he brushed all sophistry away with the brave decla-

ration, "the war is coming; it has come already," and he compelled men's minds to revolution by that wonderful speech which closed with those undying words: "I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death."

While many hesitated about casting off their allegiance to the crown, he was one of the first to demand independence and union of the colonies. In the historic year which followed and saw independence proclaimed, his hand prepared, and his eloquent tongue successfully advocated, the article of the Virginia Bill of Rights which for the first time authoritatively asserted the doctrine of religious liberty. The Baptist Church of the colony, stung by persecution, and the injustice of being compelled to support churches and ministers of other denominations, had petitioned for the right to worship God in their own way, and the warm advocacy of their cause by the eloquent and powerful Henry, himself a churchman, endeared him to their hearts, so that, upon his election as governor, we find the Baptist churches in convention assembled hastening to tender their congratulations on account of his "constant attachment to the glorious cause of liberty and the rights of conscience." Is it any wonder that a man so endowed with the instincts of patriotism, so wary lest the rights of the people should be lost sight of, and thus endangered, should oppose with all his power of intellect the adoption of a Constitution which in his judgment neglected to provide for what he deemed indispensably necessary?

He demanded a bill of rights which would secure "the great objects of religion, liberty of the press, trial by jury, interdiction of cruel punishments," and every other sacred right, before assent should be given to it, and Virginia only gave its assent by a majority of ten where fifty had been expected, and upon the understanding that propositions to amend should be considered. Patrick Henry from that day never rested until he had brought about such a sentiment and such a condition of affairs, that Congress felt compelled to amend the Constitution so as to forever put at rest the fears of those grand patriots, who, led by the great Henry, were battling for liberty of conscience for themselves and future generations.

Prior to that, the colonies had been guilty of persecution of Catholic, Baptist, Quaker, Methodist, Jew, and any body who differed from those in power. With the advent of our constitutional government these persecutions became impossible, and a broad catholicity of sentiment caused the ægis of the new nation to be cast over and to protect the humblest believer of every creed, and the proudest scoffer as well. May that grand idea swell and fructify until the whole earth shall be wrapped in the mantle of religious charity, and the universal brotherhood of man be fully recognized!

To those who are citizens of the states organized out of what was then known as the Northwest Territory, there is another instrument born at the same time, of the same ideas, evolved from the same crucible of earnest patriotic thought, and fraught with elements calculated to produce the most important results, not only to them, but to the people of the whole country—the “Ordinance of 1787,” establishing the Northwest Territory, covering what are now the states of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, but what, prior to the cession, was a single county of the state of Virginia; and which ordained the fundamental doctrines for its future government.

Virginia had, in 1783, authorized its delegates in Congress to convey to the United States all its claims to the territory, and March 1, 1784, the deed of conveyance was executed, the names of two future presidents, Jefferson and Monroe, appearing among the signatures. On the 13th of July, 1787, Congress passed an ordinance for its government. This ordinance was broader than the Constitution as originally adopted, because it provided—as the Constitution did not—for the emancipation of religious thought, and the diffusion of learning among the people. The first article of what was declared to be “a compact between the original states and the people and states in the said territory, and forever unalterable except by common consent,” was as follows:

“No person demeaning himself in a peaceable and orderly manner shall ever be molested on account of his mode of worship, or religious sentiments.”

The third article commences with, “Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and means of education shall forever be encouraged.” And the last article crowns the sheaves with this: “There shall be neither slavery nor involuntary servitude in the said Territory.”

Thus was the great Northwest Territory forever dedicated to freedom—freedom of religious thought; freedom from bondage of body and soul; freedom from “the irrepressible conflict” which waged between other sections until at last all were involved in the civil war, which, in 1865, wrote upon our escutcheon the final decree—freedom of body, freedom of mind, freedom of soul, to every person throughout the land, whether born black or white, bond or free. Thus, too, was originated, or rather formulated, the grand idea of fostering the education of the masses, as essential to the good government of a people dedicated forever in the most solemn manner to the cause of freedom. Liberty and education went hand in hand, as did slavery and ignorance.

The Puritan of New England, harsh and bigoted as he might be, believed in education and the rights of man. The Cavalier of the South, rollicking, careless, and happy, seldom thought of his slave as having any of the aspirations of manhood, and if he thought of education at all, it seemed of little use to himself, and a dangerous plaything for the slave, and so it was that, in 1647, we find the colonists at Plymouth declaring by a public act that, "the Lord assisting their endeavours," they would provide for the education of the people by establishing schools, not only to teach "reading and writing," but "grammar schools to fit youth for the University;" while in 1670, nearly a generation later, we find the English governor of Virginia, in reply to queries addressed to him by the home government, saying, "I thank God there are no free schools or printing, for learning has brought disobedience, and heresy, and sects into the world, and printing has divulged them."

When the Northwest Territory was about to be opened to the advancing footsteps of the vanguard of civilization, the New England idea marched at the head, for the column was composed of the New England heroes of 1776, the companions and comrades of Washington, under the lead of such patriots as General Rufus Putnam, and others equally grand in all that goes to illustrate and illuminate American character. They led the pioneers, their comrades of the Revolutionary War, into the western wilds, there to found new empires; but the column did not form for the march until it had wrested from Congress the decree, which, as we have seen, was unalterable except by common consent, that the territory was not only to be forever free, but that education was also to be free, and forever protected and fostered by the state.

The enabling act for the formation of the state of Indiana, passed on the 19th day of April, 1816, made more definite provision for carrying out the educational clause so wisely inserted in the organic law, by setting apart every section numbered sixteen to the inhabitants of the township for the use of schools, and an entire township to be selected by the President, to be reserved for the use of a seminary of learning.

All honor to the great minds and true hearts of those noble men, who, at Corydon, on the 10th day of June, 1816, adopted the first Constitution of the state of Indiana, a document richer in patriotic thought and sentiment than the one which displaced it in 1852, and a paper which should be studied by every citizen, as one of the classic political documents of the state—the foundation stone upon which all we admire and revere in our present state edifice was built.

They ordained among other things: "that all men have a natural and

indefeasible right to worship Almighty God according to the dictates of their own consciences; that no man can be compelled to attend, erect or support any place of worship, or to maintain any ministry against his consent; that no human authority can, in any case whatever, control or interfere with the rights of conscience; that no preference shall ever be given by law to any religious societies or modes of worship; and no religious test shall be required as a qualification to any office of trust or profit; that the free communication of thoughts and opinions is one of the invaluable rights of man, and every citizen may freely speak, write and print on any subject, being responsible for the abuse of that liberty; that knowledge and learning, generally diffused throughout a community, being essential to the preservation of a free government, and spreading the opportunities and advantages of education through the various parts of the country being highly conducive to this end, . . . it shall be the duty of the General Assembly, as soon as circumstances will permit, to provide by law for a general system of education, ascending in a regular gradation from township schools to a state university wherein tuition shall be gratis and equally open to all."

The committee of the convention which reported this section, deserves to be remembered with gratitude by us and by generations to come. It was composed of James Scott of Clarke County, John Badolet and William Polke of Knox, Dann Lynn of Posey, and John Boon of Harrison.

The educational idea seemed to crystallize slowly, but the legislature of 1821 appointed another committee deserving of honorable mention. It consisted of John Badolet and David Hart of Knox County, William W. Martin of Washington, James Welsh of Switzerland, Daniel I. Caswell of Franklin, Thomas C. Searle of Jefferson, and John Todd of Clarke. The joint resolution appointing them recited, by way of preamble, that, "Whereas the General Assembly of the State of Indiana are deeply impressed with the importance of knowledge and learning being diffused through the rising generation of the State of Indiana, therefore," they enact that the committee draft and report to the next General Assembly, not only a bill providing for a general system of education ascending from the common schools to a state university, as provided in the constitution, but "particularly to guard against any distinction existing in any of said institutions between the rich and the poor." What an answer is this to the assertion we sometimes hear, that the school system of to-day has been carried beyond the ideas and intentions of the founders of our government, who are falsely charged with intending to restrict the educational system of the state within the limits of the three immortal R's!

The labors of this committee, after passing under the revising care of Judge Benjamin Parke, and then of the legislature, resulted in the first general school law of Indiana, which can be found in the Revised Statutes of 1824 under the title: "An act to incorporate congressional townships, and providing for public schools therein." It fell far short of the instructions of the resolutions appointing the committee, but we must concede that for the day and the surroundings the work was well done.

That their descendants have built well upon the foundations so deeply laid, is true, but who can measure the debt we owe to those grand pioneers of not only civilization, but of education, in the Northwest Territory? Just look back through the glass of time for one hundred years. The only highways through the almost impenetrable wilderness, were the rivers and the Indian trails. Both were ever haunted by a relentless, savage race, who welcomed the settler with "bloody hands to hospitable graves." Those who sought to penetrate these wilds, never knew the moment when they might not expect the stroke of the silent arrow, or the flash of the tomahawk as it sought the brain, and many a brave soul writhed in the torture of fire, or that other torture of witnessing the sufferings of his loved ones ere he himself could die, and many a mother suffered the pangs of maternity and utter bereavement in the same bitter hour. Long after the way was found, the scanty population was composed of hardy backwoodsmen habited in buckskins, who lived by trapping and hunting while waiting for their meager crops to mature among the stumps of the little clearings which surrounded the log cabins in which they guarded wives and little ones from the attacks of savage wolves and the far more savage red men of the forest.

Yet from these cabins and from these little ones were to come the men who, in 1816, could write and ordain the Constitution from which I have quoted. To me it seems a marvelous work, something to be noted, to be remembered, and an example to be emulated and followed wherever the pathway of American civilization may lead.

All honor to the framers of the Constitution of the United States. All honor to the framers of the Ordinance of 1787.

All honor to the rugged, patriotic, great-brained men, who in the wild Indiana Territory framed the constitution which is the birthright of the state. And all honor to those who now and in the future shall follow in their footsteps, and ever be ready to defend the heritage they gave us.

P. S. Robertson, —

THE RIVER OHIO

AN ENGLISH VIEW OF IT IN 1757

To the Proprietors of the Universal Magazine.

Gentlemen,

Notwithstanding our disputes in America first began on the River Ohio, yet few know any Thing of the Nature of that Country, or the Original of these Disputes ; I have therefore sent you an Account of that Country, and also of the true Cause of the Disputes, and hope you will give it a Place in your entertaining Collection.

Yours &c. K.

The river Ohio runs through a great part of our colonies of Pennsylvania and Carolina, and waters a country near five hundred miles square, which is reckoned one of the finest countries of North America. The river is, according to the best accounts, not less than ten or twelve thousand miles long, from its source near the habitations of the Six Nations to its conflux with the Mississippi, having several large rivers falling into it, that spread over a prodigious extent of country belonging to our colonies. A large branch of the Ohio, called Wood's river, from Colonel Wood of Virginia, who discovered it in 1652, and afterwards visited it several times, as can authentically be proved from the archives of the Royal Society, besides the accounts we have from our own historians. This large branch of the Ohio rises in the mountains of South Carolina, runs through that province, and all North Carolina, to the middle of Virginia : Besides several other branches of it that rise in the Apalachean mountains from the same sources with the rivers that run through our settlements east of those mountains, and make a navigation from the Ohio down to the sea-coast, excepting a small land carriage from one river to another.

The Ohio is also remarkable for its gentle current, contrary to most of the inland rivers of North America, which are very rapid, and have a great many cataracts or falls in them ; but in the Ohio we know but of one fall, being navigable both up and down, as appears from the journals and several verbal accounts of our people, who have gone up and down the whole river. They indeed observe that the Ohio is very crooked, as is common to rivers running through a level country, as this does ; but the current is, by these windings, rendered much gentler, and consequently the river more easy to navigate. This is the case of the Ohio, for it is navigable from the Mississippi almost to the river Senekaas, which falls into lake Ontario at Oswego. The river Conde, or New river, rises still nearer to the sources of the Ohio, and affords a navigation from the mouth of the river St. Lawrence, to the mouth of the Mississippi, quite across the continent of North America ; besides the many communications of the branches of the Ohio, with lake Errie.

The country on the south side of the Ohio is very mountainous, and difficult



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Universal Magazine
 OF
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 FOR
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*An Impartial Account of Books in several Languages
 and of the State of Learning in Europe.*
 AND
 Of the STAGE, NEW OPERAS, PLAYS and ORATORIOS.
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[FAC SIMILE OF TITLE PAGE TO THE UNIVERSAL MAGAZINE OF 1757.]

affords great plenty of deer, beaver, skins and furs, the richest commodities of all North America.

We need not therefore wonder that the French or any others should be desirous of maintaining themselves in this country, as they may do it at little or no expence, especially as they have such numbers of the natives at their command. Here they will soon increase and multiply, to the constant disturbance of all our colonies, as long as they are suffered to possess the country south of lake Errie.

If we consider the situation of this country between the Ohio and lake Errie, not above fifty or sixty miles broad in the eastern, but between two and three hundred in the western parts, bounded, on one hand, by the great lakes, and, on the other, by extensive ridges of mountains. having this convenient and navigable river between

to pass for some hundred miles. The Apalachean mountains there extend west within one or two hundred miles of the Mississippi. But on the north side of the Ohio, between that and lake Errie, the country is level and very fertile, being also watered with numbers of rivers, that run through it from the banks of lake Errie to the Ohio. It also affords plenty of salt springs, and even salt-water rivulets, which are of the greatest use to these inland parts. It likewise abounds with both food and raiment; for vast quantities of a kind of wild oxen are found in the extensive meadows of this country. This creature is peculiar to North America, and is larger than an ox but has a fleece like a sheep, of which several manufactures have been made little inferior to silk. Besides which this country

them, leading directly into the middle of our settlements from all the interior parts of the continent ; opposite to which likewise are many passes in the mountains, and navigable rivers, down to the maritime parts ; if we consider all this with the attention it deserves, we shall surely have no reason to ask, of what consequence must this country be to us ? Nor be destitute of motives sufficient to make us conscious of our fatal neglect. We have no other known way from any of our present settlements in all North America, except South Carolina, to any of the interior parts of that continent, but through this country, by Fort du Quesne, or Niagara. . . .

Not to mention the vast increase of people, power, trade and commerce, that this country on the Ohio must necessarily produce, its usefulness would abundantly appear, if we only consider its advantage in securing the possessions we already have, and which, without it, will be very difficult, if not impossible. Fort du Quesne and Niagara alone would protect our colonies from both the French and Indians, if well secured by us ; but, on the other side, if they remain in the hands of the French, we shall have an inland frontier of between two and three thousand miles in extent to defend ; constantly exposed to the incursions of a hostile and warlike enemy, and to the depredations of an indigent, necessitous, and barbarous people ; which it will be impossible for us to prevent, with all the forts and garrisons, and the immense charges we must be at for that purpose.

By these two places alone it is that the French are able to secure all the continent of America beyond our settlements, acquire the assistance of all the natives, and unite their colonies and straggling settlements together. . . .

The most convenient of all the places in those countries, and indeed in all the whole extensive navigation above described, from the river St. Laurence to the Mississippi, is Fort du Quesne. This place is about midway between Canada and Louisiana, and serves as a middle station between these two French colonies ; for which it is more convenient than any other place in all North America. It stands in a fine fertile country of vast extent, and in a healthy climate ; where we may expect to see the French increase and multiply apace. In these respects the territories of the Ohio are preferable to all the other possessions of the French in America.

Nature itself has conspired to render the river Ohio hereabouts a place of consequence and importance, and the rendezvous of all the people of North America, that are within reach of it. The great thing wanted in these inland parts is salt ; which is found in great plenty all round Fort du Quesne, but chiefly in the salt-ponds, between that and the lake Errie. Hence, this country, called by the Six Nations Canahogue, is resorted to from all parts. To these ponds and other salt-springs hereabouts great flocks of deer and wild oxen constantly resort for the benefit of the salt ; and on these creatures the inhabitants chiefly subsist, without either labour, charge, or expence. This draws numbers of hunters hither, the chief employment of these parts. The traders follow the hunters for their skins and furs. These are the chief causes of the war and bone of contention here,

where the warriors resort to seek their enemies. Upon these accounts the parts hereabouts are the chief support of the inhabitants, the seat of war, and mart of trade, from most parts of North America. Here the Six Nations have a town, chiefly for their hunting: And a town of each of the cantons is settled hereabouts. Here their enemies, even the Catawbias from South Carolina, attack them and fight so many battles we hear and read of. Here also the French and English Indians and traders resort, either to trade with or surprise one another.

These advantages were the more immediate occasion of the French seizing the river Ohio. They give us the most extraordinary accounts of the country hereabouts, particularly the country above described, on the south side of the lake Errie: 'The lake Errie, says La Hontan, is justly dignified with the illustrious name of Conti; for, certainly, it is the finest lake in the world. You may judge of the goodness of the climate from the latitude of the places that surround it. Its circumference extends to 230 leagues, and affords every-where the most charming prospect. Its banks are adorned with oaks, elms, chestnut, walnut, apple and plum trees, and vines which bear their fine clusters up to the very top of the trees, upon a sort of ground as smooth as one's hand. Such ornaments as these are sufficient to give rise to the most agreeable idea of a prospect. I cannot express what vast quantities of deer and turkies are to be found in these woods, and in the vast meads that lie on the south side of the lake.' To which he adds, 'That the banks of the lake being frequented by none but warriors, it is very dangerous to stop there.'

This is a true state of the origin and first causes of our late disturbances with France; and must be a perpetual source of the like misfortunes, if the French are suffered to continue where they are.

At the same time, the French have many Indians about Fort du Quesne to support them, and other settlements, again, to back that, along the south side of the lake Errie, at those important and convenient places, Canahogue and Sandaski, and a great variety of others surrounding Fort du Quesne, and have a ready communication with it by water.

Fort du Quesne is convenient not only to Canada and Louisiana, but also to all the settlements the French have among the Indians, up and down the whole continent of North America. Here they make all those Indian nations come to them, instead of undertaking so many dangerous and expensive voyages, as they have been obliged to do, in search of the Indians; and will have all those Indians to support them here, in the same manner they have now at Montreal.

Now, of what advantage will Oswego, even suppose we were again masters of it, be to us? Certainly, of none at all. It was supported by, and built on purpose for, a trade with those Far Indians, as they call them at New York, who will be all stopped at Niagara, Fort du Quesne, and other places on the Ohio, if we suffer the French to remain in the possession of them.

Fort de Quesne then will be the very center of all the French force in North America, and will unite all their settlements in it, and all the natives of that whole

continent in one body, if, indeed, it has not done it already ; which is of much more consequence than those people imagine who are little acquainted with America and the situation of the two nations in it. For, hitherto, the force of the French in North America has been entirely broke and divided by so many straggling settlements up and down on the remote branches of the rivers St. Lawrence and Mississippi and the great lakes, that it has been looked upon as inconsiderable, and therefore disregarded, but when all these straggling settlements are collected and linked together, not only with one another, but with their two capitals, Quebec and New Orleans, their force will be rendered very considerable ; and this they have effected by seizing the river Ohio and Fort du Quesne.

Hence, we plainly see, that Fort du Quesne, or some place hereabouts, is or will be the most considerable and important place of any, perhaps, in all North America ; and is by its situation and many conveniences the most proper of any place to become the capital of that whole continent and give laws to it. For it should be remembered that it is not only the center of all that prodigious navigation from the mouth of the river St. Lawrence to the mouth of the Mississippi, from north to south ; but there is still as considerable and a much more important navigation to it from east to west : The heads of those large rivers, Potowmack and Susquehanna, that fall into Chesapeak bay, in Virginia and Maryland, join with the branches of the Ohio hereabouts, and afford a navigation from the Atlantic ocean, even through the Apalachean mountains : At the same time there is another more considerable navigation from it westward, even to the mountains of New Mexico, by the several branches of the Mississippi that spring from them and fall into that river near the mouth of the Ohio.

We may therefore soon expect to see Fort du Quesne become as considerable and respectable a place, as it is a convenient and important one ; and to be made another Louisbourg or Quebec, if it remains in the hands of the French. And when they have secured this place, what will be the next object of their ambition ? Doubtless, one of our colonies of the sea-coasts, in order to have a more convenient passage to it. We ought, therefore, surely to consider, if we suffer the French to keep Fort de Quesne, how we shall be able to prevent them from executing their other design, namely, the seizing on one of our colonies bordering on the Atlantic ocean.

Thus have I endeavored to shew the consequence of our suffering the French to settle on the river Ohio and Fort du Quesne. Consequences that affect the very being of our colonies in America, and, therefore surely ought to rouse every Briton from his lethargy to prevent such attempts, by attacking at once their principal colony, and by that means frustrating for ever all their schemes, and fix the prosperity of our colonies on a sure foundation.

From the collection, and through courtesy of

SILAS H. PAINE.

MINOR TOPICS

ESCAPE FROM A BURNING PRAIRIE

BY GEORGE CATLIN

The prairies burning form some of the most beautiful scenes that are to be witnessed in this country, and also some of the most sublime. Every acre of these vast prairies (being covered for hundreds and hundreds of miles with a crop of grass, which dies and dries in the fall) burns over during the fall or early in the spring, leaving the ground of a black and doleful color. There are many modes by which the fire is communicated to them, both by white men and by Indians—*per accident*; and yet many more where it is voluntarily done for the purpose of getting a fresh crop of grass for the grazing of their horses, and also for easier traveling during the next summer, when there will be no old grass to lie upon the prairies, entangling the feet of man and horse as they are passing over them.

There are many meadows on the Missouri, the Platte, and the Arkansas rivers, of many miles in breadth, which are perfectly level, with a waving grass so high that we are obliged to stand erect in our stirrups in order to look over its waving tops as we are riding through it. The fire in these, before a hurricane, travels at an immense and frightful rate, and often destroys, on their fleetest horses, parties of Indians who are so unlucky as to be overtaken by it.

When Ba'tiste, and Bogard, and I, and Patrick Raymond (who, like Bogard, had been a free trapper in the Rocky Mountains), and Pah-me-o-ne-quah (the Red Thunder), our guide back from a neighboring village, were jogging along on the summit of an elevated bluff, overlooking an immense valley of high grass, through which we were about to lay our course, I said to my comrades: "We will take that buffalo trail where the traveling herds have slashed down the high grass, and, making for that blue point, rising, as you can just discern, above this ocean of grass, a good day's work will bring us over this vast meadow before sunset."

We entered the trail and slowly progressed on our way, being obliged to follow the winding paths of the buffaloes, for the grass was higher than the backs of our horses. Soon after we entered our Indian guide dismounted, and lying prostrate on the ground with his face in the dirt. . . . "Friends, it is the season of fire," he cried "and I fear from the smell of the wind that the spirit is awake."

Red Thunder said no more, but mounted his wild horse, and waving his hand his red shoulders were seen rapidly vanishing as he glided through the thick mazes of waving grass. We were on his trail and busily traced him until the midday sun had brought us to the ground, with our refreshments set before us. He partook of them not, but stood like a statue, while his black eyes in sullen silence swept the horizon round; and then, with a deep-drawn sigh, he gracefully sunk to the earth

and laid with his face to the ground. We were in full enjoyment of the dainties of the western world when, quicker than a frightened elk, our Indian friend sprang to his feet. His eyes skimmed again slowly over the prairie's surface, and he laid himself as before on the ground.

"Red Thunder seems sullen to-day," said Bogard. "He startles at every rush of the wind and scowls at the whole world that is about him." . . . "Not wishin' to disturb you," said Patrick, "if I were advisin', I should say that we are gettin' too far into this imbustible meadow, for the grass is dry and the wind is too strong to make light matter at this season of the year; an' now I'll jist tell ye how McKenzie and I were sarved in this very place about two years ago; and he's a worldly chap and niver aslape, my word for that—hollo! what's that?"

Red Thunder was on his feet; his long arm was stretched over the grass and his blazing eye-balls starting from their sockets. "White man," said he, "see ye that small cloud lifting itself from the prairie? He rises! The hoofs of our horses have waked him! The fire spirit is awake; this wind is from his nostrils and his face is this way!"

No more; but his swift horse darted under him, and he gracefully slid over the waving grass as it was bent by the wind. Our viands were left, and we were swift on the trail. The extraordinary leaps of his wild horse occasionally raised his red shoulders to view, and he sank again in the waving billows of grass. The tremulous wind was hurrying by us fast, and on it was borne the agitated wing of the soaring eagle. His neck was stretched for the towering bluff, and the thrilling screams of his voice told the secret that was behind him. Our horses were swift and we struggled hard, yet hope was feeble, for the bluff was yet blue and nature nearly exhausted. The sunshine was dying, and a cool shadow advancing over the plains. Not daring to look back we strained every nerve. The roar of a distant cataract seemed gradually advancing on us, the winds increased, the howling tempest was maddening behind us, and the swift-winged beetle and heath-hens instinctively drew their straight lines over our heads. The fleet, bounding antelope passed us also, and the still swifter long-legged hare, who leaves but a shadow as he flies. Here was no time for thought, but I recollect the heavens were overcast, the distant thunder was heard, the lightning's glare was reddening the scene, and the smell that came on the winds struck terror to my soul. . . . The piercing yells of our savage guide at this moment came back upon the winds, his robe was seen waving in the air, and his foaming horse leaping up the towering bluff.

Our breath and our sinews in this last struggle for life were just enough to bring us to its summit. We had risen from a sea of fire! "Great God!" I exclaimed, "how sublime to gaze into that valley, where the elements of nature are so strangely convulsed!" Ask not the poet or the painter how it looked, for they can tell you not; but ask the naked savage, and watch the electric twinge of his manly nerves and muscles as he pronounces the lengthened "hush-sh—," his hand on his mouth, and his glaring eye-balls looking you to the very soul.

I beheld beneath me an immense cloud of black smoke which extended from one extremity of this vast plain to the other, and seemed majestically to roll over its surface in a bed of liquid fire ; and above this mighty desolation, as it rolled along, the whitened smoke was streaming and rising in magnificent cliffs to heaven. I stood secure but tremblingly, and heard the maddened wind which hurled this monster o'er the land.—*Eight Years among the American Indians.*

ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF THE RULING MACHINE

BY WILLIAM A. BREWER SR.

Ruled paper is so common a commodity and so universally accessible and cheap as to have almost displaced plain paper for writing purposes.

Some thirty years ago there existed an institution having its headquarters in New York city, denominated "The Paper Manufacturers' Association of the United States," of which for a time I was the secretary. A large part of my duties consisted in the collection and dissemination of statistics relating to matters touching the materials and methods of the manufacture of paper. This involved a correspondence with the proprietors of 850 paper mills in this country, as also with Dr. Rudel, of Dresden, Prussia, editor of the *Central Blatt*, and M. Louis Piette, of Paris, France, editor of the *Journal des Fabricants de Papier*, two of the highest authorities at that time upon the subject of paper and its fabrication in the world. The issuance of a monthly printed circular of paper intelligence and statistics was included in the duties of my position, and a system of exchanges was established with the conductors of the principal paper publications and factors of paper stock and materials throughout Europe. Among others Messrs. McNiven & Cameron, proprietors of the *Paper Trade Review*, published at Edinburgh, Scotland, occasionally quoted from the American Association's circular, and in 1863 invited me to become associated with them, and for some time after my imprimatur appeared upon the title page of their semi-monthly periodical.

The necessary details of my position gradually led me to imbibe a love for the whole subject, while the execution of its duties entailed an uncoveted notoriety that led to calls for society papers, lectures, etc., as well as statements to be laid before members of the United States Congress which was at the time legislating upon the subject of a reduction of the duties upon foreign manufactured papers. One of these was an "Essay on Paper," read by request before the New England Society, of Orange, in October, 1873, and a "Lecture on Paper" delivered in January, 1879, in the South Orange Presbyterian church, for the benefit of the South Orange Library Association.

Within a few years a public library has been instituted at Pensacola, Florida, and having been solicited to contribute any books that could be spared, among

other works sent by me was a copy of *Herring's Paper and Paper-Making*, imported from London for my use in discharging the duties of secretary and statistician of the forenamed association. The gift of this work involved me in the investigation of the origin of paper ruling as follows :

In November, 1887, the librarian of the Pensacola Library wrote me, "Our delightful book on paper-making does not say a word about ruling. I re-read it again to-day to be sure. A friend asked me when paper was first ruled. He has a law case somewhat depending upon the date ; a certain document is written on ruled paper which, he thinks, is dated previous to the manufacture of ruled paper. None of our reference books enlighten us, but I immediately thought you could."

Now this appeal took altogether too much for granted. I knew absolutely nothing on the subject, as the question had no necessary connection with my previous official position—neither ruled paper nor paper ruling coming within the scope of paper manufacture. Nevertheless my friend's inquiry demanded some offer of aid in solving the problem. All I knew about ruling paper consisted in my experience in the public schools of Boston in the early years of the present century. It was the practice for the principals of the schools to designate certain of the older boys to rule the copy-books for the whole school to which they might severally belong (for ruled copy-books were unknown), and as a premium for this service the boys were allowed to be dismissed a half-hour before the close of the usual sessions. Each boy was required to furnish his own tools. Lead pencils were comparatively scarce and high-priced. Leaden bullets, such as were in vogue for musket balls in revolutionary times, were hammered into the form of spikes about four inches long and made thin at the lower end, and with a wooden cylindrical ruler we got along very well for those early times.

When the application from Pensacola came, there flashed to my mind the recollection that an old stationer of Boston, a friend of my father, who manufactured blank account books extensively (Mr. Josiah Loring), had upon his sign words something like "Proprietor of the Patent Cylindrical Ruler." I therefore determined to write to an old schoolmate in Boston, John T. Prince, a retired stationer and antiquarian, to aid me, if possible, in fixing upon the date at which paper was first ruled by machinery. Mr. Prince entered *con amore* into the investigation with a zeal becoming a much younger man and certainly commendatory in a person of upwards of fourscore years. In a letter to me bearing date December 5, 1887, he said :

"When I was a 'big boy' at the old West writing school I was appointed a **Ruler**, and that entitled us to dismissal half an hour before the other scholars. **N**ow the duties of a Ruler were with a leaden plummet beaten from a bullet to rule the girls' writing books. Eliza —, at that time one of the big girls and probably thinking me 'a pretty little boy,' gave me a little leaden man whose cap was **S**harpener as a tool for ruling, and with that I ruled till nearly 1820, when I graduated and left school. Your epistle renews the memory of Eliza's gift, and suggested

the idea that machine ruling must have come into use about that time ; in after years I heard of Fairbanks' invention and of old Josiah Loring's proprietorship. Arguing from this indefinite ground, I first attacked the successors of old Josiah—now occupying his old stand and business—but of the machine and its history they were as ignorant as if it never had an existence. Then I tried my brother-in-law, Mr. Thomas Groom, an Englishman and an old Boston stationer, and all he knew was that paper was ruled by machines in Birmingham, England, in 1828. So always having heard that old Josiah held a patent on Fairbanks' machine—Fairbanks being in his employ and impecunious—Loring bought out his patent, probably for a song, and doled out to him as his necessities or desires required : the next thing for me was to find out the date when the patent was granted. So last evening I passed an hour or two with my friend, Mr. Osmyn Brewster, an old Boston book publisher, and he remembered the facts but not the date. Meanwhile I had at the Athenaeum overhauled the files of Patent Office Reports, but they only commenced in 1841 and gave no light. Mr. Brewster, the book publisher, did not agree with me as to the date ; he thought the patent must have been as far back as 1815, and Mr. Groom, the Englishman, thought Fairbanks got his ideas from the engineer of the Thames tunnel. So I found "The Life of Isambard Kingdom Brunel," written by himself ; but in all the long list of his inventions I could find no ruling machine. I put all further inquiry off till to-day, and after breakfast wended my way to the City Public Library, and here a complete set of Reports, *ab initio*, are found properly indexed, and John Fairbanks' invention patented in 1808, for Cylindrical Ruling Machine. The first English patent for a like machine was August 17, 1835. Tradition has always given Fairbanks the credit of inventing the first ruling machine. Josiah Loring had the first patent of 1808, purchased from Fairbanks, for his exclusive use, which would carry him to 1815 (seven years). Then he had the right of renewal for seven years longer, that is, till 1822, and it probably came into general use in 1823."

Thus much for the original machine. Since writing the foregoing in January last, I have received a letter from my old friend in Boston, who gives me the following data concerning the improvements upon the original invention, to-wit :

1. "After some years of use of the cylindrical machine, it was entirely supplanted by the horizontal machine, also (I think) a Boston invention.
2. "The horizontal machine has been very much improved by Hickok, of Philadelphia.
3. "The horizontal machine has been still further perfected by automatic additions by Charles F. West, of Boston, enabling him to complete with ease those complicated columns required in the book-keeping of banks, insurance, and railway companies."

(Signed)

JOHN T. PRINCE.

BOSTON, MASS.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

PETITION TO THE NEW YORK LEGISLATURE IN 1793

AN INTERESTING DOCUMENT THAT RECITES ITS OWN STORY

Contributed by S. Victor Constant.

To the Honorable the Legislature of the
State of New York in Senate & Assem-
bly convened.

The Petition of the Subscribers Inhabitants of the Seventh Ward of the City
of New York

Humbly sheweth

That it is the Practice of certain disorderly and idle Persons to carry Fire
Arms and so discharge the same upon the Land and near the Dwelling Houses
and Outhouses of your Petitioners ; by which Conduct they are not only injured
in their Property but their Persons are exposed to Danger—— That the Remedy
for such Injuries according to the Common Course of Law is tedious and uncer-
tain and even if a Recovery be had the Perpetrators cannot answer in Damages to
the Party aggrieved.

That previous to the Resolution to wit on the 20 Day of December 1763 an
Act was passed for the Prevention of such Enormities but that it has since been
repealed.

Your Petitioners therefore humbly pray that a Law may be enacted to prevent
the above-mentioned Practice in future and to direct a summary Method of bring-
ing Offenders to Punishment.

And your Petitioners as in Duty bound will ever pray &c
New York, January 24th, 1793

Anthony Lispenard
Pr Stuyvesant
Horatio Gates

Samuel Kip

James Beekman
Abr^m K. Beekman

John Ousterman
Nich Romain
Samuel Hallett
his
Will^m + Lott
mark
Oliver Hibberd
Jacob Banta

John Hardenbrook	Nicholas Sauers
Com ^s C. Roosevelt	Oliver Hyde
Willet	Cornelius Clopper
John De Peyster	Fran ^s Bay Winthrop
Jane Hopper	Mangle Minthorne
Tunis Somarindick	Andrew Hopper
Ch W. Apthorp	Arendt Van Hook
John Horn	Jesph Graham
Martha Norton	Matth Bryce
Mary Clarke	Edward Williams
Casper Damler	Isaac Varian
Thomas Buchanan	Henry Brevoort
George Campbell	Jacob Sperry
David Williamson	William Jaques
John Coutant	Rem Rapelje
Jn ^o Buyers	Ann McAdam
Tho ^s Foster	Nicholas Bayard
Christopher Grindlemyer	W ^m Bayard
Jacob Arden	Nich Hoffman
David Mann	

INTERESTING UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE

Extract from a letter of Col. Benj. Tallmadge to Gen. Rufus Putnam

(From the Putnam Manuscripts in Library of Marietta College.)

Contributed by E. C. Dawes.

Litchfield Conn

June 20, 1796.

* * * * Our beloved President shines more illustrious than ever. He seems to be less guarded in his observations respecting *Men* and *Measures* than he used to be, for he clearly discerns who are for the support of the Constitution and Government of our Country and who wish to blend our happy Government with that of France. May Heaven defend us from foreign Influence of all kinds. I dined with old *Montezuma* soon after the appropriation law was passed and I think I never saw him more cheerful and happy and never less reserved. Politicks which you know seldom ever has been admitted at his table, made no small part of the amusement.

NOTES

GEORGE WASHINGTON AS A DANCER—The record of the Father of our Country for patriotism, piety, and fishing, has passed into history, but if the following extract correctly describes his endurance, in dancing he takes the cake.

"We had a little dance at my quarters a few evenings past. His Excellency and Mrs. Greene danced upwards of three hours without sitting down. Upon the whole we had a pretty little frisk."—*Gen. Greene to Col. Wadsworth, dated Pluckemin, N. J., March 19, 1779.*

PETERSFIELD

REV. GEORGE ROBERT GLEIG — A strikingly diversified career has just been closed by the death in England of Rev. George Robert Gleig, aged ninety-two. His father was a Scotch bishop of conspicuous theological and literary ability. The son was educated at Glasgow and at Oxford, but left the university without taking his degree, to enter the army. He served with the Duke of Wellington in the peninsular campaign, and took part in the war of 1812, being severely wounded at the capture of Washington. The *Magazine of American History* published some time ago a few of his reminiscences of the war, as well as a letter from Mr. Gleig himself. In consequence of his wound he gave up the army life and went back to Oxford where he was admitted to holy orders. He became successively curate of Ash, rector of Ivychurch and chaplain of Chelsea hospital. In 1846 he was made chaplain-general of the forces, and afterward became inspector-general of military

schools and prebendary of St. Paul's. He wrote a score of books, including accounts of the campaigns at Washington and New Orleans and the battle of Waterloo, the lives of Lord Clive, Warren Hastings and the Duke of Wellington, and *The Subaltern*, a humorous sketch of his experience in the Spanish peninsula.—*Springfield Republican.*

ANCIENT MANUSCRIPTS—It was a Florentine who found, buried in a heap of dust, and in a rotten coffer belonging to the monastery of Saint Gal, the works of Quintilian; and, by this fortunate discovery, gave them to the republic of letters. Papirius Masson found, in the house of a bookbinder of Lyons, the works of Agobart. The mechanic was on the point of using the manuscripts to line the covers of his books.

Raimond Soranzo, a celebrated lawyer in the papal court at Avignon, about the middle of the fourteenth century, had in his possession the two books of Cicero on Glory. He made a present of them to Petrarch, who lent them to an aged and poor man of letters, formerly his preceptor. Urged by extreme poverty, the old man pawned them; and returning home, died suddenly, without having revealed where he had left them: since which time they have never been recovered.

Leonard Aretin was one of the most distinguished scholars at the dawn of literature; but he has done that which reflects on him great dishonor. He found a Greek manuscript of Procopius de Bello Gothico. This he translated

into Latin and published the work as his own. Since, however, other manuscripts of the same work have been discovered ; and the fraud of Leonard Aretin is apparent.

Machiævel acted more adroitly in a similar case. A manuscript of the Apophthegms of the ancients, by Plutarch, having fallen into his hands, he selected those which pleased him and put them into the mouth of one of his heroes.

A page of the second Decade of Livy was found by a man of letters on the parchment of his battledore, as he was amusing himself in the country. He ran directly to the maker of the battledore : but arrived too late ; the man had finished the last page of Livy, in completing a large order for these articles about a week before.

Sir Robert Cotton, being one day at his tailor's, discovered that the man held in his hand, ready to be cut up for measures, the original Magna Charta, with all its appendages of seals and signature. He bought this singular curiosity for a trifle ; and recovered, in this manner, what had long been given over for lost.—*Universal Magazine, London, England, January, 1792.*

ANECDOTE OF COLONEL WILKES — From the journal of Edward Gibbon, the historian. "September 23d, 1762. Colonel Wilkes, of the Buckinghamshire militia, dined with us and renewed the acquaintance Sir Thomas and myself had begun at Reading. I scarcely ever met with a better companion: he was inexhaustible in spirits, infinite wit and humor with a great deal of knowledge. He told

us himself that in this time of public dissension he was resolved to make his fortune. Upon this principle he has connected himself closely with Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, and commenced being a public adversary to Lord Bute, whom he abuses weekly in the *North Briton*, and other political papers in which he is concerned. This proved a very debauched day ; we drank a good deal both after dinner and supper ; and when at last Wilkes had retired, Sir Thomas and some others, of whom I was not one, broke into his room, and made him drink a bottle of claret in bed."

CHARACTER OF EDWARD GIBBON, by himself. "May 8, 1762—This was my birthday, on which I entered into the twenty-sixth year of my age. This gave me occasion to look a little into myself, and consider impartially my good and bad qualities. It appeared to me, upon this inquiry, that my character was virtuous, incapable of a base action, and formed for generous one's ; but that it was proud, violent, and disagreeable in society. These qualities I must endeavor to cultivate, extirpate, or restrain, according to their different tendency. Wit I have none. My imagination is rather strong than pleasing. My memory both capacious and retentive. The shining qualities of my understanding are extensiveness and penetration ; but I want both quickness and exactness. As to my situation in life, though I may sometimes repine at it, it is perhaps the best adapted to my character. I can command all the conveniences of life, and I can command too that independence (that first earthly blessing), which is

hardly to be met with in a higher or lower fortune. When I talk of my situation, I must exclude that temporary one, of being in the militia. Though I go through it with spirit and application, it is both unfit for, and unworthy of me."—*Gibbon's Journal*.

MARTIN VAN BUREN—In 1802 Martin Van Buren entered the office of William P. Van Ness, in the city of New York, to complete his seventh and final year of legal study. Van Ness was himself from Columbia county, and an eminent lawyer. He was afterwards appointed United States District Judge by Madison, and was then an influential Republican and a close friend and defender of Aaron Burr, then the Vice-President. The native powers and fascination of Burr were at their zenith, though his political character blasted. Van Buren

made his acquaintance, and was treated with the distinguished and flattering attention which the wisest of public men often show to young men of promise. Van Buren's enemies were absurdly fond of the fancy that in this slight intercourse he had acquired the skill and grace of his manner, and the easy principles and love of intrigue which they ascribed to him. Burr, for years after he was utterly disabled, inspired a childish terror in American politics. The mystery and dread about him were used by the opponents of Jackson because Burr had early pointed him out for the Presidency, and by the opponents of Clay, because in early life he had given Burr professional assistance. But upon Burr's candidacy for governor, in 1804, Van Buren's freedom from his influence was clearly enough exhibited.—SHEPARD'S MARTIN VAN BUREN.

QUERIES

SLAVERY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE—*Editor of Magazine of American History*: Can any one of your readers tell me when slavery was abolished in New Hampshire?

A. H. LAIDLAW, JR.
137 WEST 41ST STREET, NEW YORK CITY.

THE HUGUENOTS — What was the name of the Huguenot who was exempted from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, and for what reason was his life preserved?

S. S.

SHIPS AND TROOPS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION—"History has hardly made sufficient note of the fact that the naval and military armament of 300 sail and 31,000 troops sent

against New York at the opening of the Revolution was very much larger than the famous Spanish Armada which so terrified the whole of England 300 years ago; while yet the town of 25,000 people, and the Continental army of less than 20,000 effective soldiers met the invasion with unshaken determination."

The above quotation is from the *New York Evening Mail and Express* of a recent date. Will some of the readers of the *Magazine of American History* kindly state whether the statement regarding the number of ships and troops is correct, and upon what authority it is made?

J. H. B.

REPLIES

ELIZABETH CANNING [xix. 438, xx. 79]—I observe that some of your correspondents are in quest of information respecting Elizabeth Canning, of Connecticut. Her life in England was written by Voltaire, in illustration of his plea for the Calar family, her case being a remarkable instance of the danger of trusting circumstantial evidence. See "Works of Voltaire" (97-volume edition), vol. 38, p. 360. J. P.

NEWBURYPORT, MASS.

THE OLDEST STATUE IN THE WORLD [xx. 158]—There is a curious wooden statue in the Museum of Antiquities at Boolak, Egypt, which is said to be six thousand years old. It is that of a man, apparently a civilized man, the figure full of life, standing erect holding a staff. The pose expresses vigor, action, pride, and the head indicates a man of intellect. It was discovered by Marietta Bey, the French Egyptologist at Memphis, but nothing is known of its history.

C. WILMOT

MONTPELIER, VERMONT.

COMMON SCHOOLS [xix. 524]—EDUCATION IN ENGLAND [xix. 525]—*The Teachers' Telephone* extracts the following in connection with the above subjects: "The public-school system in the West, when once the long dormant germ was fully matured, was a plant of rapid, though substantial growth. But little more than a quarter of a century has elapsed since the awakening began and the true value and importance of the

free school became generally recognized. In nothing else has there ever been a more wonderful or more noble progress. The log school-houses have vanished, to give place to handsome, often elegant, frame, brick, and stone edifices. Instead of the rudeness and discomfort which characterized the district school of the earlier day, every necessary convenience is at hand to give pleasure to the pupil and lend assistance to the teacher. The pride of every village is its school building and its efficient public school, in which every child may receive, free of cost, the best instruction that is anywhere afforded. There are to-day in the five States of Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin, more than fifty thousand school-houses in which schools are maintained from three to ten months every year. The value of these buildings, with the grounds, is considerably over eighty millions of dollars, which is more than one-half that of all other public school property in the Union. Nearly three millions of children annually receive instruction in the public schools; while more than eighty-five thousand teachers, a large number of whom have been trained especially for their work, are employed as instructors. The total amount expended each year for the support of these schools somewhat exceeds thirty-two millions of dollars, or more than eight dollars for each child of school age within the States. As to the character of the instruction given, it is sufficient to say that it is nowhere excelled." —JAMES BALDWIN IN SCRIBNER'S MAGAZINE FOR MAY.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

In speaking of the historical literature of our country, Edwin Percy Whipple says Motley's histories are in some degree epics. "As he frequently crosses Prescott's path in his presentation of the ideas, passions and persons of the sixteenth century, it is curious to note the serenity of Prescott's narrative as contrasted with the swift chivalric impatience of wrongs which animates almost every page of Motley. Both imaginatively reproduce what they have investigated; both have the eye to see and the reason to discriminate; both substantially agree in their judgments as to events and characters; but Prescott quietly allows his readers, as a jury, to render their verdict on the statement of facts, while Motley somewhat fiercely pushes forward to anticipate it. Prescott calmly represents; Motley intensely feels. Prescott is on the watch-tower surveying the battle; Motley plunges into the thickest of the fight. In temperament no two historians could be more apart; in judgment they are identical."

Prescott early in his literary life resolved neither to consult or imitate any model for style but simply to follow his own natural current of thought and expression. When his "History of Ferdinand and Isabella" was published, the reviewers, particularly in England, made a point of discussing and commenting upon his style. Prescott was surprised and seriously disturbed by some of the adverse criticisms, so much so that he spent considerable time in laboriously studying into his own methods, after which he penned these words: "My conclusion from the whole is—after a very honest and careful examination of the matter—that the reader may take my style for better or for worse as it is now formed."

Thenceforward to the end of his life Prescott was very careful in correcting his works before they were printed, but he never interfered with the characteristics of his own peculiar style, nor permitted any friend or critic to do it. He said, "A man's style, to be worth anything, should be the natural expression of his mental character, and when it is not, the style is either painfully affected or it falls into that conventional tone which like a domino at a masquerade, or the tone of good breeding in society, may be assumed by anybody that takes pains to acquire it; fitting one person as well as another and belonging to anybody—nobody. The best consequence of such a style is that it offends no one. It delights no one for it is common-place. It is true that a genius will show itself under this coating, as an original will peep out under a domino. But this is not the best dress for it. The best undoubtedly for every writer is the form of expression best suited to his peculiar turn of thinking, even at some hazard of violating the conventional tone. It is this alone which can give full force to his thoughts. Franklin's style would have borne more ornament—Washington Irving could have done with less. Johnson and Gibbon might have had much less formality, and Hume and Goldsmith might have occasionally pointed their sentences with more effect. But if they had abandoned the natural suggestions of their genius, and aimed at the contrary, would they not in mending a hole, as Scott says, have very likely made two."

Mr. Hunnawell gives some interesting glimpses of social life in Charlestown, Massachusetts, in the history of that town. He says, "Drinking habits, in varying degree, continued some time into the present century, so that it was hardly civil to receive a call even from the minister without an offer of a glass of something—to the minister it would be wine. As late as 1818, a church council of eighty-four persons had at their dinner nine decanters of brandy, forty bottles of wine, and one-hundred and forty-four cigars, besides pipes." Concerning dress, he says, "The fashion followed those of town-life in Europe. A few of the earlier prominent men must have had an imposing look . . . Thomas Russell, nearly six feet high, appeared on Change in hair powdered and tied, a cocked hat, and 'sable-lined silk great-coat from Russia,' while he carried 'a gold-headed India cane.'"

How a paragraph in a Democratic journal was turned to account in the Presidential campaign of 1840, is graphically told in his autobiography by Thurlow Weed. "A Richmond paper manifested its contempt for General Harrison in these words: 'Give him a barrel of hard cider, and a pension of two thousand dollars, and our word for it, he will sit the remainder of his days contented in a log cabin.' Immediately Whig journals and speakers inaugurated a 'hard cider' and 'log cabin' canvass. Log cabins were erected in cities and villages, the 'latch strings' of which were always 'out.' To most of the present generation the 'latch string' in the door of a log cabin requires explanation. In the primitive and almost wilderness days of our country, admittance to the log cabin was obtained by pulling the string attached to the latch on the inside of the door. At night the latch string was pulled in. During the campaign the Whigs boasted that the 'latch string was always out,' hospitably inviting all who appreciated hard cider as a beverage. Log cabins were impressed upon medals and badges. Two or three weeks before the election intelligent Democrats saw that songs, log cabins, and hard cider were carrying the masses against Van Buren."

Educational considerations and the future of our country demand that the growing generation be made acquainted with our own history. Geography and history are closely allied. The study of geography it is said must be based upon a solid foundation of sense-perception, and this is far more necessary in history. The student comes to the high school or college with the firmly laid substructure of his entire being. He has acquired tastes which no professor of history can counteract. He ought to bring with him some knowledge of national affairs and of political institutions, learned in the preparatory classes; he should have heard enough in his developing years to kindle the fire of enthusiasm and inspire him with curiosity about past generations—what they thought, how they looked, where they lived, and what they achieved. It is said, and we fear it is true, "that in no country is history taught less than in America, and in no country are more laws made and broken than here. The former is the cause, the latter is the effect." And yet we have in literature admirable masterpieces of historical writing, which create indelible impressions upon the mind and imagination, and can be heartily recommended to teachers and pupils of every grade.

BOOK NOTICES

THE BRITISH INVASION FROM THE NORTH. The campaigns of Generals Carleton and Burgoyne from Canada, 1776-1777. With the *JOURNAL OF LIEUTENANT WILLIAM DIGBY* of the 53d, or Shropshire Regiment of Foot. Illustrated with historical notes by JAMES PHINNEY BAXTER, A.M. Square 8vo, pp. 412. Albany, New York. Joel Munsell's Sons.

The journal of Lieutenant Digby sheds light upon many features of the famous campaigns of Carleton and Burgoyne in 1776 and 1777, and to Mr. Baxter, we owe a debt of gratitude for its discovery in the British Museum, and presentation to the reading public in the present carefully edited volume. The first part of the journal relates to the events and incidents attendant upon the expulsion of the Americans from Canada in the summer and autumn of 1776. But Digby's account of the second campaign of 1777, in which he followed the fortunes of his general to the bitter end, is the more interesting of the two. He gives a graphic account of the marches of the British army through the woods, in a country with which they had little or no knowledge, and the sufferings and perils of each day. Under date of July 7, he describes a sharp encounter with the enemy, whom they routed, and adds, "we were obliged to fell trees in order to make a breastwork for our protection. . . . We were very badly off for provisions, and nothing but water to drink, and though it rained very hard after the engagement we had no covering to shelter us." On the 9th he writes, "we received orders to march toward Skeensborough. We were obliged to leave all our wounded behind us with a subaltern guard, who received orders, if attacked, to surrender and rely on the mercy of the enemy. This was a severe order, but it could not be helped in our situation."

In narrating the events of the Saratoga battle Digby says, "We burned Schuyler's house to prevent a lodgment being formed behind it, and almost all our remaining baggage rather than it should fall into their hands." Concerning the surrender he dwells upon the scene when the British soldiers marched out according to the treaty, remarking, "As to my own feelings, I cannot express them. Tears (though unmanly) forced their way, and if alone, I could have burst to give myself vent. I never shall forget the appearance of their troops on our marching past them; a dead silence universally reigned through their numerous columns, and even then, they seemed struck with our situation and dare scarce lift up their eyes to view British troops in such a situation. I must say their decent be-

havior during the time (to us so greatly fallen) merited the utmost approbation and praise."

Mr. Baxter in the opening of the volume gives a clear, succinct account of the "campaigns of Carleton and Burgoyne," occupying seventy-five pages, which will be a boon to the students, and his explanatory and biographical notes scattered through the work are of surpassing value. Concerning Digby, who was among the paroled officers at Saratoga, but little is known of his subsequent career. Mr. Baxter says he has been baffled thus far in obtaining particulars concerning his family and early history, and finds him recorded in the War Office as having retired from military service in 1787.

THE SOCIAL INFLUENCE OF CHRISTIANITY. By DAVID J. HILL, LL.D., President of Bucknell University. 16mo, pp. 321. Boston. Silver, Burdette & Co.

The recent triangular controversy between Dr. Field and Mr. Gladstone on the one hand, and Col. Ingersoll on the other, has attracted so much attention that if for no other reason the present volume would be timely. But in the light of history such a work is always timely. It is a noteworthy fact that society has organized itself in Christendom as nowhere else in the world, and a philosophical study of the process embraces a wide range of subjects. In a single small volume only the most cursory treatment is possible, but Dr. Hill has brought to bear a skilled hand and well trained mind, and the influence of Christ's teachings, are treated with clearness, brevity and comprehensiveness, including even the modern phases of labor, wealth, marriage, education, legislation and crime. The lesson taught is in brief that the Christian conception of man is closely related to social progress, and that it cannot be neglected without serious danger to the whole social fabric.

POLITICAL ESSAYS. By JAMES RUSSELL LOWELL. 16mo, pp. 326. Boston. Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Beginning with his famous arraignment of the American Tract Society in 1858, and ending with "The Place of the Independent in Politics," an address to the Reform Club of this city during the present year, this series of twelve essays is in substance a review of American history during the most momentous period of the republic. It is only necessary to recapitulate the headings of the different chapters to show how valuable is the volume as a record of current discussion at the periods indicated:

"The election in November" (1860), "E.

Pluribus Unum" (1861), "The Pickens-and-Stealins Rebellion" (1861), "General McClellan's Report" (1864), "The Rebellion; its Causes and Consequences" (1864), "McClellan or Lincoln" (1864), "Reconstruction" (1865), "Scotch the Snake or Kill it" (1865), "The President on the Stump" (1866), "The Seward-Johnson Reaction" (1866). These with the addresses cited at first make up a notable series of essays. As a leader of contemporary opinion Mr. Lowell has for nearly a quarter of a century held a conspicuous place in American literature, and it goes without saying that the brilliancy of his diction and the incisive quality of his thought lose nothing through the lapse of time. His admirers will re-read with renewed appreciation the addresses, which, when they were originally delivered were received by the loyal states with universal and unqualified marks of approval. His more recent assertion of a right to think outside of party lines has subjected him to much bitter criticism from his former political associates, but he can well afford to break a lance for political freedom where mere partisanship is concerned.

A CENTURY OF TOWN LIFE. A History of Charlestown, Massachusetts, 1775-1887. With Surveys, Records, and twenty-eight pages of Plans and Views. By JAMES F. HUNNEWELL. 8vo. pp. 316. Boston, 1888: Little, Brown & Company.

The town of Charlestown, Massachusetts, is one of the oldest and most interesting in the country. The author of this well conceived and valuable work has had the taste and courage as well as uncommon opportunities for investigating faithfully the old deeds, plans, records, and other documents, and he has reconstructed from scattered materials a most satisfactory survey of old Charlestown before it was burned a hundred years ago. One newspaper of that day states that when destroyed "Charlestown contained about three hundred dwelling-houses, one hundred and fifty or two hundred of which were large and elegant." But the author explains that "ideas of elegance were then very different from those we have." Mr. Hunnewell's description of the place in 1775 is unique from the laborious examinations and careful stringing together of separate authorities which appear on the face of it. The deeds afforded him the best of all available information, yet they often left the position of estates a puzzle. "The exact site of the first government building of Massachusetts Bay could hardly be determined until the exact position of a certain post in Mary Long's fence was known."

Mr. Hunnewell also gives entire, important records hitherto unpublished and not generally

accessible, about a great number of persons whose descendants are now widely scattered. And he has made a bibliography in which he has directed the reader to at least a hundred books and pamphlets, and to over four hundred notices in books, about individuals, natives or residents—an amount of biographical matter that would fill several volumes. The history of the first church, covering a period of two hundred and fifty years, he has made a chapter of special importance. The Rev. Jedediah Morse, the author of the first geography ever published in this country, was called to the pastorate in April, 1789, and his ministry extended over thirty years. He was the father of Samuel Finley Breese Morse, inventor of the telegraph. The author says: "The effects of the last war with England were severe in this vicinity. In 1815 the town, that then contained about five thousand people, was recovering." On page 261 is a fac-simile of the title-page of the first Charlestown book, written and printed in this country in 1673. The first shop in the town for the sale of books and writing materials was opened in 1715. The first practical attempt to establish a public library was in 1853. The illustrations add greatly to the interest of the book. The view of Bunker's Hill copied from the "Gentleman's Magazine" of February, 1790, is a striking example of the wood-cut of the period. The plan of the pews on the floor of the first church meeting-house, in 1804, and the sketch of Charlestown in 1638, are particularly interesting. The oldest houses in Charlestown are graphically described, and a view given of the one in which the author resides.

MEXICO, PICTURESQUE, POLITICAL, PROGRESSIVE. By MARY ELIZABETH BLAKE and MARGARET F. SULLIVAN. 16mo. pp. 228. Boston: Lee & Shepard.

It is not generally realized by the people of the United States how rapidly the two great American republics are being united by railroads and the common ties that unify the nations. They know as little of Mexican conditions and prosperity as they do of her vast resources. It is significant, however, that two of the most enterprising of our magazines, *The Century* and *Lippincott's*, devote considerable space in their August issues to romances with scenes laid among the mountains of our sister republic, and when popular writers of fiction select a common stage for their romances it is a tolerably certain indication of a coming change. The present volume, with its dual authorship, represents the East and the West, Mrs. Blake being a Bostonian, while Mrs. Sullivan is from Chicago. We are not aware that a similar literary partnership has ever before existed. May it prove an aus-

picious forerunner of many such! Mrs. Sullivan is the well-known correspondent and art critic of the *Chicago Tribune* and *Herald*, and of the *New York Sun*, and is the author of "Ireland of To-day." Mrs. Blake has long been on the staff of the *Boston Journal*, and is a frequent contributor to current publications. She is the author of a volume of poems, and of "On the Wing," descriptive of a trip to California.

WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE Portrayed by himself. By ROBERT WATERS. 16mo, pp. 347. New York: Worthington Company.

An autobiography of the Bard of Avon would certainly be a novelty at this late day, and it is a happy idea to study the most famous pages of English literature with a view to arriving at a just estimate of the author's personality. When no contemporary biography of a person is extant, it is obviously proper to look for material to make good the deficiency in his deeds. Mr. Waters thinks that in the character of Henry the Fifth, Shakespeare drew his own portrait, and certainly many points of similarity are emphasized in a way which, if not convincing, are certainly suggestive. In such a comparison, of course, it was necessary to dip into history, in order to sustain or disprove the theory, and the author has consulted the chroniclers of Prince Henry's time with commendable diligence. It is noteworthy that in the very plays which Mr. Ignatius Donnelly selects for the development of his extraordinary Baconian cipher, the present author finds the strongest arguments in support of his own views. Mr. Donnelly and his book come in for a full share of criticism in the course of the volume, several chapters being devoted to a review of his attempted demonstrations. Upon the whole, the volume is a very acceptable addition to the already numerous, and rapidly increasing list of Shakespeareana, and every lover of the great dramatist will, after reading this book, turn with renewed interest to the perusal of his favorite plays.

HARVARD REMINISCENCES. By ANDREW P. FEABODY, D.D., LL.D. 16mo, pp. 216. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

The venerable Professor of Christian Morals at Cambridge, and long preacher to the University, has done well to place on record his reminiscences of the distinguished men who have been his contemporaries. His purpose is to preserve in permanent form his recollections of the college as it was when he was an undergraduate and during the subsequent years when as a theological student and as a tutor he resided at Harvard. The period covers the years 1776 to 1831 inclusive, and to it is appended a chapter of reminiscences concerning his own nov-

tiate, a period now so long past that it may be safely regarded as beyond the memory of all save a very few among the surviving alumni. To Harvard men it must prove a valuable addition to the memorabilia which form a part of almost every student's library.

THE GEORGE CATLIN INDIAN GALLERY in the United States National Museum (Smithsonian Institution). With Memoirs and Statistics. By THOMAS DONALDSON. Author's Edition. 8vo, pp. 939. The Government Printing House, Washington, D. C.

George Catlin began the work of creating a gallery of paintings of North American Indians in 1829 and completed it in 1838. He first offered the gallery to the Smithsonian Institution in 1846, and in 1881, after many vicissitudes and misfortunes it found a permanent lodgment there. Mr. Catlin was convinced that the decline and possible extinction of the North American Indians would give importance to their pictorial history, and unaided and unadvised, went about the work with his brush and pen. He visited forty-eight tribes, lived with them in their own villages, carrying his canvas and colors with him, and painted a large number of portraits from life. He was very careful in the matter of the authentication of his pictures, not infrequently obtaining certificates from Indian agents, officers of the army, and the fur company's interpreters, who were with him. He had no trading purposes to serve, and excited no enmity among the savages by teachings or otherwise. He made no effort to obtain ancient history of a people who knew no writing, but wisely confined his labors to depicting exactly what he saw and that only. His diaries convey the vivid impressions of the moment—faithful and accurate observations, to which future writers will turn for authentic statements. His unique gallery was exhibited for some time in London, and attracted universal attention. He compiled a work from letters which he had written to the *New York Commercial Advertiser* between the years 1830 and 1839 at the instance of Colonel W. L. Stone, its editor, adding some additional notes, which was published under the title of "Eight Years Among the American Indians." An effort was made to retain the collection in England. He exhibited it in Paris in 1845, and the press of the French city was unanimous in its praise. Mr. Catlin's drawings and paintings have furnished illustrations and data for thousands of works on the Indians of America, and for theatres and "Wild West" exhibitions. They have been modified, cut, altered, changed, but they nevertheless remain Catlin's work. Authors in all lands have used them, and stories without number have been based upon them.

No man of his station or who had done so much, says Donaldson, left so little from which to give a correct account of his private life. Nowhere does he give the date of his birth. He died in Jersey City in 1872. The history of the travels of his gallery is tersely told in the introductory chapter. It was turned out of Paris in 1848 by the Revolution and went back to England. The volume before us is a mine of information. It is impossible to open it at any page without being interested and inclined to read indefinitely.

BEFORE THE DAWN. A story of Paris and the Jacquerie. By GEORGE DULAC. 16 mo, pp. 307. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

This striking story is a fitting companion for Mr. Walter Bessant's "Sunrise," which is now attracting the attention of novel readers and to some extent, of students of communistic problems. But whereas the one deals with the great reformatory combinations of the present day when the first rays of sunlight may be said to have penetrated the dark cloud of oppression that has hung over the laboring classes, the other treats of the early uprisings of the French peasantry against feudal despotism. The pictures of life in those times, of the fierce encounters between the tenantry and their lords; of the brutal passions of the time are well done and thrilling in the extreme. Apparently the author has made a careful study of the social castes of the time, and has caught the spirit and color of the conditions which he endeavors to present.

DISCOVERY OF AMERICA BY NORTHMEN. With Maps and Illustrations. Address at the Unveiling of the Statue of Leif Erikson. Delivered at Faneuil Hall, October 29, 1887. By EBEN NORTON HORSFORD. 4to, pp. 113. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin and Company.

In this elegantly printed volume Professor Horsford presents in permanent form the story of the discovery of America by the Northmen in all its essential particulars. It is crowded with welcome and valuable information. In the appendix he has added notes and data that will instruct the reader as to the principal sources of saga lore. A series of beautiful maps and other illustrations are scattered through the work, explaining much of the text. A heliotype facsimile of a page from the Saga of Eirik the Red—from the manuscript of the Codex Flateyensis—and an artistically executed map of Iceland, are especially deserving of mention. Professor Horsford has been an indefatigable student for

many years of this much discussed and intensely interesting subject of the early voyages to this country, and has apparently brought skillfully to the front all the arguments and evidence in support of Leif Erikson's claim to the original discovery of America, that are worthy of consideration. A colored picture of the monument erected in Boston in 1887 to the memory of Leif Erikson forms the frontispiece to the volume, and a general chart showing the discoveries of the Scandinavians in the arctic regions is placed opposite the opening of Chapter I. A sketch of the ruins of an ancient church at Gardar in Southern Greenland, next attracts attention, and we learn that the Bishopric of Gardar was occupied from 1121 to 1537.

Excellent authorities are marshaled into service by the Professor to sustain the generally accepted facts that somewhere to the southwest of Greenland, distant at least a fortnight's sail, there were, for three hundred years after the beginning of the eleventh century, Norse colonies on the coast of the continent of America, called Vinland, and that the first Northman to set foot on the shores of Vinland was Leif Erikson. The exact whereabouts of Vinland are not so clear, but the obscurity is treated by the author in the appendix in a clever chain of reasoning that seems conclusive. And this same Leif Erikson was the son of a Norwegian earl, whose ancestry to escape oppression had emigrated from Norway to Iceland in like manner as the early Puritans came to Plymouth. "They were not of the Vikings—the class that conducted predatory excursions over the then known seas. They established and maintained a republican form of government, which exists to this day with nominal sovereignty in the king of Denmark." "Leif Erikson," says Professor Horsford, "was a man of the people, a scholar of the times, a man of faith, a gentleman, an athlete, a man of deeds and renown." But Professor Horsford takes the sensible view of the adventures of the Northmen which led to nothing, and does not in any sense attempt to weaken the claims of Columbus. The Northmen exercised little influence on the philosophy of maritime discovery. Columbus had "a daring, and a conception, and an intellectual train of research and deduction, at its foundation quite his own." Professor Horsford further says: "Columbus *ought* to have visited Iceland, if he could, whether he did or did not; and so of Ireland or Britain or the Faroes, and other accessible countries that would enable him to strengthen his appeal. Whatever he might have found in Thule could at the best have afforded him little aid in the mighty vision of reaching the land at the antipodes by sailing westward from the Pillars of Hercules. Columbus did not sail towards Vinland, whatever he may have learned of its discovery."

MISCELLANEOUS

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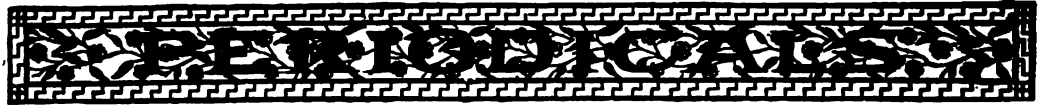
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Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1887	129,927	\$363,809,202 88	Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1888...	140,943	\$427,628,393 51
Risks Assumed.....	22,205	69,457,468 37	Risks Terminated.....	11,289	35,637,758 74
	152,222	\$463,266,671 25		152,222	\$463,266,671 25

Dr.		Revenue Account.		Cr.	
To Balance from last account ...	\$104,719,734 31	By Endowments, Purchased Insurance, Dividends, Annuities and Death Claims.....	14,198,493 60		
" Premiums.....	17,110,901 62	" Commissions, Commutations, Taxes and all other Expenses	3,642,514 49		
" Interest, Rents and Premium on Securities Sold.....	6,009,080 84	" Balance to new account.....	110,061,718 68		
	\$127,839,656 77		\$127,839,656 77		

Dr.		Balance Sheet.		Cr.	
To Reserve for Policies in force and for risks terminated ...	\$112,430,086 00	By Bonds Secured by Mortgages on Real Estate	\$49,615,268 06		
" Premiums received in advance	82,314 26	" United States and other Bonds.	43,439,377 81		
" Surplus at four per cent.....	6,394,441 52	" Real Estate and Loans on Collaterals	20,159,173 37		
	\$118,806,851 88	" Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest.....	2,619,392 68		
		" Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit and Sundries.....	2,978,169 98		
			\$118,806,851 88		

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A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

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Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884	\$34,641,420	\$351,799,385	\$4,742,771
1885	46,507,139	369,981,441	5,012,634
1886	50,822,719	383,870,303	5,643,508
1887	69,457,468	427,628,393	6,394,442

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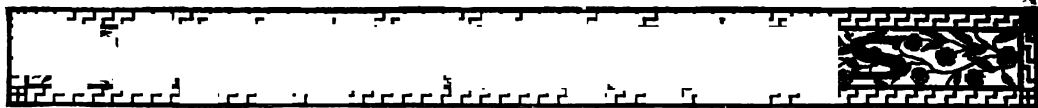
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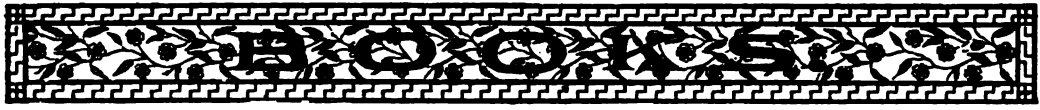
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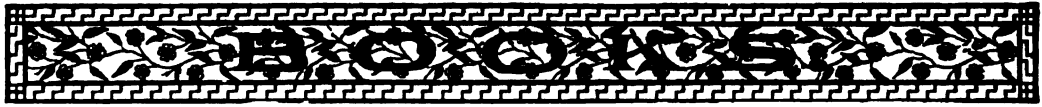
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1

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XX

OCTOBER, 1888

No. 4

THE CITY OF A PRINCE *

A ROMANTIC CHAPTER IN TEXAS HISTORY

I

AT what period German immigration to the state of Texas commenced, it is difficult to determine. Some few German settlers had already established themselves there while the country was under the dominion of Spain; they came in greater numbers with the Americans who formed the "Austin Colony," locating between the Brazos and the Colorado. In the Texas War of Independence they bore their share, and a German—Ehrenberg—was one of the few survivors of Fannin's massacre at Goliad in 1836. After peace was declared those who were in the army went up into the interior of the state and made homes for themselves; they were joined by others who came from northern states, but it was not until 1840 that an exclusively German town was founded. This was called "Industry"—a name well merited by the character of its people. Later on other families settled along the Brazos and Colorado, spreading themselves from Austin to Houston; so that at the present day that section is called "Little Germany," in contradistinction to "Great Germany," which lies between the Colorado and the Rio Grande, and which afterwards received the bulk of the German immigration. Our concern is principally with this part of the state; for important political movements grew out of the large influx of foreigners, and these seemingly insignificant settlements were great factors in the sum of events which led to the annexation of Texas.

Most of the section of country lying west of the Colorado was in 1840 a savage wilderness. With sufficient area to form several kingdoms, its total population was but twelve thousand. Of these the town of San Antonio contained five thousand, four-fifths of whom were Mexicans. The rest of the population was scattered through several small villages and about their immediate vicinity. The country was an earthly paradise as

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far as soil, scenery and climate were concerned; but the Indians were in full possession and there had been much trouble between them and the whites, though at the time German immigration commenced, the strength of the Comanches had been broken and they had been driven back to the unexplored fastnesses of the mountains.

The first Germans who crossed the Colorado were Alsatians, and can be considered the pioneers of the great movement which afterwards took place. They called themselves French, but they spoke the German tongue and had German physicians, teachers and pastors. They were, however, under the leadership of a Frenchman, the Count de Castro, who tried to procure emigrants in France to settle on his extensive land grants, but being unsuccessful, took out large numbers of German Alsatians and set sail from Antwerp. This colony reached Galveston Island only to find themselves totally unprovided for. Galveston, containing then but a few hundred people, could do nothing for them, and they sought the mainland where many of them scattered through the different settlements; others held together and pushed on for the land of De Castro's grant. They found it a lovely, fertile domain. Here they established themselves, worked hard and flourished; later, they were joined by other Germans from the Society of Mayence. As their numbers increased they founded small villages; Guihi, Vanaenburg and New Fountain were laid out; then they organized their county, making Castroville, their first town, the county seat, and so by degrees settled up the entire country between the Nueces and the San Antonio.

Just about this time a society of princes and noblemen was being formed in Germany, the cause of whose organization can hardly be credited to pure philanthropy. It is not reasonable to suppose that the German potentates were so disinterested as to seek in other countries free holdings of lands and homes for their poor subjects. There are proofs extant that England took a considerable part in the movement; in fact it was due to her machinations that the society was organized. At this time the growing power of the United States was viewed with alarm by Great Britain. The enormous increase in the American cotton crop had already displaced East India cotton in European markets, and the home government had to devise some expedient to encourage the production of the staple in her own colonies. To do this, she endeavored to put a stop to the slave trade, promulgated abolition ideas, and determined to establish an anti-slavery republic on Texas soil, believing that without slave labor cotton could not be profitably produced in America. At that time Texas was an independent republic of enormous area and almost undetermined

boundaries. Sparsely settled, embarrassed financially, and constantly threatened by Mexico, it was but natural to suppose that she would ere long either fall a prey to the growing power of the United States, or seek safety, and more favorable terms, by annexation. To prevent any such contingency was clearly the policy of England.

The method that seemed best adapted to preserve the autonomy of Texas, was the eradication of slavery within its borders. To do this enormous numbers of immigrants opposed to its principles were to be introduced, so that the majority of the



population should be in favor of a "free" republic. It was the belief in England that the slave states of the Union would never permit the annexation of Texas as a free state; in which case this anti-slavery republic would act as a breakwater to the encroachments of the



SCENES ON THE COMAL RIVER, TEXAS.

United States and prevent their acquisition of more territory at the south.

The over-populated provinces of the German princes were selected as the best field from which to draw the vast numbers needed to make this plan a success. These princes were comparatively poor, and therefore more open to negotiation than other potentates. It was believed that under the leadership and protection of their own rulers, a sufficient number of emigrants could be poured into Texas to completely Germanize that new

republic, and when this was completed, England was to take it under especial protection. All of which is plainly shown by the letters of Prince Solms to officers of the society, and to the secretary of state under President Houston, threatening a European war in case of annexation. That this plan completely failed is due to the astuteness of the Texan leaders of the period.

To give a brief account of it, the young republic being at that time much embarrassed for means, decided, if possible, to raise \$4,000,000 from European governments, the security for the loan to be mortgages on the public lands. When Ashbel Smith, minister from Texas at the Court of St. James, broached the subject, he found himself listened to attentively, but put off from day to day for an answer; for England was then busy with her German colonization scheme, and considered that a much surer and safer way to assist Texas, than by lending her money. At the same time Hamilton had opened similar negotiations at the Court of France, and with every chance of success; but just as everything seemed propitious for securing the \$2,000,000 asked for, information reached the French Government of the coalition between England and the German princes. This immediately put a stop to the proceedings, as France considered it would injure the value, to her, of the public lands in Texas if any such condition of things obtained. In 1842 Hamilton wrote the matter home to his President, but Ashbel Smith had already written of this English-German alliance, their letters being now in the archives at Austin. At this juncture the genius of Sam Houston saved Texas to the Americans and outwitted the diplomacy of the Europeans. He renewed the proposition of the annexation of Texas to the United States. This move has often been ascribed to his personal ambition causing him to lose sight of the eventual greatness Texas would attain if she maintained her independence, and so fostered and hastened the development of her enormous natural resources. It has been said that he aimed at the chief magistracy of the two united countries; but the inner history of the English-German alliance proves that only by this astute move on Houston's part could their plans have been defeated. Texas was helpless; burdened with \$4,000,000 war debt, sparsely populated, the treasury empty, and constantly menaced by Mexico. If, in addition to this, England was allowed to carry out her scheme, the few thousands of Americans in Texas would find their independence as a nation a position almost impossible to maintain. Hence Houston's persistence in favor of annexation. This fact does not seem to appear in the written history of the country but it is certain that it played a considerable part in the question of th-

union of the two republics—as is fully shown in Houston's letter to Van Zandt, then minister at Washington from Texas, in which he rehearses the situation in reference to the coalition, and instructs his minister to urge upon the President the pressing need of annexation as the only means by which England could be foiled in her plans. In December, 1845, Texas was admitted to the Union, and Great Britain found to her cost that it was a short-sighted policy when she sent German emigrants instead of money to the new republic. She had been completely outwitted by General Houston, becoming in his hands an instrument with which to force annexation. The German princes and noblemen had been thus summarily cut off from a nice little revenue which they would have derived from England as the price paid them for inducing their subjects and countrymen to emigrate.

The history of German emigration to Texas, is one of peculiar interest, and yet, strange to say, it is almost unchronicled. The histories already written of the state simply mention it, inquiring not into its cause nor giving an account of the sufferings and trials attending the establishment of its settlements. Some German manuscripts exist which give a clear insight to their private history, but these are almost unattainable. It only remains, then, to gather from the few eye-witnesses yet living the information desired, drawing from the participants in those scenes such recollections of personal experience and reminiscences of others, as will serve to give a fair idea of the romantic record belonging to these colonies in general and to New Braunfels in particular; a record of endeavor, disaster and final success; the history of a colony which was the offspring of political intrigue, yet was founded on a basis of pretended philanthropy and in a way that appealed directly to the ambition of the many; a colony established not fifty years ago upon American soil, but under the patronage of nobility and the leadership of a prince.

In 1842 the negotiations between England and Germany had assumed definite shape; it was next in order for the German princes to carry out their share of the bargain. About this time the estates of these potentates were suffering from over-population. Much distress existed among the poorer classes, discontent was brewing in all quarters, and every indication pointed to the revolution which came in 1848. The whole situation revealed England's wisdom in choosing these people as her tools, and, as a first step towards the accomplishment of her designs, there was formed in 1843, in Mayence, a society called by the name of that city. It was comprised of twenty-five members, all princes and noblemen. Prince Frederick of Prussia stood at its head, but Count Castell was the soul of the

undertaking, while the Duke of Nassau was considered the protector of the society.

To but a few of its members was the real object of the society divulged. Only the leaders knew of the interest England had in its success, and to them was to be paid the price agreed upon for each emigrant sent over. The nobility generally were drawn into it by being assured that the idea was to establish large bodies of German settlers upon Texas soil, who would ultimately declare their independence of the republic and take rank as a principality under the government of one of their own princes. This would open a wide field to their ambition, and would serve too as a good provision for their younger sons, besides presenting a safe investment for their means and a refuge, perhaps, for themselves and property in case of a revolution in the mother country. All this was imparted by the leaders to the nobility as a secret among themselves, but to the mass of the people and to the world in general its philanthropic aspect was presented, and this was sufficiently praiseworthy to enlist the respect and attention of all. It purported to be the improvement of the lot of the poorer classes by establishing them in homes of their own in America, and supporting them until able to do for themselves; thus to lessen pauperism on their own estates and establish commercial relations between Texas and Germany, which would add materially to the prosperity of both countries. If this pretended view of the movement had been the real motive actuating the subsequent emigration, and the plans of support and encouragement had been carried out according to the original announcement, the Mayence Society would have gone down in history as a benefactor of two nations, instead of receiving scant chronicle as a miserable failure as a political factor, and a fraud practiced upon the defenseless common people of its own land.

Having gathered sufficient means together for its purposes, the society deputed Count Lienenen and Count Boos-Waldeck to act as its agents and travel through Texas and report. This they did and were well pleased with it, especially all that part between the Brazos and the Guadalupe. Here, in Fayette County, they bought a large plantation with negroes, and named it "Plantation Nassau." This place afterwards played an important role in the history of the society in Texas. But little more than forty years have elapsed since its first purchase, yet the information regarding it is meagre in the extreme and its story is hard to unravel. It is certain, however, that it became the headquarters of the officers of the society in Texas. Here they retired for rest and enjoyment, maintaining great style and keeping up much of pomp and ceremony. Its record is

one of romance; it has been both pleasure place and fortress, the scene and subject of strife at arms and in the forum, being for twenty-five years in ceaseless litigation for debt, possession, and murder.

Boos-Waldeck remained in Texas a year, then returned to Germany without having acquired any land for the proposed immigration; but when laying his report before the society he proposed to them a plan which he believed would be feasible and also profitable. His proposition plainly showed that he was not in the secret of the true object of this movement: it was to continue to buy farms and plantations in Texas; to employ the



CARL FRIEDRICH, PRINCE OF SOLMS-BRAUNFELS.

immigrants at good wages as laborers upon the small farms, but to have the large plantations worked exclusively by slaves. This project being directly opposed to the real design of the society, was promptly rejected; whereupon the count resigned from its membership and severed all connection with its affairs.

During the year of Waldeck's absence in Texas, a great commotion had been made in Germany over the proposed emigration. Pamphlets were issued setting forth the great desirability of Texas as a home, describing its rich lands, its temperate climate, its valleys, forests, and limpid streams. Proclamations were promulgated throughout the German

states, setting forth the advantages to be gained and the favors to be shown the emigrants. It was announced to them that upon their leaving Germany a portion of good land would be secured by written deeds and agreement to each emigrant. The amount called for by this he would receive from the secretary of the society upon his arrival in Texas at his point of destination; this to be a donation, without any present or future consideration being required from the immigrant. The area of the land given was to be in proportion to the size of the family, and would become their free and unrestricted possession as soon as they had resided upon it for three years. During that period the products of the soil would belong solely to the family, "the society demanding only a last claim to land or products." The proclamation continues: "At landing places the emigrants will find wagons ready to take them and their movables *gratis* to the place of their settlement; also all the necessities of the journey will be provided. As soon as they arrive at their place of destination block-houses will be erected for every one, and store-houses for provisions. Tools for gardening and farm-work, seeds and plants of every description will be on hand; they will find also the necessary domestic animals, as plow-oxen, horses, cows, pigs and sheep. All these will be sold to them at a much lower price than they would bring at the nearest market place."

All this seemed to offer an Eldorado to those who would emigrate. The common people crowded to the society headquarters, but none were received except such as could take with them not less than six hundred florins a family, or three hundred francs a single man. Of such as these a thousand names were enrolled the first day, some of whom were worth from 10,000 to 20,000 florins. The nobility, having their own private ends in view, joined in with them, and in 1844 all arrangements were completed to send over a great body of colonists, and yet the society did not own an acre of ground on which to locate them! It was then that an adventurer, Bourgeois d'Orvanne, offered the society land granted to him by President Houston of Texas under the law of the republic passed January 4th, 1841. This land bordered on the township of old San Antonio de Bexar. The society purchased this from him, and Prince Solms-Braunfels was sent out in May, 1844, to prepare for the coming of the colonists.

So great was the rush to be a part of this first expedition, that one hundred florins was paid to the society by each emigrant for that privilege and for participating in the promised benefits. Three ships set sail with them in the early fall of 1844, and when these vessels were in mid-ocean, the officers of the society discovered that they could not claim the

land which they had bought from D'Orvanne. This needed actual settlement within a certain time to perfect the title, and it had been already forfeited back to the republic for non-fulfillment at the very time that it had been sold to the society of Mayence. It was too late to stop the emigrants; they would soon arrive, and Prince Solms was in a quandary. At this juncture two German-Texans came to the rescue; these were Burchard Miller and Henry F. Fisher, consul for Bremen at Galveston. They had received grants to large bodies of land between the Colorado and San Saba, on condition that they should colonize upon them six



COUNT CORRETH OF THE TYROL.

thousand souls; two hundred families to be settled within one year, and within three years six hundred families to be there located. The government agreed to give each family six hundred and forty acres, and half that amount to each single man. Besides this, to each colony of a hundred families a premium of one extra section (six hundred and forty acres) was given, and the contractors received ten of these sections for every one hundred families located.

This contract, with all its generous provisions on the part of the Republic of Texas, Fisher and Miller transferred to the society of Mayence on the following conditions: "That on the 24th June, 1845,

it should make a first payment to Fisher and Miller of one hundred Louis d'or, and engage itself to pay on the 5th of July to Fisher 14,000 florins; the society moreover to raise 200,000 florins to cover the cost of the first settlement." All this money was to be refunded to the society as soon as the colonists were able, and whenever the return payment should be completed the society was to receive two-thirds of all revenue (net proceeds) accruing to the colony, and Fisher and Miller one third.

It is impossible to see where any benefit to the colonists came into this arrangement. It is true that they were assured a subsistence and were allowed time in which to discharge all debts thus incurred; but they were forced to pay for homes which had been promised them as a "donation," and, once clear of debt, all the revenues from their land and labor, outside of their actual expenses, were to go to the projectors of the colony. If this contract had been carried out, the settlers could never have attained the independence of even a modest competency.

The society seemed to understand well how to look out for its own interests, yet it conducted its business in a loose and irregular manner, as appears in the very first instance by its worthless purchase from D'Orvanne, and next by the acceptance of Fisher's land-grant, which was a perfect *terra incognita*, being distant more than a hundred miles from any settlement, and scarcely ever touched by a white foot. No one even knew whether or not the land was fit for colonization; only one thing was certain, it was in full possession of the Indians. As it was, however, this unknown grant, though containing a considerable area of barren rock, had also much arable and fertile land, fine forests and a plentiful supply of good water; the mountains too possessed a real treasure of minerals, only waiting to be discovered and utilized. But none of this benefited the society, for its plans in respect to the grant failed utterly, as we shall see, and the lands of the Colorado, Llano and San Saba are now mostly in the hands of Americans; only a few German settlements bear witness that a German empire was to be founded there. It cannot, however, be denied that to the society of Mayence belongs the credit of having started German mass-emigration to Texas. In saying that, all is said; for whatever it did beside only hindered the success of the colonists. All its plans of assistance were ill-advised and incompletely carried out, and its interests were too many and too diverse to be made to agree harmoniously. That there are now large and flourishing German settlements in Texas, is due to the colonists themselves, and it may be said that their future was not secured until the moment arrived when the society entirely suspended its operations in Texas.



HISTORIC OAK TREE UNDER WHICH PRINCE OF SOLMS-BRAUNFELS AND COUNCIL HELD THEIR FIRST MEETING.

The three vessels sent out by the society landed in Galveston in December, 1844, where they were met by Prince of Solms-Braunfels, commissioner-general of the society of Mayence. This prince, to whom was intrusted the establishment upon American soil of an Anglo-Teutonic anti-slavery republic, was a Catholic and in the service of Austria. He combined in his own person two princely houses; his paternal estate of Braunfels was in the southern part of Germany; his mother was the Princess Frederika of Mecklenburg Strelitz, sister to Louisa of Prussia, the mother of the late Emperor Wilhelm. Prince of Solms-Braunfels' father dying, his mother married again, this time with Ernest August, the Duke of Cumberland and Prince Royal of Great Britain and Ireland; thus George the Fifth of Hanover was Prince of Solms' half brother, and Victoria of England his cousin. This close connection with the reigning house made him have, naturally, English interests close at heart. He was a man of great ability, a keen judge of human nature, whole-souled, warm-hearted, high-spirited, but not too proud; indeed he was a cavalier of the old school, liberal and friendly towards every one, yet every inch a prince, and seemingly the very man to make such a thing a success.

The immigrants were carried by ship from Galveston to Lavacca Bay, where a few were landed at Lavacca itself, but the greater part

at Indian Point, near the newly founded Carlshafen, afterwards Indianola. The history of this little German settlement is a fitting illustration of how the fury of the elements may frustrate man's best-laid plans. This town received many accessions in population from the constantly arriving colonists. Situated as it was on a fine bay, and admirably adapted to commerce, it was soon sought out by many American families. It became of good size and of considerable commercial importance, when in 1872 a storm devastated it. The citizens then moved to a higher spot on Aransas Pass, called Powder Horn. The inhabitants put their wooden houses on wheels and rolled them to the new location. It was not long before the town flourished, but again in 1875 the waters arose in their might and the place was almost totally destroyed; over a hundred persons perished. After this the town began to decay in importance. People were afraid to engage in new enterprises or to erect fine buildings there, and with a wise prudence; for in 1879 another storm ravaged it, after which all its remaining business houses were moved away to some safer site. The United States signal station was, however, still kept up until last year, when yet another storm occurring, attended with further loss of life and property, it was determined to utterly abandon the place. Thus was Indianola done to death by wind and waves; it has passed out of existence, and so ended one of the German settlements in Texas, though it has never been claimed as belonging to their peculiar system of colonization.

Upon arriving at Indian Point the immigrants built for themselves a few cabins until transportation could be arranged. It was not until March 1st that they were joined by Prince of Solms-Braunfels and took up their line of march for that unknown tract of land which they were to colonize.

Solms-Braunfels traveled like a prince, with his comfortable tents, his cook and servants. He was surrounded by a host of cavaliers, barons and noblemen, also by his body-guard of young, strong men. This was commanded by Von Wrede, and was intended to be the nucleus of a future army. Every member of the Prince's party was splendidly mounted, but the mass of the immigrants were obliged to walk; only the children and women who were weak and ailing were allowed to ride in ox wagons.

This journey lasted nearly four weeks and necessarily had something of hardship in it, especially for foreigners accustomed to the beaten track and settled ways of old countries. They were longer on the road than they had anticipated; the society land was still at a great distance, and already the Indians were appearing on the scene. At this juncture the

Prince determined he would take them no farther, and established them in camp on Spring Creek, where they were afterwards provisioned from Galveston. He then rode on to San Antonio; there he was told by John Rahm, an old Texan, of "Las Fontanas"—the beautiful Comal Springs. Dan Murchison, a scout belonging to Captain Jack Hays' famous company of Texas Rangers, piloted him to the place. It was in a magnificent tract of land, which he purchased from its Spanish owners. The Lipan Indians lived in that vicinity and used all this Comal country as hunting grounds. The Prince soon concluded a treaty with them and marked out the site of the City of New Braunfels, named after his paternal estates, on the west of the Comal and Guadalupe rivers, a mile above their junction. Then the immigrants came up on the east side of the river, and the first wagon crossed the Guadalupe on Good Friday, the 21st March, 1845.

The spot where the Prince located his colony seemed to have been created for the purpose. It was entrancing to the eye and offered all the blessings of salubrious air, limpid streams, thick forests and fertile lands. At the base of sloping, calcareous mountains, an extensive hill region stretched far away, partly woodland and partly prairie, while near at hand the crystal waters of the Comal River burst forth from the mountain side, its volume swelled by numerous springs that welled up in the most beautiful natural park the world ever produced. From the south a rivulet wound along the base of the heights for a distance of eight miles, emptying at length into the Comal, while the latter discharged its waters into the Guadalupe flowing down from the west. On the rolling plateau bordered by these three streams the Prince established the first colony of the Mayence Society.

A fortified camp was constructed on the high bluff of the Comal, and here the settlers remained until town lots had been assigned them. These contained a half acre of land, and one was given to each head of a family and to every single man over seventeen. Afterwards a ten acre field in the surrounding country was donated to the families, and to every single man five acres, all of which was to be considered as part payment of the six hundred and forty acres which had been promised them.

Now building began; the first house to be constructed was, of course, for the Prince. It was a double block-house exquisitely situated on the top of a high hill commanding a view of the whole town site and of much of the surrounding country. Solms-Braunfels called it "the Sophienberg" in honor of his betrothed, "her most serene highness Lady Sophia, widowed Princess of Salm-Salm, born Princess of Lowenstein-Wertheim-Rosenberg-Rochefort." The ceremony of naming this place was con-

ducted in the most solemn and impressive manner, the hoisting of the Austrian flag under which he was then serving being a part of the ceremonial. The Prince laid the corner stone for this building himself and deposited therein the following document, which will show how widespread in its influence was this move of England's, taking in as it did all the most prominent and influential German princes and noblemen. Yet they were politic and secret in the extreme, for this official document shows only the philanthropic side of the matter, saying never a word as to the machinations of the Prince's English cousins which had been discovered by Hamilton and Ashbel Smith long before.

"In the year of our Lord One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-two, an association of Princes, Counts and Gentlemen was formed in Germany, who, mindful of the increasing excess of population and the poverty growing therefrom, particularly among the lower classes of the people, made it their object to redress this evil by regulating the already considerable emigration. The number of members was at that time twenty-one, viz.:

His Highness, the Duke of Nassau.
 His Highness, the Prince of Lienenen (President).
 His Highness, the Prince Moritz of Nassau.
 His Highness, the reigning Prince of Schwarzburg Rudolstadt.
 His Highness, the reigning Prince of Solms-Braunfels.
 His Highness, the reigning Prince of Wied.
 His Highness, the Prince Colloredo.
 His Highness, the Prince Alexander of Solms-Braunfels.
 His Highness, the Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels.
 The Illustrious Count of Castell (Vice-President).
 The Illustrious Count of Colloredo.
 The Illustrious Count August of New Lienenen Westenburg.
 The Illustrious Count Christian of New Lienenen Westenburg.
 The Illustrious Count Friedrich of Alt Lienenen.
 The Illustrious Count Victor of Alt Lienenen.
 The Illustrious widowed Countess of Isenburg-Meerholz.
 The Illustrious Count Edmund of Hatzfeld.
 The Illustrious Count Clemens of Boos-Waldeck.
 The Illustrious Count Joseph of Boos-Waldeck.
 The Illustrious Count Anton of Boos-Waldeck.
 The Illustrious Count Renesse.

The attention of the association having been directed to Texas, Count Joseph of Boos-Waldeck, and Count Victor of Lienenen, were sent there

in order to make a more particular examination. Count Boos founded the farm Nassau on Jack Creek, but Count Lieningen returned in May, 1843, and made a favorable report on the subject. By a general meeting held in June, 1843, in the Castle of Bieberich, the colonization was resolved upon and the association adopted the name 'Association for the Protection of German Immigrants in Texas.'

Count Boos having also returned in January, 1844, I, the undersigned, was appointed Commissioner-General of the Association, and was sent there with the order to found the first settlement of the Association. The Association was by this time changed so far that the Counts of Boos-Waldeck had withdrawn, while some new members had joined the same. Whereby in June, 1844, the Association consisted of the following gentlemen, viz. :

His Highness, the Duke of Nassau (Protector).
 His Highness, Prince Lieningen (President).
 The Illustrious Count Carl of Castell (Vice-President and Business Director elect).
 His Highness, the Duke of Saxe Coburg Gotha.
 His Highness, the Duke of Meiningen Ailburghausen.
 His Royal Highness, the Prince Friedrich of Prussia.
 His Highness, the Prince Moritz of Nassau.
 His Highness, the reigning Prince of Schwarzburg Rudolstadt.
 His Highness, the reigning Landgrave of Hesse Hamburg.
 His Highness, the reigning Prince of Solms-Braunfels.
 His Highness, the reigning Prince of Wied.
 His Highness, Prince Colloredo.
 His Highness, Prince Alexander of Solms-Braunfels.
 His Highness, Prince Carl of Solms-Braunfels.
 The Illustrious reigning Count of Isenburg Meerholz.
 The Illustrious Count August of New Lieningen-Westerburg.
 The Illustrious Count Christian of New Lieningen-Westerburg.
 The Illustrious Count Friedrich of Alt Lieningen.
 The Illustrious Count Colloredo.
 The Illustrious widowed Countess of Isenburg Meerholz.
 The Illustrious Count Edmund of Hatzfeld.
 The Illustrious Count Renesse.
 The Illustrious Count Knyphausen.
 The Illustrious Count Vetter of Lilienfeld.

I departed on the 13th of May from Bingen, and on the 19th of the

same month from Liverpool, on board the steamer *Caledonia* for Boston. On the first day of July, 1844, I landed at Galveston and traveled since through the territory of Texas in every direction to acquire exact knowledge of it. In November, the first vessel with immigrants landed at Galveston; it was the Bremen brig, *Johann Dethart*. On — December the *Herschel* followed, and on — December the *Ferdinand*. The immigrants were at once shipped on board of schooners and landed at Lavacca Bay, partly at Lavacca itself, but the greater part thereof at Indian Point, (close to the newly founded Carlshafen) March 1st, 1845. I myself arrived with a few companions on this tract of land, and on Good Friday, the 21st, the first wagons with immigrants crossed the Guadalupe. Camp was established on Comal Creek, and from there the town was laid out to which I gave the name, New Braunfels.

Thus I had fulfilled my order, but not without having undergone manifold privations, hardships and dangers; for traveling in the heat of summer, sometimes twenty miles without water, and in the western part of the country roved over by Indians, as well as sea voyages in small, miserable and badly conducted vessels, are naturally accompanied there by. But I bore them as becomes a German and a man, and I do attribute it, next to the protection of the Most High, chiefly to the memory of that Lady to whom I devoted my heart and by the thought of whom nothing appeared to be insurmountable. As a tribute of gratitude due to her, and in order also to establish a lasting memory of her name on this side of the ocean, I name the fortification erected for the protection of New Braunfels and which shall enclose the government buildings, "The Sophienberg." I laid the corner stone for it on Monday, the 28th day of April, One Thousand Eight Hundred and Forty-five, and enclosed this document and the picture of her most serene Highness Lady Sophia, widowed Princess of Salm-Salm, born Princess of Lowenstein-Wertheim-Rosenberg-Rochefort.

Authenticated by my signature and the impress of my family seal.

CARL FRIEDRICH WILHELM LUDWIG GEORG ALFRED ALEXANDER

Prince of Solms, Lord of Braunfels, Grafenstein Muenzenberg Wildenfels and Sonnenwalde, Commissioner-General for the protection of German immigrants in Texas, His Imperial Royal Apostolic Majesty's captain in King Friedrich August of Saxony III Cuirassier Regiment, Grand Cross of the Royal Hanoverian Guelph order and of the Ducal Brunswick order of Henry the Lion, and Knight of the order of St. George of Lucca.

Sophienberg, Sunday the 27th April, 1845."

The foregoing is a translation recently made by the private secretary of Prince Solms of the original draft of the document which was placed in the corner stone of The Sophienberg, which draft was found in the archives of the German Emigration Society.

It is in keeping with the chivalrous character with which this Prince is accredited, that he should thank "God and his fayre Ladye" for the success of his undertaking, and have dedicated the first fruits of his enter-



NEW BRAUNFELS BEER GARDEN, 1845.

prise as a monument to her to whom he had "devoted" his heart. This touch of sentiment hung ever about the place during his short *régime*, which may be considered as the romantic and chivalrous era of New Braunfels.

After the Sophienberg was built, the council had three log-houses erected for the accommodation of the immigrants until their own places should be improved. They faced the street called *Lustig Strumpf* (merry stocking), and were afterwards the scene of dire distress and death.

The colonists next turned their attention to building log-houses for

themselves. They had until then lived in huts covered with prairie grass and brush. The Prince's secretary, Herman Seele, built the first log-house on the Guadalupe—a primitive structure, as will be seen hereafter, but only the first step to that easy competency which now distinguishes him.

The Sophienberg was intended to be a fortification, but it does not appear that it ever had rampart, fosse or redoubt; it was the residence and headquarters of the commissioner-general; here he surrounded himself with state, organizing the departments of government, with his advisory council, his attorney, his secretaries and clerks. He also established a kind of *garde d'honneur* to his own princely person and formed a military company to keep his mimic realm in safety.

It was too late now in the season to plant and raise a crop, but the colonists did not suffer as yet for any of the necessities of life. Before they left Germany they were induced to deposit all their ready money with an officer of the society in Bremen, upon the understanding that it was to be returned to them in American money in Texas; but once in Texas, the society was never in funds and it was impossible for the colonists to get their own. The best they could do was to draw provisions against their account, for it does not appear that the society kept its word as to furnishing them free until the immigrants became self-supporting. All that they took for support was charged up to them, and the worst consequences of this pernicious system instituted by the society was that the immigrants did not feel the necessity for work, but lived thoughtlessly and recklessly from day to day. They drew whatever they wanted, and Siemering relates in his manuscripts, that whisky, wines and champagne flowed like water. The great majority dissipated in this way their entire fortunes, which had been left in the company's hands. Those few who were economical fared still worse, for they not only stinted themselves so as not to draw upon the fund deposited in Bremen, trusting to get it back in one sum, but they lost their all; for to this day it has never been returned. While the money lasted the extravagant ones led a gay life. In a small place near the market-house there was continually music and dancing, not only in the evening, but during the day. There the colonists met full of mirth and jollity, and frolicked until late in the night. On the Sophienberg, too, a merry life was led; there great banquets, enlivened with rare wines, were given, but, it is said, that "at these the grandees made a show of holding high and intellectual converse," not caring for the common people to know of their carousals. Indeed the life of a common citizen did not suit Prince Solms-Braunfels; he was quite unable to divest himself of his princely character and could not shake off his old habit of ceremonial observances.

Military form seemed to govern whatever he did. When he received Indians he appeared in full dress uniform ; all his letters and documents were sealed and stamped with his name and arms, which were engraved on the hilt of his sword. To his own people it, presumably, was a matter of course when his Highness went out from his own roof to see him attired in all the glory of uniform and orders, and attended by his *garde* of young cavaliers ; but to the practical eye of the American pioneer all this pomp and circumstance contrasted with the primitive huts of the settlers, and



OTTO, BARON VON MEUSEBACH.

the rough and new surroundings must have seemed entirely out of keeping and farcical in the extreme.

The affairs of the colony were administered by the Prince as commissioner-general, with the help of an advisory council who were appointed by the society in Europe. Of these Fisher filled the position of secretary and stood at their head as representing such large personal interests, though as yet not one soul had settled on his land grant, and this in spite of the large accessions to their numbers which had been received by the colonists in June, 1845. The other members of the board were Dr. Theodore Koester, the medical director ; Louis Cachand Ervenberg, the pastor of the colony, and the surveyor, whose name seems to have been forgot-

ten. Each member had one vote, but the Prince had two. The first meeting of the council was held under a large oak in the lovely park of the Comal Springs. The tree was then crowned with verdure, and the gushing, sparkling water sang its song to the luxuriant caladiums which grew along its margin. Here the German girls came to fill their buckets, which they carried suspended from each end of a yoke which lay across the neck. These they still use, and very picturesque and un-American do the girls look in their straight skirts and short bodices.

The lands of the society, purchased from Fisher and Miller, still remained unexplored. The conditions attending the perfecting of the title were well known to the management, and they were urgent that some effort should be made towards colonization. The Prince wrote, telling them of the true situation; that all plans for the immediate settling of their grant would have to be abandoned, as that country was in the possession of numerous tribes of Indians, and so far removed from all white habitation as to make it totally unavailable. But he submitted to them a plan upon which he had resolved; namely, to push on from New Braunfels towards the San Saba, establishing stations as he went. These would be magazines of supplies and furnish aid to the pioneers in case of danger. This project seemed feasible and met with the approbation of the society, but it was never put into practice. The Prince was not quick to execute and he did not seem to have much forethought. As long as there was a sufficiency of provisions for his settlers he was content. He thought he had performed his full duty when he supplied their present bodily wants; the future troubled him not at all. The only thing which rendered him uneasy was the increasing talk about annexation to the United States. If this should actually occur it would be a death blow to all their schemes. The tactics of England would have miscarried, the German princes be deprived of a goodly revenue, and his own return to Germany be necessitated. Unfortunately for his ambition, his worst fears were realized. The day came at last upon which the people of Texas were to vote for or against annexation. The Prince was confident that the settlers would, to a man, vote against it. So certain was he that on the day of election he had the black and yellow flag hoisted over the Sophienberg; but the result was contrary to his desires and expectations. He saw with chagrin that his countrymen rebelled against him, for with shouts and acclamations they ran up the stars and stripes over the marketplace. So great was the mortification of Prince Solms that he at once began to speak of resigning, and shortly after bade farewell to America and returned to Germany.



NEW BRAUNFELS DRAMATIC CLUB, 1850.

The short period of the Prince's *régime* simply served to establish the colonists on their land. They had so far lived without work and did not seem to realize the long and fierce struggle before them. Subsequent immigration had swelled their numbers to goodly proportions; the newcomers had been given town lots and farms, and all were provided by the company with rations of beef and other provisions, also with wagons and farming implements from the magazines. Working steers were sold them on credit. The officers of the society owned milch cows, but the first bought by a colonist was purchased in Bastrop in the fall of 1845.

With the Indians Prince Solms had made treaties of friendship when he purchased the land, and these were strengthened and perpetuated by the invariably kind treatment shown them by all the society's officers. Still there were no cases of intermarriage or amalgamation, such as have invariably occurred in the settlements made by the Latin races. The country swarmed with savages, but with the exception that they occasionally killed cattle and stole horses, they did not molest the colonists. Only once, in October, 1845, did they take life; then they surprised the camp of two brave men of New Braunfels, who were on their return from Austin, and murdered them ruthlessly. However, that little slip did not

seem to count; their death went unavenged and friendly relations remained uninterrupted, which, after all, was the wisest way. Whether the Indians were really won over by kindness or stood in wholesome dread of the artillery and rifles of the colonists, certain it is that they ever afterwards maintained a peaceful attitude towards them, and even when at war with the rest of Texas, if they took a captive with blue eyes and fair hair they would say "*Allemand*," and spare his life. The Sophienberg was once the scene of a magnificent banquet given by the Prince to the Comanche chief *Santa Ana*. The German officers were in all the glory of uniforms and orders; the Indian warriors in full array of paint and feathers and buckskin trappings. The delicate wines of Europe tickled their unaccustomed palates, and the feast broke up leaving the savage participants in a state of great good humor and inebriation.

At the time of the settlement of New Braunfels there was employed in the general court of justice at Potsdam, a very capable young man, who did not think that Germany offered sufficient scope for his talents. He was descended from a peasant who had befriended Charles XII. of Sweden. After the battle of Pultowa this monarch fled to Turkey, taking refuge in Bender. The Sultan became suspicious of him and he was taken to Adrianople, from whence he escaped on horseback and rode until he came to Pomerania, where this peasant, Meusebach, furnished him with money and means to return to Sweden. In gratitude for this Charles knighted him, making him a baron. His young descendant wished to emigrate to Texas, which he believed to be the land of the future. The society, in sore perplexity over the resignation and return of Prince Solms-Braunfels, hoped to find in Meusebach an able servant and a fit successor to the Prince. They thought him to be the right man for the undertaking and offered him the post of commissioner-general of New Braunfels. The Baron accepted the position and started without delay for his new field of activity. He was undoubtedly possessed of the very best intentions and believed he could regulate in a satisfactory manner the affairs of the society, as well as those of the settlers. He took with him to Texas large sums of money, and was strong in his determination so to do all that was fair and just for the immigrants; but he little knew the difficulties which he was to encounter.

After Prince Solms' departure and the failure of the plans of Great Britain, the effect was very noticeable in the subsequent policy pursued. English money being no longer paid to the German princes, they cut short the supplies of the colonists. Large numbers of emigrants came over in the fall of 1845, but no money was sent with them, and the stores of the

society were being rapidly depleted. Their beef cattle were all consumed, and, as no crops were made that year, the prospects for the winter and ensuing spring were dismal. Solms-Braunfels had left everything in a chaotic state. Meusebach had business capacity, perseverance and personal courage, but he lacked knowledge of the country and of the people to whom he intended to devote his talents and energy. He found things very different from what he had expected, and indeed in a most deplorable condition. Everywhere difficulties confronted him, which neither his energy nor his means sufficed to overcome. The settlers were clamorous for the money which they had deposited with the society in Germany. Meusebach could not give it to them, having none at his command for such a purpose; he could only promise and determine to do his best to induce the management to refund them their means.

The first thing to which he devoted himself was providing provisions—for bitter want stared them in the face, and now commenced the serious hardships of the colony. Fisher was sent to New Orleans to arrange about supplies, but utterly failed to establish a credit there. This was due to a lack of contributions from the members of the society. When the officers of the colony asked for a hundred thousand dollars to properly care for and establish the immigrants under their care, they received but twenty-five thousand, and were told to make a full report before they could draw more. The report made, they were still put off, and in the meantime the society was sending men—always men, but neither money nor food; indeed it was virtually bankrupt when Meusebach took charge. The settlers had to endure great privations, and much suffering would have ensued had it not been for the Texas Rangers under Captain Jack Hays. They had ever taken a kindly interest in the colonists, and now came promptly to their assistance, not only lending them money, but standing their security with the merchants of Bastrop so as to enable them to procure the necessities of life. To this day the people of New Braunfels speak of the command with gratitude, and mention the names of Hays, McCollough, Highsmith, and Burleson, with love and admiration.

Yet the colonists did not seem to realize their situation. They were so accustomed to depend upon the society and its officers for everything, that they took life so easy as to amount to license. Strange scenes, indeed, were enacted upon the virgin soil of the lovely valley where the springs of the Comal pour their waters into the Guadalupe; German barons, scholars and philosophers, and thousands of the German people, hard working and sober no longer, but become utterly demoralized by the new life upon which they had entered.

Things grew from bad to worse. Various diseases broke out, resulting chiefly from the want of vegetable food ; yet the people took little thought of labor, but led wild and dissolute lives. Siemering relates in his manuscripts that all family ties seemed to be loosened, the married men even exchanging wives. They danced and drank, and seemed as if trying to drown their despair in hilarity, and by engaging in a whirl of dissipation endeavored to blind themselves to the troubles of their situation.

In the midst of this Van Meusebach was notified by the society that there were more emigrants coming with a view to settling the society lands. This only added to the embarrassment of his position. New Braunfels was at that time situated on the Indian frontier, and between that colony and the land grant purchased from Fisher (the nearest point of which was distant 125 miles) the Indians were in undisputed possession, and not a white settler had dared to locate in such wild territory. No officer of the society even knew where the colonial lands were situated, and they were as ignorant of their quality and value. It had now become important to find out about this territory, and, if possible, clear a way to it ; for the time allowed by the republic for the settlement of the first two hundred families was fast expiring, and the interests of the society were threatened with loss. Under such circumstances it behooved the Baron to be up and doing ; he therefore determined on carrying out Prince Solms' plan of establishing a way station from whence they could operate on the north. He equipped an expedition for that purpose and set out on that journey. Eighty miles north-west of New Braunfels, and six miles from the little river, Perdinales, Meusebach secured a body of land in the centre of which he founded a new colony, calling it Fredricksburg, in honor of Prince Frederick of Prussia.

A handwritten signature in cursive script, reading "Lee C. Harby". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above a horizontal line that spans the width of the signature.

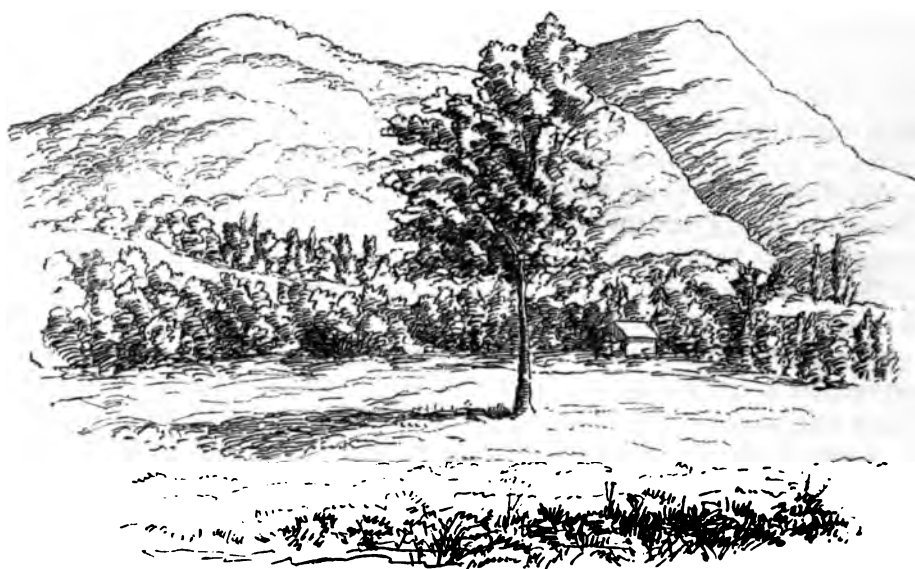
[To be continued.]

THE SITE OF OLD FORT MASSACHUSETTS

As the morning of the 21st of August, 1746, dawned upon western Massachusetts, gradually lighting up the gloom of the forests, and dispelling the mists that rolled up the mountain sides, the smoke from the fire still smoldering among the logs and debris which but a few hours before had constituted the defense known as Fort Massachusetts, curled sluggishly upward until wafted away above the desolate scene. Securely nailed to a charred post which still remained erect upon the western boundary, was a letter which contained the following words written in a bold determined hand: "These are to inform you that yesterday about nine of the clock, we were besieged by, as they say, seven hundred French and Indians. They have wounded two men and killed one Knowlton. The general, De Vaudreuil, desired capitulation, and we were so distressed that we complied with his terms. We are the French's prisoners, and have it under the General's hand, that every man, woman and child, shall be exchanged for French prisoners."

To understand the import of these words, written in the moment of great suffering, anguish, and terror, we must turn to the causes that led to its production. Soon after war was declared between France and England, and consequently between their respective colonies with their allies, the Indians, a war which continued from 1644 to 1749, Governor Shirley of Massachusetts raised five hundred men to be stationed at points which seemed the most open to attack, and the General Court of Massachusetts ordered a line of forts to be constructed to extend from the Connecticut river to the boundary of New York. These were Fort Shirley in Heath, Fort Pelham in Rowe, and Fort Massachusetts in Adams, and they were for the special protection of the northwestern frontier. They were known as Province forts, being more elaborate and scientific in their construction than the usual blockade houses. One important feature consisted in the mounts or towers with bullet-proof walls for the use of sharpshooters, and for watching the movements of the besiegers. They were furthermore provided with a regular garrison of enlisted men, who were under more or less strict discipline.

Fort Massachusetts was the most noted fort in the province with the exception of some upon the seacoast. It consisted of six blockade-houses or barracks—surrounded by a high stockade of hewn logs, enclosing a



SITE OF OLD FORT MASSACHUSETTS.

space of about two acres. To the command of these posts was assigned Capt. Ephraim Williams, the founder of Williams' College. Fort Frederic, afterwards Crown Point, upon Lake Champlain, was the rendezvous for the Canadian forces in their raids against New York and New England. From this point they still had canoe navigation for twenty-five miles in a southeasterly direction, where with a short "carry" they struck the Hudson River, which was followed to the junction of the Hoosac, and thence up that river. Larger expeditions left their canoes and batteaux at the termination of the lake navigation, and following a trail leading through the forests struck the Hoosac river twenty miles or more below the present town of North Adams. Following this valley eastward they crossed the Hoosac, and descending the Deerfield river, could fall upon the villages along the Connecticut river. For the especial defense of this valley, and of the scattered hamlets beyond, Fort Massachusetts reared a rude but sturdy front. With the exception of one or two attacks upon working parties in the vicinity of the fort in the spring of 1746, nothing had occurred to disturb the tranquillity of this outpost until the events which led to its destruction in August. The regular garrison consisted of fifty men, but from various causes this force had been greatly reduced—numbering only twenty-two, including the sergeant and chaplain, and eleven who were sick.

Fortunately we have a detailed account of these events preserved in "The Redeemed Captive," by Rev. John Norton, who had been settled in the ministry at Bernardston but was now chaplain of this fort. He was a man about thirty years of age. The valiant parson thus writes: "Tuesday, August 19, 1746. Between eight and nine o'clock in the morning, when, through the good providence of God, we were all in the fort, twenty-two men, three women and five children, there appeared an army of French and Indians eight or nine hundred in number, commanded by Monsieur Rigaud de Vaudreuil, who having surrounded it on every side, began with hideous acclamations to rush forward upon the fort, firing incessantly upon us from every side. Mr. Hanks, our officer, ordered that we should let them come without firing at all upon them until they should approach within a suitable distance, that we might have a good prospect of doing execution. We suffered them to come up in a body till they were within twenty rods of us, and then we fired, upon which the enemy soon betook themselves to tree-stumps and logs, where they lay and fired incessantly upon us. At the beginning of the engagement the General sent his ensign with his standard, which he, standing behind a tree about thirty rods distant from the fort, displayed; the General also walked up the hill within about forty rods of the fort and there he stood and gave his orders. . . . We were straitened for want of shot—therefore the sergeant ordered some of our sick men to make bullets. . . . This put him upon taking particular notice of the ammunition and he found it to be very short, so that we fired but very little. We saw several fall, who we are persuaded, never rose again. . . . Towards evening the enemy began to use their axes and hatchets. Some were preparing ladders in order to storm the fort in the night, but we afterwards found our mistake, for they were preparing faggots in order to burn it. When the evening came on, the sergeant gave orders that all the pails, tubs and vessels of every sort in every room, should be filled with water. . . . He distributed the men into the several rooms. . . . He kept two men in the northwest mount, and some in the great house, the southeast corner of the fort, to watch the enemy and keep them back. I was in the mount all the evening. . . . They continued to fire upon us until between eight and nine at night, when the whole army (as we supposed) surrounded the fort, and shouted or rather yelled with the most hideous outcries. This they repeated three or four times. We expected they would have followed this with a storm, but were mistaken, for they directly set their watch round the fort.

"Wednesday, August 20. As soon as it began to be light the enemy shouted and began to fire upon us for a few minutes. The sergeant

ordered every man to his place and sent two men up into the watch-box. A number of the enemy went up into the mountain north of the fort where they could shoot over the north side of the fort into the middle of the parade. About eleven o'clock Thomas Knowlton, one of our men, being in the watch-box was shot through the head.

"About twelve o'clock the enemy desired to parley. We agreed to it, and when we came to General De Vaudreuil, he promised us good quarters if we would surrender—otherwise he should endeavour to take us by force. The sergeant told him he should have an answer within two hours. We came into the fort and examined the state of it. The whole of our ammunition we did not judge to be above three or four pounds of powder, and not more lead, and after prayers unto God for wisdom and direction, we considered our case, whether there was any probability of our being able to withstand the enemy or not. . . . Had we all been in health or had there been only those eight of us that were in health, I believe every man would willingly have stood it out to the last. For my part I should, but we heard that if we were taken by violence, the sick, the wounded and the women, would most, if not all of them, die by the hands of the savages; therefore our officer concluded to surrender on the best terms he could get, which were. 1st. That we should be all prisoners to the French: the General promising that the savages should have nothing to do with any of us. 2d. That the children should all live with their parents during the time of their captivity. 3d. That we should all have the privilege of being exchanged the first opportunity that presented.

"The General also promised that all the prisoners should have Christian care and charity exercised toward them, that those who were weak and unable to travel, should be carried on their journey; that we should all be allowed to keep our clothing; and that we might leave a few lines to inform our friends what had become of us. About three of the clock we admitted the General and a number of his officers into the fort, upon which he set up his standard. The gate was not opened to the rest. But the Indians soon fell to pulling out the underpinning of the fort and crept into it, opened the gates, so that the parade was quickly full. After they had plundered the fort, they set it on fire and led us to their camp. Thursday August 21. In the morning I obtained liberty to go to the place of the fort, and get up a letter, which I did, with a Frenchman and some Indians in company. I nailed the letter on the west post. We then put up our things and set out on our march for Crown Point, going down the river on Hoosack road."

Space prevents us from quoting further from this quaint narrative. We

learn from it that the prisoners were all treated with exceptional humanity; a lame man and the women and children were carried bodily throughout a greater portion of the journey. One of the women was delivered of a daughter in the evening of the first day, and was afterwards carried with her babe, by relays of men, upon a frame like a bier covered with skins. The child was christened "Captivity" by Chaplain Norton. Mother and child bore the journey well, but both died the following spring. The French arrived at Crown Point on the 27th, and after a short stay reached Quebec September 16. Great mortality prevailed among the prisoners there, brought from various quarters. Four of the soldiers, and all of the women and children from Fort Massachusetts died in captivity.

The French account of the expedition is that it left Montreal the third of August, under Monsieur de Rigaud de Vaudreuil. Besides the regular officers, there were four hundred colonists and three hundred Indians. They attacked a fort on a branch of the Hoosac, which had a garrison of twenty-two men with three women and five children, and after a fight of twenty-six hours with small loss, the garrison surrendered. The fort was burned on the same day.

The General Court of Massachusetts ordered the fort to be rebuilt, and it was completed in June, 1747. In the following year a large force of the enemy placed themselves in ambush near it, but they were driven off by a strong party from the fort with small loss on both sides. The treaty of peace in 1849 closed hostilities in this region.

As the traveller of to-day is hurried luxuriously through this historic valley he will notice, when about half way between North Adams and Williamstown, looking to the south, an extensive verdant meadow the borders of which are fringed by noble trees which mark the windings of the Hoosac river. In the background the forest-clad ridges of Saddle-back mountain rise boldly, and to the north is the craggy eminence from which the chaplain says, "the enemy could shoot over into the middle of the parade." The site of the old fort is marked by a solitary elm.

Pierre Francois Rigaud de Vaudreuil was the brother of the last French governor of Canada. He was successively lieutenant-governor of Quebec, governor of Three Rivers and Montreal, and was reputed a brave soldier, plain, affable and beneficent.



VINDICATION OF GENERAL SAMUEL HOLDEN PARSONS

Editor of Magazine of American History :

My attention has recently been drawn to that portion of the "Secret Intelligence Papers of Sir Henry Clinton" which relates to the correspondence of W. Heron in reference to General Parsons, published in the *Magazine of American History*, 1883-1884.* This record, as it appears, involves General Parsons in a charge of treasonable correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton while in command of American forces during the War of the Revolution. Will you allow me to present my views of this matter, and the facts I have ascertained, which I do with the conviction that I can remove from the fame which General Parsons has so long enjoyed in American history every shadow which the lately discovered correspondence has cast over it.

General Parsons, as is well known, was the son of Rev. Jonathan Parsons, a strong-minded and influential New England clergyman, who was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, in 1705, and was graduated at Yale in 1729. He was pastor of the church in Lyme, Connecticut, from 1731 to 1745, where he married the sister of Governor Matthew Griswold, a lineal descendant of Henry Wolcott, the ancestor of the eminent Wolcott family, in Connecticut; but, having become a friend and follower of Whitfield, he removed to Newburyport, and gave the great preacher a home in his declining years. Samuel Holden Parsons, born in Lyme, in 1737, inherited the strong intellectual and moral qualities of both his parents, was graduated from Harvard in 1756, studied law with his uncle, Governor Matthew Griswold, was admitted to the bar in 1759, and settled as a lawyer in Lyme. He entered at once upon important civil service, was in the state legislature eighteen sessions, was an influential member engaged in supporting many measures of interest to the commonwealth, and in adjusting difficulties with the adjoining states. He originated the plan of forming the first Congress which prepared the way for organizing the Continental Congress. In 1773 he removed to New London, and was a member of the revolutionary committee of correspondence. During these years of active civil life he had turned his attention somewhat to military affairs, and "on 26th April, 1775, was appointed colonel of the Sixth Regiment,

* Beginning with October issue, 1883, Vol. IX., page 327.

stationed at Roxbury, Massachusetts, until the British evacuated Boston, and was then ordered to New York."

Having obtained from Benedict Arnold an account of the condition of Ticonderoga, he projected the plan for the capture of that fort, and without consulting the civil authorities of Connecticut, obtained money from her treasury to defray the expenses of the expedition on his own receipt, called Ethan Allen with New Hampshire recruits to his aid, was strengthened by volunteers from Berkshire, Massachusetts, and actually captured the fortress. He participated in the battle of Long Island in 1776, was made a brigadier-general for gallant service, served at Harlem Heights and White Plains, and was stationed at Peekskill to protect the important posts on the North River. "He planned the expedition to Sag Harbor and reinforced Washington in New Jersey." He commanded the troops in the Highlands in 1778-79, when General Rufus Putnam constructed the fortifications at West Point. He prevented the incursion of the British into Connecticut; was one of the board that tried Major John André; was commissioned as major-general in 1780; succeeded General Israel Putnam, and served until the close of the war. During all this period he commanded the entire confidence of Washington, was in constant correspondence with him, and co-operated with all his military operations in and around New York.

Colonel Humphreys, the scholar and poet of the American army, the brave soldier, the favorite and confidential friend of Washington, in his poem on *The Happiness of America*, says of Parsons:

" I too
Shall tell from whom I learnt the martial art,
With what high chiefs I played my early part,
With Parsons first, whose eye, with piercing ken,
Reads through their hearts, the characters of men."

At the close of the war General Parsons resumed the practice of law at Middletown, Connecticut; was appointed by Congress a commissioner to treat with the Miami Indians in 1785; was an active member of the state constitutional convention in 1788, and the same year was appointed by Washington the first judge of the Northwest Territory. He was an active and efficient member of the Ohio company, and joined Rev. Manassah Cutler and Rufus Putnam in organizing the settlement at Marietta. For all this long life of civil and military service he was deemed worthy of an elaborate sketch in "Hildreth's Pioneers of Ohio;" was counted among the wise leaders of the colony in the oration which I delivered at Marietta

on the ninety-fifth anniversary of the settlement of Ohio, as "a son of a most learned and pious minister of Massachusetts, the sagacious companion of Washington, one of the first and ablest of this state of his adoption;" and he was eulogized by the Hon. George P. Hoar in his Centennial oration at the same place the present year, who spoke of him as "soldier, scholar, judge, one of the strongest arms on which Washington leaned, who first suggested the Continental Congress, from the story of whose life could almost be written the history of the northern war."

Of this American soldier, jurist and statesman, who has been considered worthy of such honorable record for nearly a century, the *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, lately issued, says, quoting from the "Secret Intelligence" published in your magazine as before-mentioned; "It has recently been discovered in a letter that is preserved in the manuscript volume of Sir Henry Clinton's original record of daily intelligence, now in the library of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet of New York city, that Gen. Parsons was in secret communication with Sir Henry Clinton, and that one William Heron, a representative from Fairfield in the Connecticut legislature, was the intermediary to whom Parsons wrote letters, which with the knowledge of their author were sent to the enemy's headquarters. Under date of 8th July, 1781, he wrote: 'The five regiments of our states are more than 1,200 men deficient of their complement, the other states (except Rhode Island and New York who are fuller) are nearly in the same condition. Our magazines are few in number. Your fears for them are groundless. They are principally at West Point, Fishkill, Wapping Creek and Newburg, which puts them out of the enemy's power, except they attempt their destruction by a force sufficient to secure the Highlands, which they cannot do, our guards being sufficient to secure them from small parties. The French troops encamped yesterday on our left, near the Tuckeyhoe road. Their number I have not had an opportunity to ascertain. Other matters of information I shall be able to give you in a few days.' This letter was sent by Heron to Major Oliver De Lancey, to whom Heron wrote that he had concerted measures with Parsons by which he would receive every material article of intelligence from the American camp. Parsons's treason is also corroborated by Revolutionary papers of Major John Kissam of the British army."

And Winsor, in his *Narrative and Critical History of the United States*, speaks of Parsons in a footnote as "A Spy for the British army." The letter to Heron upon which the charge of treason against General Parsons is made to hang, is the conclusion of a long list of letters written by Heron to Sir Henry Clinton, and is capable of two interpretations. Had it been

written to Washington it would have been received as a friendly communication stating the weakness of both sides, the American and the English—and of no great value as an account of either. On its very face it bears this interpretation. But Heron, after repeated promises that he could enlist Gen. Parsons in the British cause against his own country, offers this letter to the enemy as a contribution of Parsons to the British commander, written as to a “confidential friend” in order to disguise its purpose. Heron had promised for six months to enlist Parsons as an English ally, and his promise had not been fulfilled, and so, on July 15, 1781, he wrote to Major De Lancey announcing that “our friend” (Parsons) was ready to convey all intelligence in accordance with a conversation between himself (Heron) and De Lancey in form of “queries and answers,” April 25th, and states that Parsons would write to a “confidential friend” who could use the information as he pleased. The queries were: 1. The state of the army. 2. The state of the French. 3. How each army is situated. 4. What enterprises they mean to undertake. 5. What supplies, and whence do they expect to subsist. 6. Where the magazines and how to be destroyed. 7. The movement of the French fleet and their intentions. 8. News from the southward of consequence. 9. Situation of the different posts. 10. News from Europe. 11. The hopes of the ensuing campaign. All of which Heron answers with great caution. And in order to prove Parsons’s fidelity Heron announced his (Parsons’s) desire to obtain a place for his son in the British navy. Heron says also, that he (Heron) came under the sanction of a commission from Governor Trumbull to cruise in the Sound, and that he entered upon the expedition “purely to draw in our friend,” who was not *drawn in* after six months of Heron’s efforts and written promises to Clinton. In this letter Heron inclosed Parsons’s letter of July 8th to himself, which the *Cyclopædia* publishes as proof of Parsons’s disloyalty!

The letter from Lieutenant-Colonel De Wunub to Major Kissam, April 23, 1781, also referred to in the *Cyclopædia*, is as follows: “Sir: I enclose a passport for Mr. Heron and should wish for his return to Stamford whenever the wind will permit it. I have not yet received answer from New York, but as soon as those things wanted by General Parsons shall arrive I will forward them to the General by another flag. I have the honor to be &c
DE WUNUB.”

We are not informed what “those things” were, nor is there any further reference to them. The correspondence between Heron and Sir Henry Clinton and Oliver De Lancey, which ended with the letter of Heron,

July 15, 1781, commenced September 21, 1780, in a letter written to Clinton, giving an account of affairs in America, and setting forth the value of his extraordinary opportunities for observing the condition of those affairs.

February 4, 1781, Heron wrote again to Sir Henry Clinton an account of the Convention in Hartford to found a coalition between the Eastern and York Counties, stating what Parsons and *Stark* represented to him with regard to the wretched condition of the American army, and the small number of the troops in the Highlands; and cautioning Clinton against those who would deceive him, at the same time repeating that he had special chances for knowing the secrets of the cabinet.

Heron's statement of the opinion of Parsons and *Stark* with regard to the condition of the American army is merely a repetition of what Parsons had already reported to Washington. March 11, 1781, Heron writes: "General Parsons' aid-de-camp whose name is Lawrence is soliciting leave to come in to see his mother. He thinks it is in our power to tamper with him, and that from Parsons' mercenary disposition there is little doubt of success."

April 24, 1781, Heron wrote again to Major De Lancey setting forth elaborately his delicate negotiations with Parsons, in which he had informed him of an interview with a New York gentleman in which Parsons was highly complimented. He added that Parsons listened with uncommon attention, and considered that it might be best that he should resign his commission in the American army in order to give greater effect to his services for Clinton. Heron continues his letter by stating: "I have been necessitated to use all this circumlocution in order to convince him of the delicacy observed in making the above propositions, and that nothing was intended inconsistent with the purest principles of honor." Heron desired also "to secure himself a retreat" should the matter be "disagreeable to Parsons."

The next morning Heron "renewed his conversation" with General Parsons, and he adds: "I shall be in situation this summer (I hope) to render essential service, having carried my election against Judge Sanford who is of one of the first families in the place."

A note to this letter, made by De Lancey, gives a memorandum of the points Heron promises to get from General Parsons, such as the exact state of West Point; what troops; what magazines; who commands.

"Hiram" (Heron) is to let Sir Henry know what Parsons' wish is and "how we can serve him." He "makes no doubt of bringing Parsons to do what we wish."

About this time Heron wrote an account of the route taken by the

French troops, which he said he had thus early from General Parsons, "who had it from the French officers." June 17, 1781, Heron wrote that General Parsons assisted him in reaching New York at that time, and concerted measures for their future conduct with regard to conveying such intelligence as might come to his knowledge, but he (Heron) expresses still a doubt as to how far "intriguing persons" could be relied on; adding "I find the gentleman in question will not say he will go such length as I could wish,"—meaning General Parsons. July 15, 1781, Heron wrote the letter already quoted which he used as a vehicle for conveying the letter of a "confidential friend," the form in which according to agreement with Sir Henry Clinton information was hereafter to be conveyed to him by Heron, as suggested in the communication of June 17th.

In this correspondence which had continued with some regularity for six months, from February 9 to July 15, with the one exception of Sept. 21, 1780, Heron appears as a spy and an informer, whether for Gen. Parsons or for Sir Henry Clinton, contemporaneous events and correspondence alone can show. That he was not a sympathizer with the American cause was well known. Todd in the *History of Redding* says of him: "In the revolution he sided with the king, and was the recognized leader of the tories of Redding Ridge. At the time of Pryor's invasion he openly gave aid and comfort to the enemy." He is recorded as an "enemy of the Declaration of Independence." At the same time he was a member of the Connecticut legislature in 1778, 1779, 1780, 1781, from 1784 to 1790, and in 1795 and 1796. "His position brought him in personal relations with the leading men of Connecticut, and he was in full correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton." "He stands well," says General Robertson of the British army, "with the officers of the Continental army—with General Parsons he is intimate, and is not suspected." So far as Sir Henry Clinton is concerned the value of his services was exceedingly small. The facts he furnished with regard to the American army were few and well known to all. He never succeeded in committing General Parsons to the enemy, on the contrary when asked by Major De Lancey, January 20, 1781, "Is it your opinion that General Parsons will enter so heartily as to make us hope he will take an open and determined stand in our favor?" he replies, "It is my opinion that he does not wish to take an open and above board part at present." Heron records no treasonable act of Parsons, and the only communication he secured from him was the "confidential friend" letter which might or might not have been intended for the eye of Sir Henry Clinton.

There is abundant evidence, however, that Heron was acting as a spy and informer for General Parsons and the Commander-in-Chief of the Amer-

ican army, who were constantly using the information secured by American spies. Washington, through Captain Walker, one of his agents, was informed that great numbers from Connecticut "are removing to the state of Vermont," which was a place of refuge; and he wrote to General Parsons, 22d February, 1781: "Your knowledge of the country and character of the people will enable you best to conduct the investigation, and as you live in one of the counties where it seems to originate you may do it with less risk of suspicion. I have therefore to request that you will undertake the affair, and in the manner you think most likely to succeed, and will set out about it immediately. The person who will serve you as a spy must be assured of some generous compensation, such as would be an object to his family and secure his fidelity."

In his reply to this letter from Washington, dated March 14, 1781, General Parsons sets forth elaborately the state of the case to which Washington refers. He believes an association is formed to submit to the British government; that the number of associates is daily increasing; that their names are transmitted to New York as often as opportunity presents; that persons are employed to enlist these men; that regular stages of intelligence are established from the shores through the country to Canada; that dispatches have lately gone through these channels to Vermont. He thinks it will be difficult to detect the plan in its extent. He enlarges upon the extent and danger of the conspiracy, and upon the fact that great numbers in many towns are supplying the enemy with provisions, and are demoralizing the young men about them; suggesting that it is difficult to deal with the evil which has taken so deep root. He informs Washington that the state has passed stringent laws against all who come into the state for plunder, and asks how he shall proceed under the circumstances. He concludes his letter as follows: "The spy employed among them has assurances of generous pay for all the time he employs and expenses incurred in the service, or a handsome gratuity when he has done what he can, to be settled in some more secure place if he is detected and obliged to fly from his present settlement (which will be the case if he is discovered), and if he succeeds in discovering the full extent of the plan, so that the concerned may be detected and it shall prove to be as extensive as is supposed he shall be gratified with an annuity of one hundred dollars per annum for life, as a reward for his services. I believe him faithful and industrious in making discoveries necessary."

On April 20, 1781, Parsons wrote to Washington: "The person on whom our principal dependence is placed has been very faithful, and employed almost the whole time in the service, and been at considerable

expense, which by reason of his indigent circumstances he is unable to support. I must, therefore, beg your Excellency to order him to be paid." It is altogether probable that these communications referred to Heron, of whom he wrote the following letter to General Washington, dated Danbury, Connecticut, 6th April, 1782 :

"Dear General: When I was last with you I forgot to mention the name of Mr. William Heron, of Redding, who has for several years had opportunities of informing himself of the state of the enemy, their designs and intentions, with more certainty and precision than most men who have been employed. As I have now left service, I think it my duty to inform Your Excellency of this person, and my reasons for believing him more capable of rendering service that way than most people are, that he may be employed if necessary. He is a native of Ireland, a man of very large knowledge, and a great share of natural sagacity, united with a sound judgment, but of as unmeaning a countenance as any person in my acquaintance. With this appearance he is as little suspected as any man can be: an officer in the department of the adjutant-general is a countryman and very intimate acquaintance of Mr. Heron, through which channel he has been able frequently to obtain important and very interesting intelligence. That he has had access to some of their secrets a few facts will show beyond a doubt. Your Excellency will remember I informed you of the contents of a letter you wrote to Virginia, which was intercepted a year ago, but not published. This letter of his friend shows him of the descent made last year on New London. I was informed by him and made a written representation of it to the governor and council three days before it took place. This he had through the same channel. He has frequently brought me the most accurate descriptions of the posts occupied by the enemy, and more rational accounts of their numbers, strength, and designs than I have been able to obtain in any other way. As to his character, I know him to be a consistent national Whig; he is always in the field on every alarm and has in every trial proved himself a man of bravery; he has a family and a considerable interest in this state, and from the beginning of the war has invariably followed the measures of the country. I might add, as a circumstance of his fidelity, his delivering a letter from General Arnold to Major Andrè to me instead of leaving it where it was directed, which letter you have. In opposition to this his enemies suggest he carries on an illicit trade with the enemy; but I have lived two years the next door to him, and am fully convinced he has never had a single article of any kind for sale during that time, nor do I believe he was, in the most distant manner, connected with commerce at that time

or any subsequent period. I know many persons of more exalted character are also accused, none more than Governor Trumbull, nor with less reason. I believe the governor and Mr. Heron as clear of this business as I am, and I know myself to be totally free from every thing which has the least connection with that commerce. I think it my duty to give this full information of his character, that if you should think it expedient to employ him you might have some knowledge of the man, that you might be better able to satisfy yourself, if you should send for him. I believe, on conversation, he would give you entire satisfaction. I am, dear General, with the highest esteem,

Your Excellency's ob't serv't,

SAMUEL H. PARSONS."

It is safe to assume that Heron was a professional spy, and was looked on by Parsons as such. There is no doubt that through him the governor of Connecticut knew of Arnold's expedition three days before it took place. And nowhere do we find that Parsons suspected him of treasonable designs. Heron may have been opposed to the doctrines on which the Revolutionary War was fought; but we find him engaged in the civil service of the state, and we may safely class his inconsistencies with the methods adopted by spies in transacting their business. His recorded treason is capable of this interpretation; his alleged treasonable acts are matters of tradition. Todd says: "*The History of the Episcopal Church in Connecticut* informs us that the Redding Association of Loyalists was a strong body, whose secret influence was felt throughout the mission of the venerable pastor." The pastor was the Rev. John Beach, an Episcopal minister of great power, who was settled at Redding Ridge, and who "declared that he would do his duty, preach, and pray for the king till the rebels cut his tongue out." Heron belonged to this church. But we should remember that while, in the town of Redding, Hawes and Hirlehigh and Hall and Kane and Kellogg and Lacy and Lane and Lyon and Maurow and Captain Morgan and Perry and the six Platts and Robbins and Seymour and Turner, most of whom were Episcopalians, and all of whom were loyalists, were banished and their estates confiscated, Heron remained in civil service throughout the war, and retained the confidence and regard of the American officers. Among the Trumbull papers has been found a significant letter of Heron to Parsons, which throws additional light on their relation to each other, and on the status of General Parsons. Heron writes, January 5, 1781, to Parsons that one McNeill had written him from New York that he had almost closed the settlement

of the late Mr. Thompson's estate, and was ready to pay him a sum due him, in compliance with a charge of Thompson on his death-bed. He urges his need of money, and wants a flag of truce to get to New York. March 4, 1782, Heron writes to Sir Henry Clinton a long letter discussing the condition of the American army of the states, closing as follows: "I have kept General P——s in a tolerable frame of mind since I had the pleasure of seeing you last, and although he was somewhat chagrined when I returned from this place in October, yet I am convinced that in endeavoring to serve you he has (since) rendered himself in some measure unpopular. As you very well remember, I acquainted you with this man's prevailing disposition and temper, and observed that although I believed him a rank Republican in principle, yet he was capable of serving you from other motives." . . . This letter will be found in full in the department of "Original Documents," in another part of this number of the *Magazine of American History*.

The career of Heron, inconsistent as it may appear, is entirely in accordance with that of many men employed in the same service during the Revolutionary war. The confusion of that period can hardly be overstated. The skirmishing battles, the skillful retreats, the endeavors to mislead, the pertinacious courage and defiance of the patriots, the widespread devotion to the king, the indecision of Congress, the worse than indecision of the state legislatures, the discontents and desertions of the army, the suffering of the soldiers starving in the midst of plenty, the desperate system of espionage made tragic by the fate of Hale and Palmer and André, all combined to render any account of many of the events doubtful, and any fair interpretation of them extremely difficult. It may seem that such espionage as Heron practiced is impossible; but even the vivid imagination of Cooper has not overdrawn the picture, in his delineation of Harvey Birch in *The Spy*. This creation of the fancy was based upon a reality. During the war, the "royal cause" gained such preponderance that a secret committee was appointed by Congress for the express purpose of defeating the object of its supporters. In the discharge of the novel duties which devolved on the committee, John Jay the chairman "had occasion," Cooper tells us, in the introduction to *The Spy*, "to employ an agent whose services differed but little from those of a common spy. . . . It was his office to learn in what part of the country the agents of the crown were making their efforts to embody men, to repair to the place, enlist, appear zealous in the cause he affected to serve, and otherwise to get possession of as many of the secrets of the enemy as possible." He was often arrested, but "was permitted to escape; and this seeming, and

indeed actual peril was of great aid in supporting his assumed character among the English. By the Americans, in his little sphere, he was denounced as a bold and inveterate Tory. In this manner he continued to serve his country in secret during the early years of the struggle, hourly environed by danger and the constant subject of unmerited opprobrium."

The story of Elisha H——, so well told by Cooper in a foot-note of *The Spy*, is familiar to every reader of that thrilling tale. "This person was employed by Washington as one of his most confidential spies. . . . He was allowed to enter into the service of Sir Henry Clinton, . . . and he was often entrusted by Washington with minor military movements, in order that he might enhance his value with the English general, by communicating them." In this capacity he ascertained the form and destination of a detachment ordered on an expedition against the town of Bedford, in Westchester County. This he succeeded in communicating to Washington by a note signed with his own initials, E. H., and forwarded by courier, while he remained in New York. The communication, however, was too late; Bedford was taken; the commandant was killed; and the note of E. H. was found on his person. The next day being confronted with the note by Sir Henry Clinton, and asked if he knew the handwriting and who E. H. was, he replied with the quiet and sudden audacity of an accomplished spy of those days: "It is Elisha Hadden, the spy you hanged yesterday at Powles Hook." Sir Henry Clinton allowed him to quit his presence and he never saw him afterward.

Espionage in war is considered an imperative necessity; but the risk run by employing it cannot be overestimated, both as regards the fate of the spy and the reputation of his employer. It was by this means that Washington kept himself well-informed of the secret designs of British commanders. His spies, unknown to each other, were stationed at every point in New York. They were usually on terms of intimacy with the British officers and were enabled to obtain their information from the most reliable sources. And had their correspondence been preserved it is altogether probable that many of them would enjoy a reputation as doubtful as that which Sir Henry Clinton's record of secret correspondence has secured for Heron.

In order to judge of the connection of General Parsons with the correspondence of Heron, it becomes necessary to ascertain the course he was pursuing as an officer while the correspondence was going on. Of his services in the army prior to this time it is unnecessary to speak. He was known throughout the country as a faithful and devoted supporter

of the patriot cause on the field and in council. Of his services during the six months, from January to July, 1781, we fortunately have a record, not hitherto published, but found largely in his unpublished letters to Washington, filed in the State Department. The part he performed in the events of the six months preceding the correspondence, and during the period in which Heron's letters were written, is well known to have been efficient and honorable. In July, 1780, the French army and navy arrived in Newport, and increased the responsibilities and duties of the American army around New York. The campaign was inspired with new vigor; and as the activity increased the difficulties seemed to increase also. Arnold's treason and André's execution as a spy intensified the anxiety of the Americans, and exasperated the British. As the year 1781 opened mutiny among the Pennsylvania troops broke out in Morristown and threatened the destruction of that town. Six hundred troops were taken from the Highlands and under the command of General Howe were marched to New Jersey to quell an insurrection in the American forces there. The powers of Congress were found to be doubtful and inefficient. Of the condition of the army at this time Washington wrote, "Instead of having everything in readiness to take the field we have nothing; and, instead of having the prospect of a glorious offensive campaign before us, we have a bewildered and defensive one, unless we should receive a powerful aid of ships, land, troops and money from our generous allies, and these at present are too contingent to build upon." On the soil of Connecticut, at Weathersfield, May 23d, a conference took place between the American and French commanders, from which Washington issued a circular letter to the governors of the Eastern states, making an urgent call for reinforcements—an appeal received with great indifference. The invasion of Connecticut and the burning of New London by Arnold gave a local importance to the trying events which oppressed the country at this time. It was under these circumstances that Heron professed to be able to deliver General Parsons into the hands of Sir Henry Clinton, according to the recently discovered correspondence. At a time when the united French and American forces were preparing to make an attack on New York with every prospect of success, an undertaking which was abandoned by Washington on the arrival of the French forces in the Chesapeake, by the aid of which Cornwallis was overpowered; at a time when the clouds began to break and treason was especially odious, and every sentiment of patriotism was roused, General Parsons, who was just appointed by the governor of Connecticut to command the state troops, is charged with holding treasonable correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton.

Of his conduct and his opinions at that time his letters to Washington furnish a complete record—a record as I think of entire vindication.

The spirit of General Parsons is so well illustrated by a correspondence between himself and Tryon a year before the Heron letters commenced, September 7, 1779, that I am inclined to introduce it here as preliminary to the more important and direct letters to which I have referred. On June 15, 1779, Tryon wrote to General Putnam and General Parsons advising them to make no attempt to prevent a "reunion with the parent state." On September 7, 1779, Parsons, whom Hollister calls "one of the bravest and most accomplished officers of the Revolutionary era," replied, denouncing Tryon's conduct "in the defenseless towns of Connecticut," reminding him of the declaration of war against England by France, of the English disasters in the West Indies, of the storming of Stony Point, of the surprise of Paulus Hook by Major Lee, of the flight of General Provost from Carolina, and closing: "Surely it is time for Britons to rouse from their delusive dream of conquest and pursue such systems of future conduct as will save their tottering empire from total destruction." In July, 1779, Washington had directed Parsons to hasten to check Tryon and to guide the efforts of the people to stop him. This service he performed with great energy and skill, with the small force of only 150 contingent troops harassed and opposed Tryon with his well-organized body of 2,600. On January 31, 1781, just at the time when Heron was in active correspondence with Sir Henry Clinton, Washington forwarded to Congress two reports of Major-General Parsons and Lieutenant-General Hull respecting an enterprise against De Lancey's corps at West Chester, in which, with small loss on the American side, the barracks of the corps were destroyed, and prisoners, cattle, and horses were brought off and a bridge burned. "General Parsons' arrangements were judicious," wrote Washington, "and the conduct of the officers and men entitled to the highest praise."

The following letters, of which I give in many instances abstracts, cover the entire period of the Heron correspondence, commencing in fact a month before any part of that correspondence appears: August 15, 1780, General Parsons writes to General Arnold requesting an order for Canfield to remove his troops to Horseneck—in great need. August 2, 1780, he writes a long and important letter from Danbury to Washington stating the disposition of the troops and the recruits, and adding that the general assembly would undoubtedly at its session next week furnish more men. He also gives some valuable information just received with regard to the movements of the enemy on Long Island, and Sir Henry Clinton's expla-

nation of the condition of affairs with his own troops ; and also with regard to where transports were taking provisions. August 25, 1780, he writes to Arnold that one Walter, a seaman, can obtain valuable information with regard to the enemy in New York, and he can be relied on. Asks Arnold for orders to him to procure a boat and form a regular course of intelligence by the way of Long Island to New York, by which he may get weekly intelligence. This he will undertake for "some certain pay in Continental money." August 25, 1780, he writes to Arnold with regard to Thomas Osborne, who had been condemned as a spy, and advises that he be held until the statements he has made inculpating many persons more important than himself be investigated. September 4, 1780, he writes to Arnold asking permission to join his brigade, stating that the volunteers were ready, and asking that the conduct of Captain Sill of Colonel Warner's regiment be inquired into. September 5, 1780, he writes to Arnold setting forth the effect of Osborne's confinement as good. He proceeds to criticise Congress, and says: "The cause of my country I will never forsake; 'tis a just and glorious cause. The virtues of our General will ever attach us to his fortunes. But the wretches who have crept into Congress are almost below contempt; our country will never prosper in their hands. They will starve us in the midst of plenty. To deny us very obvious justice, and to insult us when we require it, is left only for politicians of the new world. My hand shall be added to any representation my brethren agree to make. I think the insult should not be passed over in silence." October 4, 1780, he writes to Washington approving of Smallwood's promotion, but complaining that he himself had been unjustly neglected, having served four years, and half the time commanded a division of the army. "Had the same principles actuated the councils of our states as have been the rules of proceedings in other nations, I should have had the rank due to the command long since conferred upon me." October 5, 1780, "Camp," he writes to Washington, asking leave to return to his family on account of sickness, and suggests that he be appointed on his return "to the command of the troops near New Castle and Horse-neck until their service shall expire, which I imagine will nearly end my own." November 12, 1780, "Redding," he writes to Washington thanking him for promotion and proposing to adjust his private affairs so that he could join the army again, and sending an act of the legislature of Connecticut for filling the army, "which if executed with spirit I hope will have the desired success." November 20, 1780, "Redding," writes to Washington that he has had a return of fever and ague, but will return to the army as soon as possible. December 25, 1780, "Fishkill," he writes to

Washington asking that Lieutenants Grant and Cook, taken prisoners at Fort Washington, be restored to rank and pay as if not captured. January 10, 1781, "Camp in the Highlands," he writes asking that a garrison of Virginia or Massachusetts or Maryland or New Hampshire troops be sent to Wyoming, and not Pennsylvania troops, of whom New England settlers were jealous. January 12, 1781, "Camp Highlands," he writes to Washington: "Dear General: The instances of firmness in the Connecticut line exhibited among the privates since I had the honor of seeing you fully convinces me of the justice of my observations yesterday on that subject; and I believe the same spirit pervades the whole of the line. In two instances application was made this morning for furloughs. The men, privates, who had been three years absent were informed that in the defection of the Pennsylvania line they would be required to reduce them to their duty; they answered without hesitation they had rather never see home than the cause of their country should suffer by such unjustifiable conduct, or your excellency should be in danger from that or any misconduct. They went back with great cheerfulness and said they would never apply again until they were brought to their duty. And in many instances the officers' servants have begged to be armed and permitted to go on this duty. From these circumstances and other observations I am convinced the fullest confidence may in this instance be placed in the Connecticut troops."

The above letter was written only a short time before Heron wrote to Sir Henry Clinton insinuations against Parsons and Stark. January 23, 1781, "Horseneck," Parsons writes to Washington of his success in the expedition to "Sawpitts," Horseneck; and January 26 of the difficulties of the expedition on account of snow and cold. March 31, '81, he writes to Governor Trumbull (a letter found among the Trumbull papers) stating the extensiveness of those concerned in supplying the enemy and in illicit commerce. He extends his examination to commerce by water as well as by land; and is astonished at the list of inhabitants of Greenwich, Stamford and Norwalk exposed by the examination. He gives a list of them; and asks how far he is to proceed in apprehending the persons named in the examination. March 3, 1781, Parsons in another letter to Governor Trumbull avows knowledge of constant intercommunication between the disaffected scattered from New York to Canada. He says he knows who conveys the intelligence. He states the objections to intermeddling to be a doubt how far force may be employed for the purpose of discovery, and says he is under the most solemn engagements not to disclose the names of spies. He alludes to some slanders against him because he had made

some similar disclosures the previous summer. April 20, 1781, he writes to Washington giving an account of his ill health and advising him that the operations of the disaffected have been brought to a stand, and urging the fitting out an expedition to Lloyd's Neck to cut off the enemy, and asks to command it. April 30, 1781, he writes of his "still very feeble health;" thinks a considerable check is put to the proceedings of the disaffected; says a report is confidentially circulated among them that the British government "have given assurances to Colonel Allen that the state of Vermont shall be made a separate province if the war terminates in their favor, and that he shall be appointed governor of the new province;" and concludes by a recommendation of the spy already quoted. May 2, 1781, writes to Washington that he has learned from New York that General Arnold was every hour expected there to take command of the expedition (into Connecticut). "Admiral Arbuthnot is going to England, his officers refusing to serve with him." Admiral Graves, who commands the fleet, was in New York Saturday, but expects to sail in a few days. Five ships of the line are in the East River, the rest in North River. The fleet with provisions had arrived without loss, and the enemy are in high spirits. "Great dependence is placed on the defection of Vermont; they say their measures are fully secured there, and that an army may be expected from Canada soon." (No doubt Heron furnished him this information.) June 26, 1781, "Peekskill." Parsons writes to Washington of the disaffection of Connecticut troops on account of the failure of the state and the nation to pay them. He writes "by request." July 10, 1781, "Camp, Peekskill," he writes stating the terms on which the officers expect to be paid. July 10, 1781, "Camp near Dobb's Ferry," he writes urging again the paying of the Connecticut troops, and says: "Every other state has done much toward satisfying the just demands of the troops, and Connecticut, the best able of any state in the Union, has done nothing." July 28, 1781, he writes that the inhabitants in the rear of the army are connected with the refugees who are on the road, and who are acting the part of robbers, and suggests a remedy.

Autograph letters of General Parsons written at this period have recently been sold in Boston by Libbie & Co., exhibiting the same spirit as these I have presented. They are not addressed, but the dates of all are preserved. January 1, 1781, he writes from Camp Highland, congratulating a friend on his release and marriage, and giving him notice that he would be called soon into service. April 9, 1778, he writes to his correspondent, "please to present my compliments to your fellow-prisoners and that obstinate tory, Parson Walter, my old friend." May 3, 1781, he

wrote ordering the seizure of one Willard by a file of soldiers and denounced him as a villain. May 8, 1781, he wrote ordering the execution of one Rowland, and directing the prisoners to attend the execution. These letters written in 1781, of which this is the last, cover the entire period of the Heron correspondence. The next letter on the files was written May 17, 1782, and announces his retirement from the army on account of "extreme ill health."

To my mind these letters are conclusive with regard to the loyalty of General Parsons. They indicate a spirit of devotion to his country and they record acts in her service. They were evidently written by one who had the entire confidence of Washington—who was not deceived in his estimate of men, and whose suspicions of Parsons, had he been in long communication with the enemy, would have been roused as they were by the irregularities of Arnold. The spirit which produced these letters was accepted as the true spirit of Parsons throughout the war, and secured for him the confidence of his associate officers, Putnam and Frazer, and Scammell and Sherman, and Wolcott and Hull and Heath, and of the community in which he lived when the war had ended, and a place in the councils of Manasseh Cutler and Rufus Putnam when they entered upon their great work of settling the Northwest Territory.

In the diary of Cutler we find General Parsons alluded to often. On March 8, 1787, at a meeting of the Ohio Company, held in Boston, General Samuel H. Parsons, General Rufus Putnam and the Rev. Manasseh Cutler were chosen directors to apply to Congress for the purchasing of lands. On March 16, 1787, Cutler writes to Nathan Dane: "General Parsons will make application to Congress in the name of the other directors in order to make the purchase for the company." On his journey to New York and Philadelphia he spent an evening with General Parsons, settled all matters relating to his business with Congress, and received many letters from the General to the members. On July 5, 1787, he was ready to support Parsons for governor, but found that General St. Clair had forestalled him, and consequently urged successfully his appointment as United States judge of the territory. On July 29, 1787, he records with evident satisfaction, "when I informed General Parsons of my negotiations with Congress, I had the pleasure to find not only that it met his approbation, but he expressed his astonishment that I had obtained terms so advantageous." On his way from New York to Boston, after the negotiation, he "dined with General Parsons." Sept. 18, 1787, he writes that Generals Parsons and Putnam "are to go with one hundred men to Ohio." On May 6, 1789, directors Parsons, Putnam and Griffin Green ordered Putnam and Cutler

to apply to Congress for additional purchases. In all the important business of the company, Parsons was constantly employed as a wise counselor and an honest agent and director.

It has been said of Parsons that "all who knew him had supposed that he was a poor man, and to the surprise of every one he had a large amount of ready money to invest in the lands of the company. This was the fifty thousand dollars that Clinton had given him for his services." In answer to this charge I am informed by Douglas Putnam, Esq., a most respectable and venerable citizen of Marietta: "I find in the list of the original proprietors in the Ohio Company's purchase the name of Parsons, Samuel H., as the proprietor of two shares, and Parsons, Samuel H., Parsons, W. W., and others, proprietors of three shares. In the division of the lands a share consisted of 1,173½ acres (in plots), of which the cost was understood to be \$1,000 in Continental money and \$10 specie." This disposes of the fifty thousand dollars charge.

In conclusion, I place over against Heron's reputation and record and occupation, the services and correspondence and civil and military associations of General Parsons, and rest on them his vindication and his title in our generation to the esteem and confidence he enjoyed in his own.

SALEM. MASSACHUSETTS.



AN UNPUBLISHED LETTER OF JOHN ADAMS

WRITTEN TO CHARLES HOLT, EDITOR OF THE NEW LONDON BEE

Charles Holt was born in New London, August 10th, 1772. In early manhood he was an earnest politician of democratic principles. The Democrats of that day were styled Republicans and the Whigs were the Federalists. In 1797 Holt established a newspaper called the *Bee*, which was published in New London, Connecticut, for three years, when he removed with it to Hudson, New York. This paper was a prominent organ of the Democratic party, and as such vigorously and sharply attacked the Federal party and its most prominent exponent, John Adams, President of the United States, during whose administration Congress passed, July 10, 1798, the obnoxious and unconstitutional "Alien and Sedition Act." This measure was most ably discussed in both houses of Congress, but was finally passed by a small majority. The northern members chiefly voted for it, the heaviest vote against it being from the south—notably that of the state of Virginia. Its enforcement created great excitement and discontent, and it was undoubtedly the cause of the final overthrow of the Adams administration.

The case that excited most attention was that of Hon. Matthew Lyon, member of Congress from Vermont, who was tried for writing and publishing letters that were adjudged to be seditious, found guilty and sentenced to pay a fine of \$1,000, with imprisonment four months. He was taken fifty miles from his home and confined in a loathsome prison, without fire during the cold months of October and November. Upon his release he must have removed from Vermont, as in 1811 he appears in Congress as a representative from the state of Kentucky, and petitions for relief, asking the repayment of the fine imposed upon him, with interest to date. It was referred to a select committee, and the resolution referring it was amended by instructing the committee to inquire, "Whether any and what prosecutions have been instituted, &c., under the sedition law, or the common law, and by what authority, and to make such provision as they may deem necessary for securing the freedom of speech, and of the *press*." Here the whole matter seems to have been buried, but in June, 1844, Congress passed a law reimbursing all fines with interest to those who had suffered under the Act.

Charles Holt came also under the ban of the Adams party. An article appeared in his paper which was esteemed seditious; he was arrested, tried, convicted and sentenced to pay a fine of \$200, and be imprisoned for six months.* This fine was also repaid to him some forty years afterwards with interest, and netted him a handsome sum. In later years, however, Mr. Holt saw fit to change his views, as the following correspondence between himself and ex-President John Adams reveals. In the reply of the venerable Adams to Mr. Holt, it will be observed that he asserts that in addition to numerous letters received from distinguished men all over the country acknowledging the wisdom and correctness of his views of popular representative government, he had also received one of similar import from ex-President Thomas Jefferson himself, the founder and principal exponent of democracy. The system of government finally adopted by the people of this country is practically that enunciated by Adams, and the wisdom of his views have since been demonstrated and his course vindicated.

These letters are now for the first time given to the public.

JERSEY CITY, N. J.



[THE LETTERS.]

Charles Holt to Ex-President John Adams :

NEW YORK, August 27, 1820.

Venerable Sir :

It will possibly amuse a few of the leisure moments of your latter years to receive an act of political justice and literary homage, not the less to be valued as it is late in offering when accompanied with my sincere regret that it has not been tendered before. Twenty years ago sir, I was the editor of a party newspaper in Connecticut (*The Bee*) and was

* Mr. Holt afterwards removed to New York city, and published the *Columbian*, at 65 Pine Street. This was in November, 1809. During the Jackson Administration Mr. Holt received an appointment in the New York Custom House. In 1832 he removed to Jersey City to escape the yellow fever then raging in New York. Upon the subsidence of the plague he returned to New York, but towards the close of his life he returned to Jersey City and resided with his son-in-law, Hon. P. C. Dummer, where he died in July, 1852, aged eighty years. He was buried in the Jersey City and Harsimus Cemetery at the brow of the hill, alongside of the old Post Road to Philadelphia, now Newark avenue. The originals of this interesting correspondence are now in possession of his grandson, Charles Holt Dummer, Esq.

imprisoned under the sedition law for a publication adjudged to be libelous in the politics of that day. I then wrote and published much against you sir, as an aristocrat in principle, a royalist at heart, no friend to the "rights of man" and hostile to the Republicanism of the United States. I had not read your defense of the American Constitution, nor much of any political history, and but very little in the book of living experience. But sir, I have since, although publisher of a political Gazette sixteen years after, seen and felt abundant cause for discarding the impressions I then entertained, and adopting opinions gathered from all observation and confirmed by all experience, I have truly and literally seen "Republicanism" made to mean anything or nothing and the cloke for persecution, injustice and despotism, as cruel, ferocious and arbitrary as ever disgraced the annals of the first European settlers among the Indians in South (or North) America, the records of the French Revolution or the histories of despots in every age and part of the world, from ancient savage barbarity to modern European refinement. And I have perceived as little regard to equal right, paid by the unchecked "sovereign people" under the garb of liberty and equality, as we can see of the true religion of nature and the Gospel in the Catholic Inquisition, the martyrdoms of Smithfield, the scenes of Salem witchcraft, or the persecution of Quakers, free thinkers and other Dissenters. And sir, the longer I have lived I have seen the more indubitable proof of the danger of leaving power in the hands of the people for unrestrained exercise. Little different from the law of force between the strong and the weak would be the right of unbridled majorities to govern instantly; from the Tarpeian Rock and guillotine there is no return, no remedy, more than from the knife or pistol of the assassin. Extremes in nature equal ends produce, attraction and repulsion preserve the equilibrium in the works of nature. And in mechanics and politics by the universal law, from the balance-wheel of a watch, the pendulum of a clock and fly wheel of a steam engine, to the organization of a criminal court by grand and petit juries, and the government of a state or empire by a division of powers into legislative, judicial and executive branches and the additional security of a two fold legislature with constitutional checks and delays in passing laws, I am convinced that no machine, no apparatus, no combination of powers can operate well and safely without regulation by checks and balances, but would, if left to unrestrained motion, inevitably destroy itself. The good sense of our fellow citizens, in most if not all of the American Constitutions has secured to the people the benefit of your theory, improved from the British system, and established such guards and preventives against both anarchy and despotism as I trust will long

present to the world more perfect moods and happy spectacles of a nicely balanced and well regulated state than are to be found in the warm imaginations of the most benevolent theorist, or the real history of all the republics which Greece or Rome, Europe or Asia ancient and modern has furnished. But sir, I am forgetting my respect in trespassing upon your time. I intended an allusion to the claim for "universal suffrage" so called by modern demagogues, to break down all distinction in the elective franchise, and give the owners of the land with all the property of the country no more right, or rights than men without property or interest in it—a leveling and truly unjust and unequal principle I have ever viewed with as pointed disapprobation as an agrarian law or the abolition of all law together. Having, however, far exceeded my designed limits, I will add nothing further than to ask your indulgence if any further apology be deemed necessary for addressing you and to assure you that I have long been, and now am, with increased consideration, and the most sincere respect, your very obedient and humble servant.

(signed) CHAS. HOLT.

To Hon. John Adams.

Ex-President John Adams to Charles Holt:

MONTEZILLO, September 4th, 1820.

Sir:

The universal vanity of human nature must have obtruded itself on your observation in the course of your experience so forcibly that you will easily believe that your letter of August 27th has been received and read with much pleasure. Besides you know that the just always rejoices over every sinner that repenteth. Your letter however did not surprise me because I had received many such testimonials from other persons. For example, Mr. Matthew Carey has in letters to me, acknowledged the same error; and has lately repeated to me in person, in conversation, and moreover has repeatedly printed handsome encomiums on my *Defense of the American Constitution*, which he had many years vilified before he had read it. And what is more agreeably surprising to me—Judge Cooper, the learned and ingenious friend of Dr. Priestly, has lately published in the *Port Folio* a very handsome eulogium on that work. And what perhaps will be considered more than all, the learned and Scientific President Jefferson has in letters to me acknowledged that I was right, and that he was wrong.

My plain writings have been misunderstood by many, misrepresented

by more, and vilified and anathematized by multitudes, who never read them. They have indeed nothing to recommend them but stubborn facts, and simple principles and irresistible inferences from them, without any accommodations from ambitious ornaments of style, or studied artifices of arrangement. Notwithstanding all which, amidst all the calumnies they have occasioned, I have the consolation to know, and the injustice I have suffered ought to excuse me in saying, that they have been translated into the French, German and Spanish languages. That they are now contributing to introduce representative governments into various nations of Europe, as they have before contributed to the introduction and establishment of our American Constitution, both of the individual states and the nation at large, and they are now employed, and have been a long time in assisting the South Americans in establishing their liberties from the days of Miranda to this hour. I may say with Lord Bacon, that I bequeath my writings to foreign nations, and to my own country after a few generations shall be overpast.

This letter has so much the appearance of vanity that I pray you not to publish it in print—though Calumny with her hundred cat a nine tales has lashed me so long that my skin has become almost as hard and insensible as steel, and her severest strokes would scarcely be felt. After all I sincerely thank you for your frank and candid letter, which does you much honor, and is a full atonement for all your errors in relation to me, who am, sir, your sincere well wisher and most humble servant.

(signed) JOHN ADAMS.

To Charles Holt, Esq.

A BOSTON NEWSPAPER OF THE REVOLUTION, 1778

Through the favor of Mrs. Mary E. H. Stebbins, well known in the literary world fifty years ago as Mary E. Hewett, author of a volume of poems, now over eighty years of age, I have in my possession a Revolutionary relic of curious interest, a newspaper with the significant heading "*The Independent Chronicle and the Universal Advertiser*, Thursday, June 11, 1778. Massachusetts State, Boston: Printed by Powars and Willis, opposite the new Court House." In a fancy border, separating this heading in the centre, stands the figure of a soldier holding in his right hand a drawn sword, in his left a scroll inscribed "Independence," and over his head another scroll with the words, "Appeal to Heaven." The texture of the paper, now of a yellowish tint, is coarse, its edges ragged, and its columns—three to a page—are separated by double rules.

Over two columns of the first page are filled with an unsigned letter earnestly advocating unrestricted free trade. Two or three sentences will show its tenor: "How many general and particular manufactures have been established and brought to perfection, by liberty alone, each having been carried on in its own right. . . . How many things are now carried on with tolerable success, merely from hitherto escaping a pretended legislative *police*, which, instead of advancing, retards the progress of industry and improvement. . . . Indeed, the removal of obstacles is all that is necessary for the success of trade. . . . It is reported of the great Colbert, Prime Minister of Henry IV. of France, that when he convened the several deputies of commerce at his house, and asked what he could do for the benefit of trade, the most sensible and plainest spoken man among them replied in these three words, 'Let us alone.'"

The next article, entitled "The Independent Whig No. 1." completes the first page, and (skipping the second and third) fills over a column of the fourth. The writer had "seen in a late Philadelphia paper a speech of the British minister in the House of Commons, introducing two bills relating to the American dispute, of a conciliatory complexion," and makes a vigorous protest against listening for a moment to any terms of settlement short of perfect independence. "A moderate exertion (he says) of good sense, perseverance and vigor, will soon put us in possession of the object of our wishes. The most sanguine of our enemies must now

be convinced that the phantom of military conquest has vanished, and the ministry of Great Britain are making their last effort of despairing impotence."

Next, we have a Proclamation "Given at York, in the State of Pennsylvania, this Ninth Day of May, Anno Domini, One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy-Eight." The preamble states "that violences have been done by American armed vessels to neutral nations in seizing ships belonging to their subjects under their colours, and in making captures of those of the enemy whilst under the protection of neutral coasts contrary to the usage and custom of nations;" and this is followed by a solemn warning, under threat of condign punishment, against the commission of "such unjustifiable and piratical acts, which reflect dishonour upon the national character of these states."

Following this are "Extracts of the Minutes," with the resolution, recommending "to the Legislatures of the respective States to enact Laws for exempting from Military Duty all Persons who have deserted, or shall hereafter desert from the *British* Army and Navy during the present War," &c. Henry Laurens, president, and Charles Thomson, secretary, sign the proceedings.

News had been received from Georgia of the capture, "by Col. Elbert and Col. White, in the Washington and Lee Gallies of the State, joined by the Bullock Gally," of several vessels "belonging to the King of England." The bulletin from South Carolina further states: "We are menaced with an expedition from St. Augustine against Georgia and are sending troops (under command of Col. Charles Cotesworth Pinckney) to the assistance of our sister State." The "Rattlesnake privateer of Philadelphia, Capt. McCulloch," had carried two prizes into Georgia. It was reported that provisions, both fresh and salt, were very scarce in the city of New York; "and though the prices are limited by martial law, yet the seller generally found means to obtain more; that a good quarter of veal could be sold for half a joe, and other provisions in proportion. [A joe is, or was, a Portuguese gold coin, equal to \$8.]

A correspondent signing "Milton," in an address of a column and a quarter, "To the People of Massachusetts-Bay," declaims earnestly against the laws of the state, by which he declares that "Congregationalism is as certainly established by them as Episcopacy is by the laws of England:" and he goes at length into an argument against such discrimination. The effect of these laws, he says, was to compel Christians of other denominations to contribute toward the support of Congregational churches whether they attended such churches or not; and he introduces in illus-

tration the following story: "A collector of ministerial rates called upon a certain barber for his proportion of the minister's tax, to whom, in great surprise, he replied, '*I owe him nothing; I never attended his preaching.*' 'I cannot help that,' said the collector; 'you live in the parish, the doors are open every Sunday, and Mr. — preaches to the congregation; you may attend if you please. The assessors have rated you so much, and I must have the money!' The poor barber was accordingly obliged to pay it. The next day he made a visit to the minister himself, and complained of the injustice of *forcing* him to *pay* for what he *never had*. 'O sir,' said the minister, '*that is your fault; the meeting-house doors are open every Sunday.*' The barber, finding he could get no relief, went home; and after some months had elapsed, he carried in an account to the minister for shaving him and dressing his wig. The minister looked at it with astonishment and with no small degree of resentment exclaimed, '*I owe you nothing. I never employed you.*' '*I cannot help that, sir,*' said the barber; '*that is your fault; my shop is open all the week, and you may be served if you please.*' "

The second page closes with two-thirds of a column of advertisements, offering for sale all sorts of groceries, New England rum and other spirituous liquors, vessels and their equipments, cannon, swivels, shot, "20 casks of essence of spruce," "Jesuits-Bark," flaxseed, "50 tons of Fustick," etc. One column of the third and two of the fourth page are also devoted to various advertisements, including two of absconded slaves—a negro man, named Cæsar, for whom a reward of eight dollars is offered by Samuel Lee of Manchester, and a negro girl, Venus, in the nineteenth year of her age, whom Ephraim Fuller of Middleton, cautions everybody against, and forbids their harboring, "as they would avoid the penalty of the law." Quartermaster Undy Hay offers "ten pounds Pennsylvania currency, per month, equal to twenty-six dollars and two-thirds, for experienced teamsters willing to enter the Continental Service." Capt. Benjamin Farnham, of Andover, advertises a deserter, William Burt, who enlisted in Capt. Benjamin Tupper's regiment. William Bant, "Attorney to Hon. John Hancock," notifies all persons indebted to him, or who have demands upon or accounts open with him, to call "at the subscriber's house in Tremont street near the chapel" for settlement. "Continental bills will be received in payment, in preference to gold and silver."

There "is only one regular drug-store advertisement—that of William Scollay," at his shop, the corner of State-street, formerly called "Brazen Head." [Did he give the name to "Scollay Square?"] Among "a variety of the most approved patent medicines, warranted genuine," he has "Lockyer's Pills," in reference to which Mrs. Stebbins mentions the

singular fact of such advertisement, when Lockyer had been in his grave more than one hundred years, having died on the 26th of April, 1672, aged seventy-two. Taken, also, in connection with the following epitaph, which she has preserved in her album, it is still more curious :

" EPITAPH IN ST. SAVIOUR'S CHURCH, SOUTHWICK.

" Here Lockyer lies interred—enough his name
Speaks one hath few competitors in fame,
A name so great, so general, it may scorn
Inscriptions which do vulgar tombs adorn.
A diminution 'tis to write in verse
His eulogies, which most men's mouths rehearse ;
His virtues and his PILLS are so well known,
That envy can't confine them under stone.
But they'll survive his dust and not expire
Till all things else, at th' universal fire,
This verse is lost, his Pills embalm him safe
To future times, without an epitaph."

Under the general head " America " are about two columns of interesting news articles worthy of being presented entire if space permitted. At Lancaster, May 24th, " the remains of His Excellency, Thomas Wharton, Jr. Esq., President of the Supreme Executive Council of Pennsylvania, was interred with military honours." At Fishkill, Sunday, May 31st, the sloop of war, King-Fisher, of sixteen guns, was obliged " to tow off with precipitation, having been hulled several times by well-directed shot from a couple of guns sent down for the purpose, under command of Capt. Moodie." Deserters from the British army were daily coming in from Philadelphia and New York. A letter received at Hartford states that a considerable village, forty miles west of Albany, had been " destroyed by the Indians and Tories, which brought on an engagement between the enemy and a party of Continental troops," who were defeated with a loss of twenty-five killed and missing. Information had also been received from Washington's headquarters, that a large body of the enemy crossed from Philadelphia, at Cooper's Ferry, into Jersey ; and that a division of the American Grand Army were under marching orders " to intercept them." On May 31, a detachment, one hundred and fifty strong, of British troops, commanded by Major Ayres, landed at the mouth of Fall River, " with a design to burn Freetown and the mills ; but they were repulsed by twenty-five of the citizens before very serious damage was done, leaving one man killed and one mortally wounded. Two Tories were lately hanged in Albany and ten more were to suffer the same fate on the 5th of June."

The legislature of the "State of Massachusetts-Bay," in session, had taken active measures to have all newly enlisted men, and others on furlough, sent to the Continental army at Fishkill without delay. With one other domestic incident, we will close this brief description. T. & J. Fleet, Cornhill, offer for sale "the second edition of Mr. Fiske's Sermon on the Tragical Death of Mr. Joshua Spooner (who was lately barbarously murdered at Brookfield, by three Ruffians, hired for that purpose by his wife) preached on the day of his interment, from 2d Samuel iii. 34—*As a Man fallest before wicked Men, so fallest thou.*"

Alluding to this, Mrs. Stebbins writes: "My mother told us of the execution of this woman, and her 'ruffians' who were British officers. They were hung on Boston Common—the woman in white satin between two of the men. Mr. Spooner's body was found in a well, where they had thrown him. In those days parents used to send their children 'to see the men hung' and my grandmother sent all her children to witness the impressing ceremony."

Is there in any public or private library a copy of Mr. Fiske's Sermon?

Horatio King

WASHINGTON, D. C.

THE MARQUIS DE LOTBINIÈRE

Editor Magazine of American History:

In a recent number of your valued publication I find the following extract from Rev. Manasseh Cutler's diary in New York, of Saturday, July 7, 1787: "Dined with Gen. Knox. Introduced to his lady, and a French nobleman, the Marquis Lotbinière—at dinner, to several other gentlemen who dined with us. . . . No person at table attracted my attention so much as the Marquis Lotbinière—not on account of his good sense, for if it had not been for his title I should have thought him two-thirds of a fool."

As he has descendants in Montreal to-day, I made inquiries and beg to state that the Marquis de Lotbinière referred to was the ancestor of Col. Harwood, late D. A. G., and of the Honorable Mr. Joly, Mrs. De Bellefeuille, J. Macdonald and others. He was one of the distinguished Canadians who fought the battles of the conquest. In 1746 he served in Acadia as an ensign and rose to the rank of engineer-in-chief of New France. He built Fort Carillon, directed the engineering operations at the siege of William Henry with Desardouin, and built other fortifications. His title was conferred by France since the conquest.

After this event he took part in the war of American Independence on the side of the United States, and was sent by the Court of France on a special secret mission to Congress. His son espoused the British side and was reproached by the Marquis for it.

Regarding his being out of his mind, it is accounted for in this way: once while crossing Isle Perrot his horse took fright, his carriage was dashed to pieces and he barely escaped with his life, his skull being severely fractured. The Marquis recovered after having been trepanned, and at intervals afterwards was eccentric in his ways. It was probably on one of these occasions that Mr. Cutler met him.

The Marquis must have been a man of considerable culture. He was a member of the Académie des Sciences et Belles Lettres, perhaps the only Canadian of his time in that body.

MONTREAL, CANADA, *August*, 1888.



A TRIP FROM NEW YORK TO NIAGARA IN 1829

UNPUBLISHED DIARY OF COLONEL WILLIAM L. STONE

One of the notable authors and journalists of early New York, for a quarter of a century, was Colonel William Leete Stone, the editor and one of the proprietors of the New York *Commercial Advertiser* from 1821 until his death in 1844. His tastes were literary, and in addition to his political and editorial work he wrote many sketches, satires and tales—two volumes of which were collected and published in 1832; also numerous descriptive and biographical volumes which achieved great popularity in their decade. Among these were the “Ups and downs in the life of a gentleman showing the follies of the day,” the story of “Maria Monk,” the “Memoirs of Brandt,” published in 1838, “Life of Uncas,” in 1840, “Life of Red Jacket,” in 1841, “History of Wyoming,” etc. He was for some years the superintendent of common schools in New York city and did much for the cause of education. He was the son of a clergyman, the Rev. William Stone of central New York, and was carefully educated by his father. When seventeen, he learned the trade of a printer in Coopers-town; but in 1813, at the age of twenty-one, having developed a remarkable talent for the production of newspaper paragraphs, he was made the editor of the *Herkimer American*. During the next eight years his experiences were varied; he at one time edited a paper at Hudson, then at Albany, and for a short season at Hartford. But the year 1821 found him permanently settled in New York city, from which date his career was one of peculiar interest. The “Rough Notes,”—as the quaint little manuscript volume containing this diary before us is entitled, in his own well-known handwriting—furnish many bright pictures of life, habits, affairs, and the condition of thought and of the country in 1829, written in a racy style, and having never been intended for the public eye are all the more attractive to the reader. Colonel Stone opens his diary as follows:

Thursday. September 10, 1829. Left New York at 5 P.M. for Albany in the *New Philadelphia* with between two and three hundred passengers; had an elegant run during most of the passage. The night was cold as November, but the sky being clear, and the moon nearly at full, we had a glorious view of the Highlands, and the other and magnificent points of scenery along the Hudson. . . . Found Mrs. Stone awaiting my arrival at

the Eagle tavern, and remained during the day. Attended the ancient court, Judge Duer presiding, and heard an important trial for slander, *Foot vs. Whipple*, connected with the murder of John Whipple by Strong in 1827. Verdict six cents for plaintiff—equivalent to defeat.

This day (Friday) the Anti-Masonic party celebrated the abduction and supposed death of William Morgan, who is believed to have been murdered as a punishment for revealing some of the secrets of Freemasonry. The procession was a shabby affair. The address was pronounced by Samuel Miles Hopkins, Esq., a gentleman of talent and character, who ought to be engaged in better business. . . .

Saturday, September 12, 1829. Left the Eagle tavern, at Albany, at half past five o'clock A. M., for Cooperstown. Weather uncommonly cold for the season. The morning was so raw and chilly that it was uncomfortable for Mrs. Stone. A heavy frost covered the ground, spangling the meadows with millions of gems as the sunlight glanced over the landscape. After the sand-plains of Albany and Guiderland were crossed the country opened beautifully. Had never traveled this way before. Duanesburgh struck me as being a very excellent township, occupied by thrifty farmers. Several pleasant country-seats and one or two elegant ones met the view. Our fellow passengers were not of the most interesting description. All were ignorant, and some dissipated. One of these had but one leg and one arm. He had been a school-master in Ohio, and the Jamaica-like odor of his breath sufficiently indicated the divinity he most loved to worship. He said he had rather go to the state prison than again teach school. If the Ohioans have any more teachers like him they had better send them there. Among other divertisements in this poor pedagogue's autobiography, he informed us, with great apparent satisfaction, that he had had his nose twisted, but it cost the twister \$36! One honest fellow from Casenovia, finding a school-master on board, started a learned conversation upon the subject of ancient history. He had been to see the mummy in Albany, and it brought vividly to his recollection divers and sundry passages of "Josephus and Rowland's (Rollin's) ancient history." The pedagogue had *to give it up*: he had never heard of *them there authors*!

At one of the post-offices on the way, the honest keeper of the keys of Uncle Sam's mail-bags, read to the mail contractor, who was of our company, a letter from the new postmaster-general, by which it appeared that attempts were making to turn him out of office. "I don't think they ought to trouble me," said the worthy man with solemn visage, "I have not electioneered any, and I have always been with the strongest party!" . . . One of our company was an honest anti-mason from the west. He inquired

whether anti-masonry was not gaining where I came from? I told him that sort of people were becoming scarce in my part of the country. He looked solemnly thereat, and heaving a long sigh said more secrets were now coming to light. "Ah!" said I, "what are they?" "Why," he replied, "one of my neighbors, a captain and a man I have always looked up to—a good pious man was last week on his death bed as we all thought. He confessed that he was a royal arch mason; and he said that in that degree they used human skulls to drink out of! When asked where they got the skulls, he *didn't like to tell*." "But," said I, "are you sure, my friend, that he said they drank from skulls, in the royal arch degree?" He said he was. "Then," I replied, "this dying man is the only royal arch mason who ever saw the skull or used it in that degree." The man thereupon gave a look as much as to say that he did not expect the truth from me. "It was a secret," he said; "it was never known that they had skulls in lodges before." "But my friend," I replied, "I have drank from a skull, and Lord Byron had one mounted with silver and used it for a drinking cup; and besides," I continued, "it never has been a secret, for here is a lady who has heard me state the fact that they were used in some of the degrees more than ten years ago." I then asked the man how he supposed the masons got the skulls? He shook his head and rolled up his eyes and said, "the dying man could not tell that." "Do you and the anti-masons suppose then," said I, "that the masons murder people to get these skulls for the lodges?" "Why," said he, "that is pretty much our opinion." Alas! when will the days of humbug and imposture cease?

The descent from the hilly regions into the vale of Cherry Valley is surpassingly beautiful. The village itself is a handsome one, and the residence of a number of genteel families. The houses are all, or nearly all, white, with Venetian blinds at the windows. This place was a frontier post at the time of the American Revolution. There was a fort and a settlement, but soon after the destruction of Wyoming it was surprised by the Indians under Brandt, and a general massacre ensued. But few escaped the dreadful slaughter. We dined here, and towards the close of the day continued our journey through a fine country of hill and dale to Cooperstown, where we arrived soon after seven o'clock, and were greeted with a hearty welcome by our friends, who had unknown to us been apprised of our approach. . . . Cooperstown was the favorite spot of my boyhood—from childhood to youth, and even manhood. I grew up in the vicinity of this delightful village, which, until I was of legal age to become my own master, was the nearest approach to a city that I had seen. My present visit to a place consecrated by so many early recollections and endearing asso-

ciations was after an absence of fifteen years. I had left it a poor young man, without experience in the world, with but little knowledge, without means or friends to aid or influence my destiny and push me forward. Through the blessing of a kind Providence I now return accompanied by an intelligent, educated, and accomplished wife, and in prosperous, if not affluent circumstances, having been known for fifteen years in political life, and for ten years as the editor of one of the oldest and most respectable daily papers in our country. From a handful of village friends my acquaintance is now co-extensive with the Union, embracing presidents and governors, and gentlemen of every grade of public and literary distinction. When I departed from this place it was with the determination of some day reaching the head of the profession I had chosen. I have now obtained it; and a glow of pleasure thrills me as I look back upon the change. But if I know my own feelings this pleasure is unalloyed with pride or vanity. On the contrary such are my demerits and deficiencies that I cannot but wonder at my own success. And I am constrained to raise my heart in humble thanks to that God who has thus prospered my earthly career. The village has undergone few changes since I last gazed upon it; and the general aspect of the scenery is the same. Many new and substantial houses have been erected upon the sites of less commodious and elegant structures. But the size of the town has not materially increased. Here is the lake bright, placid, and beautiful as ever, and the crest of the lofty mountain is darkened by the tall evergreens as before. Here stands the little Episcopal church in which I first learned the Episcopal form of worship from my father's venerable friend, the Rev. Daniel Nash, and where I had first seen the rites of confirmation administered by the late Bishop Moore, of New York. . . . And on the hill stood the Presbyterian church in which I had so often, twenty years ago, listened with rapture to the glowing and impassioned eloquence of Dr. John Chester. . . . The changes most obvious were in the situation and prospects of the family of the late Judge Cooper, who had been the first enterprising settler of this country soon after the close of the Revolutionary war. Judge Cooper was the original of the "Judge Templeton" of the novel of the Pioneers, written by the distinguished novelist, his youngest son. He was the founder of the village, and of the county likewise. He died towards the close of the year 1809, leaving five sons and one daughter, heirs of handsome estates. All these were living and in affluent circumstances when I was last in the village. Now four of the sons are dead and their families left almost destitute! One son, my friend James F. Cooper, distinguished as an author, is now residing in Florence, Italy. To him the

loss of property has probably been of more real advantage than the money ten times over would have been. It has called forth the slumbering energies of his mind and given vigor and stimulus to his imagination by the exertion with which he has acquired a proud name among the writers of the age, and added to the literary reputation of his country.

Sunday September 13. Attended the Episcopal church in the morning and heard a sensible discourse from the Rev. Mr. Tiffany, a brother-in-law of the Rev. Charles J. Stewart—formerly missionary to the Sandwich Islands. . . . In the afternoon I attended service in the Presbyterian church—sermon by Rev. Mr. Smith, successor of Dr. Chester in 1810.

September 15. Made a visit with Mrs. Stone at Burlington, a town ten miles distant, in which my father once resided as the settled minister. Several years of my childhood were passed in this town. . . . Lodged with my father's old friend and family physician, Dr. Richardson, who with his wife gave us a hearty welcome. In company with Dr. R— I walked a mile to the ancient premises of my father and wandered over the fields which I had assisted in clearing and cultivating, and looked with mingled emotions of pleasure and affection upon the mature and vigorous fruit trees which many years before my own hands had planted. . . .

Wednesday September 16. Returned to Cooperstown, and found the yeomanry "all furnished—all in arms"—that is, arms of some sort. But though it was a field day, and General Morell was prancing about with a brilliantly arrayed staff, surely I never saw so forlorn a regiment on duty. Some had sticks, and some had muskets, and some not even a corn-stalk, while many were "ragged as Lazarus." In the evening we attended a party at the house of John M. Bowers. Both he and his lady were absent, but the little entertainment had been projected by his daughters, of whom he has a most lovely and interesting group. . . .

Saturday September 19. Rose at five o'clock to take the mail coach for Utica. The morning was cloudy and cold, and our stage route, first westerly upon the turnpike, over a most hilly and disagreeable region, and thence up the woody valley of Oaks Creek to the foot of Schuyler's Lake, was cold and cheerless. After warming ourselves by a good fire we proceeded on our journey. The sun now began to shine brightly over the hills, and the mists disappeared as we crossed the outlet of the lake. . . . This little lake is but six miles long, and has not the advantages of such majestic scenery as that which adorns and exalts the Otsego lake; but its shores are beautified by a fertile country rich in farms and fruit fields, woodlands and meadows, and is a very charming spot. We arrived at Richfield Springs at nine o'clock, and after watering our

horses passed on three miles further over a fine road to the little village of Monticello where we partook of an excellent breakfast. Resuming our journey we traveled through the town of Winfield, Herkimer County. . . . At the four corners in Bridgewater I was surprised to find a thrifty-looking village of fifty or sixty houses, where in passing nineteen years before I recollect to have seen not more than three or four. Found an old friend, Willard Crafts, Esq., settled here as a lawyer. He was engaged in a neat little flower garden when I arrived. After passing some twenty minutes with him, the tin trumpet sounded the note of our departure. From this place to New Hartford the country is rich and beautiful; but God has done much more for it than man, under whose culture it has not visibly improved for the last twenty years. The village itself has been stationary. Between five and six o'clock we entered Utica, which nine years ago ranked only as a flourishing village. It has grown as if by magic to the dimensions of a large city; and with amazement I beheld the long streets and rows and blocks of stores and dwellings, and large beautiful country seats, through which our coach conveyed us in driving to the lodgings I had selected.

I had heard much of the march of improvements in Utica since the completion of the Erie Canal. But I had no idea of the reality. Rip Van Winkle himself after his thirty years' repose in a glen of the mountains was not more amazed than I at the present aspect and magnitude of this beautiful place. Bagg's hotel to which I directed my driver was in the very heart of the village and the centre of business at the period of my last visit. Now it is quite in the suburbs. The houses were then scattered except in two or three principal streets, though some were spacious and elegant; now they are closely built, and lofty.

Sunday September 20. A cold cheerless day, during most of which the rain descended in torrents. Attended Rev. M. Aikin's church in the morning and heard the Rev. Mr. Frost, of Whitesborough on the *unchangeableness of God*. It would have been a good sermon had the preacher stopped when he had done his best. But its effect was killed by its length. The church itself is a new and noble structure, finished with great taste, and planned with an eye to the utmost convenience. A fine organ added its full rich tones to the music of an excellent choir; and considering the inclemency of the weather the audience was a far more numerous and genteel one than could have been collected on a similar day in New York.

We did not go out in the evening.

Monday September 21. Alternate showers and sunshine rendered it quite too wet and uncomfortable to visit the different parts of the city,

and impossible for Mrs. Stone to go out. I called upon a few friends. Mr. Tracey, formerly of Lansingburg, the editor of the *Sentinel*, General Ostram, R. R. Lansing, Esq., Ezekiel Bacon, Esq., and some others, and talked of politics and anti-masonry. Visited a new museum containing one or two dried alligators, and a few veritable daubs in the way of portraits. Poor John Quincy Adams, and Henry Clay! Never have the wicked cannibal Jackson-men abused you half as much as the cold-blooded artist has done in these pictures! The other parts of the collection are miserable enough. The baked sharks and turtles would have been ashamed of their present condition. From the top of the building, however, I enjoyed a glorious view of the whole village and the surrounding country for many miles. What a beautiful country!

Heard from Trenton that the roads were so bad as to render a visit to Trenton Falls unadvisable for the present. Left Utica therefore at seven in the evening, in a new and splendid canal packet boat for the west. It is truly a superior boat, fitted up with the elegance and taste of a North river steamer though on a smaller scale. An excellent band of music was on board which had come by invitation from Rochester, it being the first trip of this canal boat. The musicians were very respectable young men. But a few of the passengers were exceedingly vulgar in the eyes of all but themselves, and rendered us very uncomfortable. Upstarts who have seen just enough of the world to become pert and impudent, who in the consciousness of inferiority are over anxious to command respect, and who imagine money a substitute for manners, are the most disagreeable traveling companions in existence. The night continued dark and rainy, and nothing was seen of the country until the following morning.

Tuesday September 22. Arrived at Syracuse at half past ten o'clock and had the unexpected pleasure of being greeted at the landing by my old and intelligent friend, Seth Hunt, Esq., a gentleman of extensive travel and vast general information. I looked about as I stepped on shore with still more astonishment than at Utica. "Another enchanted city!" I exclaimed, as I glanced upwards and around upon splendid hotels and rows of majestic buildings, crowded with people, all full of life and activity. Nine years before, I had passed a day here, among some five or six scattered tenements, one of which had just been erected, and was then occupied by Joshua Forman, the village being surrounded by a desolate, poverty-stricken, woody country, enough to make an owl weep to fly over it.

"Never mind" said Forman, "You will live to see this place a city yet." And truly the prediction is already realized. As the county build-

ings now erecting upon an extensive scale have been located midway between Salina and Syracuse, the two towns will be soon united, as Greenwich now is to New York. Within twenty years therefore Syracuse will be equal the present size of Albany. Salt of the purest quality can here be produced at cheapest rate for the whole continent. Dined at one o'clock. In the afternoon walked with Mr. Hunt through the village and visited some of the salt fields in the neighborhood, which are of great extent, and intended for the manufacture of salt by solar evaporation. Many hundred acres are covered with vats. A crop is produced in about two months of the warm season. In the wet and winter months nothing is done.

The village of Salina has grown prodigiously since 1820. It now contains many large and well built stores, flouring mills, handsome streets and dwellings, and there are four beautiful churches, including a great edifice belonging to the Roman Catholics.

Wednesday September 23. Last evening the inmates of our hotel were thrown into confusion by the breaking open of sundry trunks while we were at tea, one of which was robbed of \$1,800 in bank bills. At one o'clock we left the village in a carriage with L. H. Redfield, editor of the *Syracuse Gazette*, and his lady. As we wished to strike the mail stage road at Onondaga Hollow to take the stage that evening, Mr. Redfield thus handsomely facilitated our object. We passed the marsh where the great battle between the French and the Six Nations was fought in the old French war. A field piece used on that occasion was recently dug out of the marsh. . . .

The mail coach came along in due season and rec'd us on board. We found it filled with agreeable passengers, several of whom were acquaintances. We arrived soon after the shades of night deepened at Skaneateles—a village by all allowed to be one of unsurpassed loveliness.

Before we had finished a hasty though excellent meal, of which we were much in want, we were honored with the calls of Mr. Burnett, his son, and a brother, lately from England, who came to New York with letters of introduction to me, and who I soon found to be a gentleman of great intelligence and much experience in the world—of extensive travel and agreeable manners.

Sunday September 24. Rose at seven, and looked from our window upon the lake of which we had heard so much. It is indeed a beautiful sheet of water extending sixteen miles through a charming country. The village is very pretty, and many houses on the borders of the lake are built with taste and environed with shrubbery, as houses in the country always

should be. But there was one grand mistake made in building this village which has marred its beauty exceedingly. The main street was laid out so as to sweep round to the margin of the lake at its foot. On the northern side of this street, and fronting the lake, the houses of the citizens were erected, and one would have supposed that even the Goths and Vandals would have had genius enough to have preserved an open view to the lake by having a smooth lawn of green sward planted, with locusts and the willow between the road and the lake! But contrary to every principle of taste or beauty, one of the churches and several blocks of stores and artisans' work-shops have been erected upon the shore, which in most cases entirely intercept the water-prospect! But for the privilege of taking now and then a sail, or a mess of fish, the good people might as well have had no lake at all. The stores should be burnt by the common hangman, and the church taken quietly down and reared in a more suitable place.

Friday September 25. Two thunder gusts and much rain this morning. But the weather cleared about 11 o'clock and we resolved to proceed to Auburn. Mr. Burnett, his lady, and brother being about to drive to Geneva, Mrs. Stone was accommodated in their carriage, while Mr. Burnett and myself drove to Auburn in a chaise. We arrived just after a portion of an immense stone bridge had broken, and fallen with a tremendous crash. A large crowd of people had assembled, and stood about the ruins in such numbers as to prevent our seeing what was the matter. A fragment of the bridge yet stood over which we drove, tottering, and gradually yielding as it was, and as we were strangers nobody thought we were of sufficient consequence to inform us that we were imperiling our lives. On arriving at the hotel we were informed of the catastrophe; and running back to look at the ruins, we had ample cause of felicitation at our narrow escape. Auburn is a large, and appears to be a flourishing village, but it is my intention to visit it on my return. The state prison, at a distance wears a commanding appearance; and a hotel is nearly completed which will be one of the most extensive and elegant establishments in this country. The main edifice is fifty-six feet square and four stories high exclusive of the basement. . . . We dined with our friends at the private residence of Mr. Weed, after which took a post coach for Weed's Basin, at which place it was promised we should arrive in season for the Canal packet. But the roads were intolerably bad and the packet had been past a full hour when we drew near. The consequence was that we were compelled to crowd ourselves into the narrow accommodations of a merchant boat. We passed a night uncomfortable enough. . . . The cabins were

too small to turn round in. . . and the passengers very good for *Universal Suffrage folks*—all Jackson-men as the color of their shirt collars abundantly attested. . . We suffered as much penance as the holiest Catholic father could have imposed on the veriest heretic in christendom. But morning at length arrived and we were safely landed at Lyons.

Saturday, September 26. This village too was all but a wilderness at the period of my last visit. Now it has grown into considerable importance. It is the shire town of Wayne county, and in addition to a number of shops and stands, and the county buildings, it contains many respectable and some elegant residences. Among the latter is the seat of Myron Hawley, Esq., formerly one of the leading and most able and efficient of our canal commissioners, whose names will be perpetuated as long as the lakes and the ocean are connected by the golden commercial chain forged under the direction of the great Clinton. Mr. Hawley showed us through his grounds; and I was much surprised to find one of the richest and most beautiful gardens I had ever beheld. It contains something like six or eight acres, which was woodland I presume in 1820; it is elegantly laid out and cultivated; with fruit trees, shrubs, vines, etc., in great variety and profusion. . . Mr. Hawley is a gentleman of high intellectual powers, of fine education, and extensive scientific acquirements. Latterly he has turned his attention to horticultural pursuits for his amusement. Every thing upon his premises is disposed in the most admirable order, and according to the most correct principles of taste and beauty. From here we drove in a private carriage over a rough and ragged road to the humble residence of my venerable parents, in the parish of East Ridge, where we arrived at three o'clock in the afternoon. . . This visit was after an absence of nine years. . . At the present time Sodus is not a place of much business, although before the completion of the Erie canal much was done here with potash in connection with the Montreal market. In former times, moreover, when Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison were exerting what were called the restriction energies of the government, the smuggling business was believed to have greatly flourished at this place. Many were the cargoes of flour and ashes which were loaded at the docks here and got well under weigh while the deputy custom house officers were artfully detained by cards and the bottle in the little hells of the neighborhood. . . Without making any invidious comparisons between this place and Oswego, it may safely be asserted that this harbor is a better and more accessible and safer one than that of Oswego. . .

[To be continued.]

MINOR TOPICS

REVOLUTIONARY HOUSES IN NEW JERSEY

THE SCENE OF WASHINGTON'S "PRETTY LITTLE FRISK"

The September issue of the *Magazine of American History* contains a letter of General Nathaniel Greene, from Somerset County, New Jersey, dated in the spring of 1779, in which he tells us that Washington danced at his quarters for three hours with Mrs. Greene without sitting down, and writes further, that "upon the whole we had a pretty little frisk." It is interesting to note that the old dwelling in which these distinguished people danced, is still in existence and in a good state of preservation. It stands on the left bank of the Raritan river, about two miles below Somerville, and but a short distance north of the Finderne railway station. It was built by Derrick Van Veghten early in the last century, who was born in 1699, in an adjoining stone house that was erected some years earlier by his father, Michael Van Veghten, who came here from the upper Hudson, and who was among the earliest of the Dutch pioneers of the Raritan valley. Although bearing many marks of age, this old two story Holland brick house still stands firmly, and unimpaired, upon its solid foundation, and its hearthstone continues to attract visitors and cement family ties. At the time of Greene's occupancy of it Derrick Van Veghten was nearly eighty years of age; he was very strong in his sympathy with the patriot cause, and did much to add to the comfort of the rank and file of the army, as well as well as of its officers. His homestead, which even then was an aged dwelling, was the scene of a bounteous hospitality. In addition to the official intercourse beneath its roof resulting from its being the headquarters of Greene, who was then quartermaster-general, the presence of Mrs. Greene proved a potent charm and drew many to this old Dutch farm-house. She was then about twenty-five years of age, is said to have been singularly lovely in character, and was possessed of such brilliant qualities as earned for her high distinction, causing her society and friendship to be sought by the best people of the country.

Somerset County in New Jersey is peculiarly rich in Revolutionary houses, and it is quite extraordinary that so many of those in which the leading generals of the army quartered during the encampment of the winter and spring of 1779 should still be extant, and in use. A notable example is one that was occupied by Washington, who, not being able to find a building in the vicinity of Bound Brook or Middlebrook—where the main body of the army lay—ample enough for his accommodation, established his headquarters at the Wallace house, then barely completed. It is still to be seen embedded in the green of its surrounding trees, on the road leading from Somerville to Raritan, where that highway crosses the track of the Central Railroad of New Jersey. This most honored of Somerset's

mansions opened its hospitable portals that winter and spring to many distinguished people. The daily dinner was an affair of ceremony and importance; often as many as thirty persons were entertained, as, in addition to visitors, the company always included a certain number of officers which it was Washington's habit to invite daily to dinner.

The artillery was stationed six miles away, at Pluckemin. General Knox, with his wife, occupied the residence of Mr. Jacobus Van der Veer, on what is now the Ludlow farm just below the Bedminster church. This house has been somewhat modernized though still retaining many of its old-time characteristics; few passers-by, however, would suspect that it was erected before the year 1760. From December, 1778, until June, 1779, it was by far the most important house in Bedminster township, and the rallying point of both military and social affairs. Scores of people came and went each day. General Steuben made his headquarters nearly a mile south of the Raritan, at a house located at the end of a grassy lane, running from the New Brunswick road. It was then the residence of Abraham Staats, and is now occupied by a descendant of its Revolutionary owner. Since that time two wings have been added to the original structure, but the central portion remains as it was during Steuben's occupancy. Its sloping roof, low eaves and shingled sides speak of times long bygone, but it is still modern in the sense of its picturesque homeliness, being in full accord with its turfy setting, and its tree-embowered surroundings. The Baron was fond of entertaining his brother officers and this Staats house has witnessed many scenes of conviviality. On one occasion under a Marquee erected in an adjoining grove sixty guests gathered about the table, among them Washington, M. Gerard, the French minister, and Don Juan de Miralles, a gentleman of distinction from Spain.

Another building that has a Revolutionary story to tell is the large house to be seen on the right of the turnpike, above Bound Brook, and just beyond Middlebrook stream. It was known as "Phil's Hill," and was the dwelling of Philip Van Horn, the father of five handsome and well-bred daughters who were the much admired toasts of both armies. These bright-eyed young women welcomed alike friend and foe, and, it is said, were often the means of mitigating the ferocities of war. They had their reward—they all obtained husbands. Here, with a number of other young army officers, quartered one of the most popular men in the vicinity of Camp Middlebrook. He was a swarthy faced graceful youth of twenty-three—brave Light Horse Harry Lee—the pet of the army, and afterwards the father of Robert E. Lee who gave up his sword at Appomattox. Another interesting building, but a short distance from the Van Horn house, is the old Middlebrook tavern. When it was erected cannot be learned, but it was certainly before 1750. Its present occupant and owner is fully alive to the value of its old time associations, and is careful to preserve intact all that testifies of ancient days. In its quaint bar-room many marks of Revolutionary bayonets are to be seen upon the heavy beams of its low-studded ceiling.

Pages could be written descriptive of the interesting scenes and incidents of which Somerset County was the theatre during that memorable winter. Numerous circumstances conspired to make this Middlebrook cantonment conspicuous for its agreeable features. The British were quiet at their quarters in New York. Both officers and men of the Continental force were in excellent temper; they had been greatly encouraged by their success at Monmouth, and inclined to think that they had at last mastered the art of war, and they felt that their arms were now sure to prevail because of the powerful alliance of France. In addition, the weather was singularly mild, in strong contrast to the preceding winter at Valley Forge, or the succeeding one, when the army lay buried in snow on the bleak wind-swept Kimball Hill, near Morristown. Many opportunities, consequently presented themselves for social intercourse. Mrs. Washington, Mrs. Greene, and Mrs. Knox had frequent visitors from Virginia, Philadelphia and New England. Lady Stirling and her attractive daughter, Lady Kitty, often drove to camp from Basking Ridge, as did Mrs. Lott and her daughter Cornelia—Mrs. Greene's warm friend—from beyond Morristown. The daughters of Governor Livingston spent several weeks at headquarters, and some of the generals and colonels were accompanied by their wives and daughters. Attached to the line and staff of the army were many brilliant young men who naturally fraternized with the Jersey families, and altogether, there was a considerable contingent of ladies' society in the vicinity of Middlebrook Camp. This resulted in a succession of affairs of ceremony, reunions, dances and tea drinkings, culminating in the gala *fête* at Pluckemin, celebrating the first anniversary of the French alliance, and in the grand review at Bound Brook, in honor of the foreign ambassadors and their suites.

ANDREW D. MELLICK, Jr.

PLAINFIELD, NEW JERSEY.

GENERAL RUFUS PUTNAM'S HOUSE IN RUTLAND

WHERE THE OHIO COMPANY ORIGINATED

Editor Magazine of American History:

As I have been a constant reader of your Magazine from the first number to the present time, and take great interest in the same, please allow me to correct an error in the article "Marietta, Ohio, 1788-1888," in your September number. On page 76, the twenty-third line, the word "Vermont" should be Massachusetts.* Gen. Rufus Putnam was born in Sutton, Massachusetts, lived in Brookfield a number of years, and in 1781 or 1782 bought one of Col. John Murray's confiscated farms in Rutland, Massachusetts,† and in 1782 moved to the same with his family, where they lived till the spring of 1790, when he with his wife, eight children and two domestics, as also several other families from Rutland, left for Ohio.

* The editor is extremely grateful for the above correction of a typographical error which escaped notice until too late for remedy.

† See Sabine's "Loyalists of American Revolution" vol. 2, 115.

The house in which General Rufus Putnam lived is yet standing and in good condition, having changed but little since he left it, and the room in which General Putnam and General Tupper spent the night of January 10, 1786, is now the same, no changes having been made except occasionally a coat of paint, and temporary board before the old open fire-place. There are many foot prints left of General Putnam in Rutland.

J. A. SMITH

WORCESTER, MASSACHUSETTS.

OLD ENGLISH CLASSIC STYLE

The literary merit of the Collects in the Book of Common Prayer—the beauty of diction as well as of thought, the metrical flow—almost rhythm of the language—the style of these gems in English composition has excited the admiration and challenged the homage of all who have an eye and ear for the charms of literature.

The ability to compose after this manner in our mother tongue gradually waned after the Elizabethan era, until it became one of the lost arts. For the force of thought was not sacrificed to beauty of expression, as in those who affect an ornate or florid style—nay, thought was strengthened by this marvelous diction—as inimitable as it is charming. Almost any and all the collects are deserving of this high commendation,—but take for examples the one for the 6th Sunday after Trinity, All Saints' Day, and the Collect used on Rogation Days. The mere brilliancy of expression reminds one of a skillful magician, tossing bright balls above, and by his art keeping them dancing in the air. A short passage in Shakespeare, *Richard II.*, act II., scene 3d—notably displays this wonderful power.

“Northumberland. Believe me, noble lord, to Berkeley now? I am a stranger here in Gloucestershire :

These high wild hills and rough uneven ways
Draws out our miles, and makes them wearisome ;
And yet your fair discourse hath been as sugar,
Making the hard way sweet and delectable.
But I bethink me what a weary way
From Ravenspurgh to Cotswold will be found
In Ross and Willoughby, wanting your company,
Which, I protest, hath very much beguiled
The tediousness and process of my travel :
But theirs is sweetened with the hope to have
The present benefit which I possess ;
And hope to joy is little less in joy
Than hope enjoy'd : by this the weary lords
Shall make their way seem short, as mine hath done
By sight of what I have, your noble company.”

Here the interchange of words and play upon words, adds virility to the thought expressed, so that no one could possibly doubt after reading it, that pleasant companionship neutralizes the tedium of travel.

G. G. HEPBURN

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

SIR HENRY CLINTON'S ORIGINAL SECRET RECORD OF PRIVATE DAILY
INTELLIGENCE

Unpublished Letter from W. Heron to Sir Henry Clinton

(Original in possession of William Evarts Benjamin.)

NEW YORK, Monday Morning, 4 March, 1782.

SIR,

I arrived here late last night and would not have undertaken a journey of 70 miles at this inclement season were it not that I discovered in our friend Mr. K— some inattention to those matters which I have from time to time communicated to him ; tho' I am very far from thinking it done thro' design, for I believe him a very honest Man ; but rather too indolent and subject to some little infirmities which in some degree disqualifies a person for Business which requires close attention, a good Memory & clear head. His having to pass thro' the Guards whenever he met me, rendered it unsafe for him to carry any writings about him ; therefore we were under the necessity of giving and receiving only verbal Accounts of those matters w'ich were afterwards to be Committed to writing by him for y^r perusal ; but every succeeding interview I had with him convinc'd me that whatever he had in Charge suffer'd by passing thro' his Hands in the above manner.

As I dare not Venture to bring any Minutes with me, I have to trust to Memory in arranging such Matters as may be necessary to Lay before you. The first thing I shall take up is the Circular Letter wrote by Gen^l. Washington to the several States, or Assemblies, pressing them in the most earnest manner to fill up the deficiencies in the Army with all possible expedition, holding up to view a fixed determination to open an early Campaign before the Arrival of any Succours from England ; and altho' this Garrison was not pointed at in that Letter (which was read in the Assembly at Hartford last Jan^y) as the first Object in View, it was the Language of the House that it wou'd have the first attention paid to it at the opening of the Campaign. However, it is observ'd by those who are thought to be in the Secrets of the Cabinet, and who are judges of Military Plans, that it must depend on some Events taking place ; such as the early arrival of a Superior French fleet from the West Indies which may force their way into this Port, or whose operations may be directed against Charlestown. The former is the prevailing opinion. Also a Compliance on the part of the Court of France with the Requisition of Congress with which the Marquiss De Lafayette was Charg'd when

he Sail'd from Boston : That is, an Armament to be sent into the River of St. Lawrence as early as Possible, which may not only serve to divert the attention of the Commander-in-Chief in that Province from any attempt on the Northern frontiers, but, perhaps, may be attended with Signal Success shou'd the Canadians favour the attempt. Such an Event wou'd afford them an opportunity of Collecting their whole Strength to a point against this Garrison. Another event on which a vigorous Campaign depends is the abilities of ye Colonies to raise their respective Quotas of Men and other supplies ; and that they are deficient in point of Abilities seems to be reduc'd to some degree of certainty from the following Consideration. The Financier-general, Mr. Morris, has made a late demand for Eight Millions of Dollars to answer the exigencies of the Curr^d. Year ; the proportion which Connecticut bears is not far from 800,000 Doll^r.— When the question was put in the late Assembly whether this demand shou'd be Comply'd with, it pass'd in the Negative ; but to get rid of it with some grace, they Voted to appropriate Nine pence on the pound to that use, of a Tax of 2s 6d on the pound which was imposed last May, and to be paid in kind, and which indeed is already absorb'd almost. Even the Ninepence on the Pound wou'd raise only about 225,000 Dollars to be paid (not in specie as is required) in specific Articles of Country produce. The rest of the Assemblies which have been convened in Consequence of the foregoing requisition seem to manifest similar Backwardness, or rather plead inability.

The people of Vermont are disaffected and talk in a high tone against the jurisdiction of Congress—. Great Quantities of Warlike Stores and Artillery are transported to Albany from Connecticut and Massachusetts, which would seem to Indicate a design against Canada were it not that we know they can with convenience be transported from Albany down the River should they be needed. One Brigade of the Connecticut line are under marching orders, 'tis thought to join the Hampshire Line at Saratoga. The reasons assign'd for the Movement by those who are supposed to know, are to answ^r. Various purposes ; the keeping the people of Vermont in Awe, to be ready to Check any incursions from Canada, and to take the necessary preparatory steps shou'd an expedition be form'd against it in Consequence of the taking place of those events already noted.

I receiv'd a Letter from a friend of mine who commands a Regim^t of the Hampshire Troops at Saratoga acquainting me that Gen^l Haldiman had 2,500 regular troops canton'd near Chansblee late in the fall and that it was expected he wou'd cross the Lake early in the spring, which is the reason why those troops were detain'd at Saratoga this winter. This may account for the sending the Cannon & Stores to Albany.

The drawing the Canadians from their allegiance seems to be a matter which the Congress has much at heart ; judging that if the independence of the thirteen Colonies shou'd be acknowledged by Great Britain, it wou'd be very insecure so long as she possess'd such an extensive region in their neighbourhood.

The last thing which deserves notice is the Spirit of discord which prevails in

the Country, and is occasion'd by so many of their leading Characters being suspected of carrying on the Illicit Trade as they call it——. Mutual Jealousies and Animosities arising from this Source, prevail in the Assemblies & Councils of New York & Connecticut.

Trumbull & Clinton, their Governors, are openly accused——. The last Assembly which sat at Hartford in Jan^r last, appointed a Committee to examine the Conduct of the Govern^r respecting this business, but their report was favourable to him——. Some of their ablest Politicians painted the ill tendency of this practice in glowing Colours——.

They Hesitate not to pronounce the ruin of their Fabric of Independence as inevitable in case a stop is not put to it——.

It is the Policy (say they) which Britain seems to have adopted to make New York a place of Arms, a safe Asylum for their fleets, whence they can Issue forth to Annoy the Coasts, and annihilate the American Trade, encourage & Countenance Commercial Intercourses between their citizens and the Inhabitants of the States, which will not only draw supplies from them for their fleets & Armies, and drain the Country of the little Specie in it; but, which is still more fatal to their Cause, eventually detach the people from the prosecution of the War, & finally become reconciled to those whom they were taught to view as their enemies——.

Such are the fears & Apprehensions of their ablest Republicans——. Shou'd the foregoing hints answer any valuable purpose, it will afford such Satisfaction to me as is felt by those who are Conscious of aiming to do what lies in their power to promote the true Interest of their Country.

With Sentiments of Gratitude & esteem

I am, Sir,

Your most Obed^t. Serv^t.

W. H.

● P. S. As I wish to return as soon as possible, I shou'd be glad to receive your Commands to-morrow at Capt. M^cNeill, under a Cover directed to him; together with a Passport. Shou'd it be expected that I shou'd continue my attention to this Business, I believe the Line through our friend Mr. K—— must be shifted; for I am sensible he is too inattentive and that his Bottle and friend may divert him from matters of the greatest Importance——. It may do for me on very extraordinary occasions to see him and insist on his coming off immediately; but we must not be together frequently——. I have kept Gen^l P——s in a tolerable frame of mind since I had the pleasure of seeing you last, & altho' he was somewhat Chagrin'd when I return'd from this place last October, yet I am convinc'd that in endeavouring to serve you he has (since) render'd himself in some measure, unpopular. As you very well remember, I acquainted you with this Man's prevailing disposition and temper, and observ'd that altho' I believed him :

rank Republican in principle, yet he was capable of serving you from other motives——.

The same Motives are still existing—and in Addition to them, disgust, Chagrin, & disaffection towards his Superiors come in as powerful Auxillaries—his frustrating the expedition concerted by Talmadge against Loyds Neck, his being an advocate for Loyal Subjects, and his being ready to Communicate whatever comes to his Knowledge of the Secrets of the Cabinet, are facts which are indisputable.

Whether such services merit any reward, or whether a Man of principles can be Useful to you, is not for me to say: However, he has been encourag'd to expect something, and I suppose, can't be kept much longer in Countenance——. For my own part, I consider myself bound to persevere in discharging, as far as my situation will admit of, those duties which I owe my sovereign & my Country.

INTERESTING UNPUBLISHED CORRESPONDENCE

Extract from letter of General Rufus Putnam to Colonel Benj. Tallmadge

(From the Putnam Manuscripts in Library of Marietta College.)

Contributed by E. C. Dawes.

Marietta, Ohio, January 25, 1797

* * * Suffer me to congratulate you and all the true friends of national liberty on the prospect that Mr. Adams will succeed our old friend *Montezuma* in the Chair of the United States. I pray with you "that a good Providence may still continue to protect and defend us from foreign war and domestic inquietude"—but rather than submit to the intrigues and insolence of any Nation, so daring and unprovoked as those of the French appear to be, I own I prefer a war with all its horrors; because we should secure more firmly our Liberty and independence as a Nation (which was first established at the expense of so much Blood and Treasure); whereas if we tamely submit to the insolence of the present French Government it may justly be considered as a prelude to a total extinguishment of National Independence and subject us to the sport of European politics.

NOTES

SHERIDAN'S MEMORY—The memory of Sheridan was faultless, writes Thomas Donaldson in the *Philadelphia Press*. He could recall regiments, brigades and commanders at will. In conversing about the war he reluctantly mentioned himself. When told of Grant's splendid and just opinion of his abilities he blushed like a woman. He never forgot the soldiers of the Union. His eyes would fill and his breath come quick and short with any detail of injustice to any one of them. For the "mustang"—the non-graduate of West Point officer—he had as much consideration and kindness as for him from "The Point." There was little of the fuss and feathers about him. Strict as a disciplinarian, his charity was large enough to admit and see errors which were merely human. He wore his uniform only when necessary. His dress was usually of dark cloth, or steel blue or gray. His cutaway coat helped his appearance. His necktie, with standing collar, contained a small sword for a pin. He had one of the most curious hats and queer overcoats of the day. The hat always gave the impression of an accidental change of hats at a reception with some member of a very foreign legation. It was a silk high hat of the most antique and curious pattern. It was tall and thin and with a rim or brim about an inch and a half wide. His top coat reached nearly to the ground, with a straight collar and two buttons near the top. A small switchy cane completed his street costume.

DOES LITERATURE PAY?—"While there are in this country to-day a dozen

writers who make a handsome income, there are thousands who do not and cannot make a living by their pens—I mean by legitimate literary work. Still," says Eugene L. Didier, in the current number of *The Writer*, "even in the face of this discouraging fact, I would strongly urge any man or woman, who 'feels called to a literary life' to pursue it, and, should it be necessary to do something else for a living, to employ every leisure hour in literary work. This country, great and splendid as it is in material progress, is not so great as it should be in literary men. Our great poets and historians are dead; our great novelists have never lived. To all who follow literature honestly and honorably it will pay, if not in money, in a higher sense—in fame; if not in either fame or money, still there is a pleasure in writing, which only writers feel. Milton received only £5 for *Paradise Lost*, but by it he won a fame which will outlive the centuries. Poe was paid only \$10 for *The Raven*, but it gave him an enduring fame. Fielding, after dissipating his estate, said he had to choose between being a hack writer and a hackney coachman. Perhaps, from a pecuniary point of view, the latter would have proved the more profitable, but, as Gibbon says, 'the immortal romance of *Tom Jones* will outlive the palace of the Escorial and the imperial eagle of Austria.' Literature is not, never was, and never will be, a money-making profession. Yet literature is the true glory of nations, and bestows an honor upon individuals which kings can neither give nor take away." This question is attracting wide attention.

THE WOMEN OF LIMA, SOUTH AMERICA—From the earliest times Lima has been noted for its beautiful women, not merely for attractive features, but elegance of physique and graceful movement. In speaking of the women of Lima reference is made to the superior class of Spanish descendants, those of Pizarro and his followers, who, as Prescott states, shod their horses with silver shoes and gambled away in one night the accumulated wealth of centuries.

A typical Lima belle is of larger stature than the North American model of beauty, possessing a well-rounded, graceful form, small and elegantly molded feet, pearly teeth, and proportionate countenances, which are well calculated for the artistic touch invariably received, giving a handsome hue to the swarthy, dimpled cheeks. The eyes are dark, large, and so bewitching in their expression as to drive care from the skipper's mind as he whirls his ideal beauty through the long hallway, his soul keeping time with the spirited waltzes. The essentiality of the life of a Lima belle is pleasure. Household affairs do not harass her. Each member of a family has his or her servant, attentive upon immediate wants, though in a shiftless manner, and in a like careless way performing other duties of his department. The servants have but little to do, and their compensation is small, generally receiving nothing but food and clothing.

A peculiar form of hospitality toward a guest is for the lady of the house to drop perfumed water upon a gentleman's handkerchief or in the bosom of a lady. At the table the senorita compliments you by feeding you with a small piece of meat upon the end of her fork or between

her dimpled fingers. This is taken *nolens volens*, and should the party consist of any number of young ladies the rapidity of this masticatory process is anything but a holiday task.

THE BATTLE OF HARLEM HEIGHTS—*Editor of Magazine of American History.* The workmen on Edgecombe Avenue, now in process of construction along the eastern edge of Washington Heights, have unearthed several relics of the combat which took place on this ground one hundred and twelve years ago yesterday. Among these are a grape-shot found near 115th Street, and a 6 lb. cannon ball and a fragment of a shell, found between 151st and 152d Streets. The two last are in my possession.

M. VAN RENSSELAER

22 ST. NICHOLAS PLACE, Sept. 17, 1888.

THE CALVERT PAPERS—An important collection of papers relating to Maryland history has recently been discovered in possession of Henry Harford, of England, a descendant of the last Lord Baltimore, residing at his country seat near Windsor, known as "Down Place." Among these are family documents of the Calverts extending back to the time of Queen Elizabeth, the charter of the Province of Maryland in Latin, believed to be the original, and a mass of other documents and records of nameless value. These have been purchased by the Maryland Historical Society, and the readers of the magazine will have further accounts of them in an early issue. It is said to be one of the most important collections of original papers that could possibly fall into the hands of any historical body or individual lover of historic lore.

M. P.

QUERIES

• WASHINGTON'S PORTRAIT BY PINE—Some years ago I came across the following public notice of the sale of a portrait of "The father of his country"—in this city. As I have never been able to trace it, can any of your readers give us the desired information? Was such a likeness ever painted, and if so, what became of it?

"VALUABLE PAINTINGS, PRINTS, BUSTS, AND STATUES

The amateurs of fine arts are *respectfully* informed that a small but very choice selection of original paintings, etc., is preparing for exhibition and sale at the Rooms of Mr. Shaw Armour, A.A.B. Montreal (auctioneers and brokers, I suppose), and will be ready for inspection on Thursday, the 19th inst., *but not before*, when catalogues may be had. Amongst the paintings are two of great values from the Farnesean Palace at Rome, and a remarkable fine Portrait of GEORGE WASHINGTON full size, by Pine,

which was painted purposely for the late Dr. Lettsom of London, and is one of the very few pictures for which that eminent warrior and statesman *really sat*. It represents the General in full Regimentals, and was deemed by those who knew him best the most correct likeness ever taken, etc., etc. . . . Montreal, Dec. 14, 1816."

JOHN HORN
MONTREAL, *August*, 1888.

LIST OF LETTERS OF JAMESTOWN, VIRGINIA—Is there among the colonial records of Virginia, or elsewhere, a list of the names of the first settlers of the Jamestown colony?

Were all or any of those settlers from the county of Kent, England; and if so, what were their names?

Among the emigrants, was there, or not, a descendant of a former Lord Chief-Justice of the King's Bench?

QUERIST

ATLANTA, GEORGIA.

REPLIES

SLAVERY IN NEW HAMPSHIRE [xx. 249]—Briefly, the history of the restriction and abolition of slavery in New Hampshire is as follows: During the two periods of union with Massachusetts, 1641–1680, and 1686–1692, the state was under the "Body of Liberties" adopted by Massachusetts in 1641, December. The ninety-first article of this document declares that there "shall never be any bond-slavery, villanage, or captivity amongst us, unless it be lawful captives taken in just wars, and such strangers as willingly sell themselves, or are sold to us. And these shall have all the liber-

ties and Christian usages which the law of God established in Israel concerning such persons doth morally require." (*Palfrey's New England*. II., p. 30.) In 1715 there were 150 slaves numbered in the census, but early in her colonial history the state passed a law prohibiting the importation of slaves. According to the state constitution which went into effect in 1784, the colonial laws remained in force, thus preventing the introduction of slaves from without. The same constitution opens its Bill of Rights with the declaration that, "All men are born free and equal." and this

clause was immediately (*Lalor's Cyclopaedia Political Science, Slavery*) decided by the courts to guarantee personal freedom to all born in that state after its adoption (*Blake's History of Slavery*, p. 387; *Hildreth's History U. S.*, 1st S., Vol. 3, 392). These statutes naturally led to a gradual extinction of slavery, as is referred to, by Hildreth's (2d S., Vol. 1, 175). The census 1776 showed 629 slaves; that of 1790, 158; 1800, 8; 1840, 1.

J. A. B.

BELOIT, WISCONSIN.

THE HUGUENOTS [xx. 249]—Exemptions from St. Bartholomew's Massacre—Henry, Prince of Navarre, and Henry, Prince of Condé, were both exempted from the slaughter of St. Bartholomew's Day, the former being a brother-in-law of the King, and Condé of the Duke of Nevers. They were both, however, brought before the King, and threatened with death unless they recanted. Neither would accept clemency on that condition, although the answer of Condé was remarkably bold compared with that of Navarre. (*Guizot's France; Baird's Rise of the Huguenots*.) A few weeks later they both participated in the mass, and Navarre, on ascending the throne, adopted the Catholic religion. The King, himself, also protected two of his servants, Ambroise Paré, his surgeon, and his old Huguenot nurse. The conversation of the brave physician with the King is related by Guizot. It is said that when Charles was dying, the old nurse he had saved was his constant attendant and confidante. His mind was continually on that dreadful August Sunday, and her prayers at his bedside that God would lay the bloody deed not

to his but to his advisers' charge had little power to soothe him, as he cried: "Ah, my nurse, my friend, how much blood! how many murders!"

J. A. B.

BELOIT, WISCONSIN.

CONGREGATIONS AND CHURCHES [xvii. 441]—*Editor Magazine of American History*: Among the many queries in your Magazine up to the beginning of the present volume, the one above indicated is, as far as I have been able to observe, the only one remaining unanswered.

I find, by consulting Catholic histories, that the first Catholic congregation on this continent was formed in Vinland as early as 1120, by Eric Upsi, who had been appointed Bishop of Vinland by Pope Paschal II., and was consecrated in Denmark, 1121, by Archbishop Adzer. The congregation was made up of Northmen who had immigrated to Vinland in consequence of the Norse discoveries. According to *Memoirs of the Royal Society of Antiquarians*, the ancient "tholus" (tower) in Newport, Rhode Island, belonged to a Scandinavian church or monastery, where, in alternation with Latin Masses, the old Danish tongue was heard seven hundred years ago. "What is here stated may be found in substance in even as small a work as the well-known and extensively-used *Sadlier's Excelsior Studies in the History of the United States*" (pp. 7 and 23).

As to the other part of the query, concerning the first Lutheran congregation or church in America, a very small congregation of Lutherans from Holland was formed at New Amsterdam (New York) in about 1623 (simultaneously

with the establishment of the Dutch Reformed of the same place). But the first more prominent Lutheran congregation was composed of Swedes, and established at Fort Christina (the present Wilmington), Delaware, where in 1638 they erected a church—the first Evangelical Lutheran church built on the American continent. Compare *S. Stall's Lutheran Yearbook and Historical Quarterly for 1887*, also the so-called *Halle Nachrichten*, Allentown, Pa., 1886.

H.

MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN.

SHIPS AND TROOPS AT THE BEGINNING OF THE REVOLUTION [xx. 249]—The British Armada—"Here was another great Armada, more numerous in ships and men than that which Philip of Spain had organized to subvert the liberties of England. And no providential storm rolled up to shatter this one like the other. The pleasant summer weather smiled upon its awful menace, as it lay securely at anchor in the great bend between Sandy Hook and Staten Island. There were thirty-seven men-of-war guarding 400 transports; 35,000 men in all, soldiers and sailors, the soldiers numbering 27,000." (*John W. Chadwick, in Harper's*, Vol. 53, 336.) It was the most perfect army of that day in the world, for experience, discipline, equipments and artillery; and was supported by more than four hundred ships and transports in the bay; by ten ships of the line and twenty frigates, besides bomb-ketches, galiots, and other small vessels. (*Bancroft*, Vol. 9, 85.) *Justin Windsor's Nar. and Crit. History* states that the soldiers numbered 31,625, and adds: "To defend the works scat-

tered over more than twenty miles, Washington had an army of only 17,225 men, of whom 6,711 were sick, on furlough, or detached, leaving but 10,514 present for duty. Most of these were militia, badly clothed, imperfectly armed, without discipline or military experience, and their artillery was old and of various patterns and calibres." The Armada had 129 vessels, 19,295 soldiers, and 8,460 sailors, besides slaves as rowers.

J. A. B.

BELOIT, WISCONSIN.

THE HUGUENOTS [xx. 249]—It is said that Bernard Palissy, who had been employed to ornament the gardens of the palace, was especially exempted by Catherine de Médicis from the massacre of St. Bartholomew, Aug. 24th. 1572. He was the leading exponent of the French ceramic art in the sixteenth century, and the first to rediscover the art of producing white enamel. He saw by chance an enameled cup, and neglecting all other duties experimented upon the art for sixteen years, and finally became so poverty-stricken that he burned his household furniture for fuel, and his wife and children were nearly starved; but he succeeded in the end, and became famous. Having become a Protestant he was imprisoned, but Charles IX. released him that he might become "potter to the king." Under royal protection he removed to Paris, and set up his works, called from his tile-king, "Tuileries," and when the palace was built there it retained the name. He was born in Agen, France, in 1510.

WALDEMAR'

NEW YORK, September 10th.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

"What books shall we read?" is a question that comes to us with such startling frequency of late, particularly from young people just leaving the class-room, that we are impelled to investigate the subject for their benefit. Not, that there is any famine in reading material. The world was never so rich in books as at the present hour. But there is a choice in them as there is in the friends we gather about us. A man is known, says the proverb, by the company he keeps, and not only so but he is lifted upwards or dragged down by it. Too much time is spent with the rubbish of literature, and too little with the choice thoughts of choice spirits. Reading is the key that admits us to the whole world of thought and fancy and imagination; to the company of saint and sage, of the wisest and the wittiest at the wisest and wittiest moment. It enables us to see with the keenest eyes, hear with the finest ears, and listen to the sweetest voices of all time.

The variety of books is, however, so great, we are told, that the reader is in danger of falling into mean company, and becoming commonplace. One of our famous essayists says, "we are apt to wonder at the scholarship of the men of three centuries ago, and at a certain dignity of phrase that characterizes them. They were scholars because they did not read so many things as we. They had fewer books, but these were of the best. Their speech was noble, because they lunched with Plutarch and supped with Plato. We spend as much time over print as they did, but instead of unconsciously acquiring the grand manner of supreme society, we diligently cover the continent with a net work of speaking wires to inform us of such inspiring facts as that a horse belonging to Mr. Smith ran away on Wednesday, seriously damaging a valuable carryall; that a son of Mr. Brown swallowed a hickory nut on Thursday; and that a gravel bank caved in and buried Mr. Robinson alive on Friday. Alas, it is we ourselves that are getting buried alive under this avalanche of earthly impertinences! It is we who, while we might each in his humble way be helping our fellows into the right path, or adding one block to the climbing spire of a fine soul, are willing to become mere sponges saturated from the stagnant goose pond of village gossip."

To those who are in search of a course of reading our essayist says: "My advice would be that they should confine themselves to the supreme books in whatever literature, or, still better, to choose some one great author, and make themselves thoroughly familiar with him. For, as all roads lead to Rome, so do they likewise lead away from it, and you will find that in order to understand perfectly and weigh exactly any vital piece of literature, you will be gradually and pleasantly persuaded to excursions and explorations of which you little dreamed when you began, and will find yourselves scholars before you are aware. For, remember that there is nothing less profitable than scholarship for the mere sake of scholarship, nor anything more wearisome in the attainment. But the moment you have a definite aim, attention is quickened—the mother of

memory—and all that you acquire groups and arranges itself in an order that is lucid, because everywhere and always it is in intelligent relation to a central object of constant and growing interest. This method also forces upon us the necessity of thinking, which is, after all, the highest result of all education."

Select books that are informing, and so far as in your power equip yourselves with wide knowledge in all branches of history, literature and affairs. Are you deficient in any of these? Then seek the best authorities and bring yourself to the highest standard in that field without delay. Let your intellectual progress be marked with positive accumulations. When you read a book that is really worth the time you spend with it, do not cram your mind with others as a man in a hurry is apt to cram his gripsack, but do a little earnest and profitable thinking before you take up its successor in your reading course. The perusal of a book gives birth to ideas in no way connected with the subject of which it treats. All careful readers should however avoid dwelling too long upon one line of study or thought. Light and varied reading should be interspersed with the solid and useful. An extreme in either direction is to be avoided.

Human knowledge is an orderly and systematic whole. The development of the mind is a curious and mysterious process. What it needs is a favorable situation with plenty of light and air and healthful nourishment. Then it will grow in symmetry and strength and bear abundant fruit. But it can easily be starved on any one or two kinds of intellectual food, as one would be starved physically if obliged to subsist on sugar alone. Each side of knowledge is barren and imperfect without the other. The great tide of thoughts cannot be contained in narrow limits. Literature is properly the written record of man's thoughts; history the story of that thought as it has developed into action—the story of the rise and growth of human society. No course of literary or scientific reading will achieve much for the reader in the way of general culture without the reading of history, through which we learn to look upon human life as a whole, and to consider human thought and human actions in all their possible relations.

Speaking of the education of children, Rev. Dr. C. H. Parkhurst says: "If one-quarter of the time that is spent in learning minutiae about inaccessible regions and outlandish towns were employed judiciously, the child would have just as practical a knowledge of the world, and would have three-quarters of his time left to put to more profitable uses. The criticism to be passed on arithmetic is, that while it disciplines the pupil's mind, it is usually taught in such a way that it has to be all learned over again before it is available for practical uses. A boy will know how to 'do sums' in his book, but that is no sign that he could take the first step or make the first figure toward solving the same problem in a store or an office. The instruction he has received has lacked the coupling-pin that binds the school-room and practical life in one train."

BOOK NOTICES

THE FEDERALIST. A Commentary on THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES. Being a collection of essays written in support of the Constitution agreed upon September 17, 1787, by THE FEDERAL CONVENTION. Reprinted from the original text of Alexander Hamilton, John Jay, and James Madison. Edited by Henry Cabot Lodge. 12mo, pp. 586. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1888.

This work in its present convenient form is timely and most welcome. The American public has had much information vouchsafed it about the "Federalist," but while the student could always pore over its paragraphs on the library table, the general reader has had few opportunities to make its acquaintance except by proxy. Here comes a well-edited volume that every man may possess and study at his leisure. Mr. Lodge in his introduction gives a synopsis of the controversies about its authorship; but he does not attempt to give a true answer that will be expected to satisfy everybody to this long-mooted question. He does, however, what is much better, he presents the evidence, including a little that is new, in a concise form, and states the case, with the arguments, so clearly that the merits of the question may be readily understood and easily appreciated. He also gives a bibliography of the "Federalist" which will be greatly prized by scholars. At the close of the volume the Articles of Confederation appear in full; also the Federal Constitution as agreed upon by the Convention, September 17, 1787, and the amendments to the Constitution which have since been adopted. The book is also provided with a good index.

MARTIN VAN BUREN. By EDWARD M. SHEPARD. 16mo, pp. 403. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

Born more than a century ago, elected a senator of New York state in 1813, and a recognized party leader in 1825, Mr. Van Buren's career covers a period which must be regarded as among the most important of our national history. It closed while the country was engaged in suppressing the greatest and most nearly successful rebellion of modern times, and during his long and active life he had filled nearly all of the great offices within the reach of an American citizen. As legislator, senator, governor, minister, president, he had served the public, and acquired a reputation that assures him a permanent place in the roll of American statesmen. It is impossible that the

life of so ardent a partisan as Van Buren can be written without provoking criticism from his opponents. As a life-long Democrat he made numerous political enemies among the Whigs, but he was by no means a Democrat of the type that composed the Tweed ring or that hampered the machinery of the national government during its years of peril from civil war. Early identified with the Free Soil party he estranged many of his former associates, who could not reconcile such conduct with the known antecedents of the alleged founder of the Albany Regency, and the opprobrious epithet of turn-coat was freely applied.

Mr. Shepard has succeeded, no doubt *con amore*, in preparing a most interesting and instructive biography of this brilliant and erratic statesman. As a contribution to history it may be safely rated as among the best of the "American Statesman Series" which John T. Morse, Jr., has so judiciously supervised and edited.

FORMAN'S JOURNEY DOWN THE OHIO AND MISSISSIPPI, 1789-90. By MAJOR SAMUEL S. FORMAN. With a memoir and illustrative notes by LYMAN C. DRAPER, LL.D. 12mo, pp. 67. Robert Clark & Co. Cincinnati, 1888.

This narrative of a journey down the Ohio and Mississippi was not reduced to writing until sixty years after the trip was made, but with an unusually fine memory Major Forman was able to relate many curious particulars connected with it. Dr. Draper in the memoir describes the author and his boyhood life in New Jersey during the Revolution. Freneau, the well-known editor and poet, married Forman's sister about 1790. General David Forman having entered into a negotiation with the Spanish minister, Von Diego de Cardogne, for his brother, Ezekiel Forman, of Philadelphia, uncle of the Major, to emigrate with his family, and about sixty colored people, and settle in the Natchez country under Spanish authority, young Major Forman was induced to accompany them. His picturesque description of the journey down the Ohio in keel boats is very entertaining. They stopped at Marietta, and found acquaintances among the officers of the garrison there, and were tendered most acceptable hospitalities. The traveling party consisted of Mr. and Mrs. Forman, their three daughters, Master David Forman, Miss Church, Captain Osmun, S. S. Forman, the narrator, and Mr. Schudder, eleven in all. The General and Mrs. Harmer invited them to a sumptuous dinner at Fort Harmer. Governor St. Clair and his family were then living at Campus Martius, and showed them distinguished attention. At the Grea

Miami was Judge Symmes' settlement, with only a sergeant's command for its protection. Louisville is described, and we learn that it was the custom among the citizens when any persons of note arrived to have a ball in their honor. Managers were chosen, a subscription paper was circulated to meet the expenses, and every signer, except strangers, must provide his partner, and escort her to the ball and safe home again. The Formans were too important not to be treated to a ball, and the affair with its details are pictured with amusing particularity. The journey of the party down the Mississippi was less exciting than on the Ohio, but extremely interesting, and we learn much of Natchez at that period, "then a small place with houses generally of a mean structure." Mr. Forman had removed here for the purpose of cultivating tobacco, and soon had his negroes at work in the tobacco fields.

STUDIES IN CRITICISM. By FLORENCE TRAIL. 16mo, pp. 328. New York: Worthington Company.

Studies in Criticism is in effect a series of seven essays on miscellaneous topics embracing religion, morality, metaphysics, art, and literature. The author has evidently read extensively and pondered what she read with a woman's keen insight and high aspirations for all that is best in the humanities. Through the pages runs the inevitable question, does intellectual and artistic culture touch the conscience? The tendency of the book is in the direction of advanced thought, showing that Right is synonymous with Reason, and not merely an emotion that may be based upon superstition. Nihilism and anarchy she justly regards as mere excrescences—misconceptions of the sublimest doctrines that have ever been taught by Christians and philosophers.

CHARLES RIVER. A Poem. By THOMAS C. AMORY. 12mo, pp. 185. Cambridge, 1888. John Wilson & Son.

This clever little poetic work is in point of fact a series of descriptions of historic places and people in the vicinity of Charles River, Massachusetts, of more than ordinary interest, and will repay careful perusal. In Canto XI., entitled the "Homes of the Poets," there are many felicitous passages, of which the lines about the home of Lowell are perhaps the most notable. Mr. Amory writes of "Harvard College," and of the distinguished men who have from time to time gathered within its walls, from the standpoint of his own reminiscences. He writes with care, paying marked attention to names, dates, and facts of every variety. He finds in "Boston" one of his most difficult themes for the evolution of poesy. The history of Boston should always be written in severe

prose. Cambridge is more flexible, and the lines flow more smoothly where the poet describes a historic scene in a historic home:

"Beneath its roof one day in counsel met
Ward, Lee and Putnam, Thomas, Knox and
Gates,

Green, Sullivan, Spenser, in due order set—
In dire dismay, as commissary states
His make-believe of barrels filled with sand,
While all the powder he could rake and scrape
But forty charges for lines thinly manned.
From Mystic Waters round to Squantum Cape."

LOOKING BACKWARD. By EDWARD BELLAMY. 16mo, pp. 515. Boston: Ticknor & Co.

There is no question but that in this prophetic romance Mr. Bellamy has sounded a note that is destined to be heard farther and longer than usual in these days of multitudinous and ephemeral publications. It was at first published in a comparatively costly shape, but is now issued in the "Paper Series" at a moderate price, and is decidedly among the notable books of the year. We do not recommend it to any one who reads merely for amusement; while it is a novel, it is one far out of the ordinary. Readers who are accustomed to weep over the woes of fictitious lords and ladies will probably find it very tedious, though it contains more tear-provoking suggestions than all the novels of the year combined. Its history is somewhat remarkable, recalling that of *Ben Hur*. Published without anything farther than the usual announcement, and during a dull season, it apparently fell dead from the press. But in a few months orders began to increase, and it is now counted as one of the best selling books on the market.

In brief it is a look forward rather than backward. By an ingenious introductory passage the author causes himself to be translated to Boston in the year 2,000. It is a case of suspended animation, and his advent is as interesting to the citizens of that advanced period as it is to him, for not unnaturally they have found themselves utterly unable to extract a true notion of the nineteenth century from the flood of contradictory statements of contemporary publications. One of the most striking of the earlier passages is the figure by which Mr. Bellamy illustrates the present state of society. A few favored individuals are mounted upon a stage coach which is laboriously dragged over a rough road by all the rest of mankind. The passengers have but one thought—to keep their places. If one of them is jolted off he is compelled instantly to take his place on the drag rope, and to regain his lost seat is well nigh hopeless. The simile is worked up in very effective style, and no one can read it without being forcibly impressed by the terrible injustice of the situation. One cannot help asking, "Why do

not the many workers throw down the drag-rope, overturn the coach, and compel the passengers to take a hand in the world's work.

Of course the plan upon which society should be reorganized is more or less incomplete. In a single volume such a mighty problem can be treated only in a comparatively superficial way. Many of the most perplexing problems of the day are barely touched upon, but on the other hand suggestions are made which contain the germ at least of a satisfactory solution. Anarchy, the labor troubles, politics, finance and the rest are treated in a thoughtful and catholic spirit, which inevitably sets the reader to pondering many things that call for speedy adjustment in this perplexing age. We hope that the book will be widely read, and that it may have the influence that it deserves in stimulating intelligent effort toward a true universal brotherhood.

THE STUDY OF POLITICS. An Introductory Lecture. By WILLIAM P. ATKINSON. 16mo, pp. 63. Boston. Roberts Brothers.

Mr. Atkinson has within the last decade attained an enviable reputation as a thoughtful essayist on a wide range of topics embracing political economy, literature, history, social statistics. Among his most noteworthy productions are two which have already appeared in book form, namely, "Our History and the Study of History," and "On the Right Use of Books." These are uniform with the present little volume and form the advance file of what is almost certain to be a considerable army of similar works. The study of politics during a Presidential year is almost unavoidable, but if the study is to be intelligent it should not be partisan. That is to say, no one should accept all the statements of either side. Mr. Atkinson's position is eminently judicial. He admits that he was a "Mugwump" at the last election, and by that means, of course, renders himself obnoxious to all Republicans of the irreconcilable type. It is difficult to see, however, how any thoughtful and fair-minded person can read his essays without recognizing the lofty ideal by which he is actuated.

THE HISTORY OF TENNESSEE. The making of a State. By JAMES PHELAN. 12mo, pp. 478. Boston and New York, 1888: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The history of no state in the Union is more romantically interesting than that of Tennessee. The processes by which a wilderness was transformed into gardens, the various stages of development from primitive rudeness to civilization and refinement, from disorganization to organization, from the absence of all law to a time when a people nearly two millions strong

dwelt together in peace and good order—are unfolded in the volume before us with consummate skill and good taste. The beginnings of Tennessee as a distinctive individuality date back to the year 1769, in the cabin of William Bean. The Indian warfare which had made Tennessee as dark and bloody a ground as Kentucky, seems to have exterminated nearly all the Indian race in the neighborhood of the Watauga. The tide of white population began to pour in, and many of the new-comers believed for a while that they were on Virginia soil. Reports carried back to the older settlements in the states on the Atlantic coast created an eager desire to travel to a land so beautiful, so fertile, so easily obtained. In this book we find an interesting description of the state of Franklin. When the convention met to form a constitution for it, John Sevier was elected president and F. A. Ramsey, the father of the historian was made secretary. A plan of government was drawn up and adopted, and ordered to be submitted to the action of a convention chosen by the people, which was to assemble in the latter part of the year at Greenville. The first governor was John Sevier. There were some very stirring scenes in connection with this young state, which was called Frankland. But that name sounded odd and strange, and finally the name of Franklin was given to it in honor of Dr. Franklin. The limits of this state, as outlined by Arthur Campbell, were to embrace, in general terms, the western counties of Virginia, a part of Kentucky, Tennessee, Georgia, Alabama, and the northern part of Mississippi. The plan fell through, however, and after many struggles the state of Franklin came to an end. One interesting chapter is devoted to the first settlements on the Cumberland; another to the "manners, customs, and mode of life" in the early period. The author says of the closing years of the century, "Compared with the actual dimensions of the state, the portions then inhabited were but tufts of civilization in a Sahara of wilderness and barbarous solitude. If one of the new-comers had been carried up so high as to have a bird's eye view of the settlements, he would have seen little to please the fancy beyond the wilderness of natural scenery. In the far west he would have seen on the banks of the Mississippi, where Memphis now stands, a small fort, filled with a few Spanish officers and soldiers, perhaps a drunken Indian in the door of a hut." While yet the struggles for life were full of serious vicissitudes, the people indulged in horse-racing, corn shuckings, and other frolics, and the women had their quiltings, all of which are graphically described. The last part of the volume is devoted to the rise of cities and institutions, and party politics. The work is well-written and is filled with welcome and valuable information.

EARLY DAYS OF MORMONISM, Palmyra, Kirtland and Nauvoo. By T. H. KENNEDY. 12mo, pp. 275. New York, 1888. Charles Scribner's Sons.

This volume has been carefully prepared; it is not the hurried work of a few weeks or months, but it is the result of the careful study of years, with unusual opportunities. The author goes over the ground which has been fairly well trodden before him, examining into the spiritual conditions prevailing in the western communities, with their superstitions and fantasies, and describes Joe Smith's early training. His mother claimed to be a dreamer of future events, and assured Joseph that he was the expected seer of the family. His Mormonism was a culmination of delusions and an evolution of small frauds. Many were looking about that time for the millennial year. Joe was a rank weed growing from very poor soil. He was of Scotch descent. His father was a counterfeiter, and escaped prison only by turning state's evidence. Later, in Palmyra, New York, the father worked by the day, or peddled gingerbread from a hand-cart. Next he was a squatter on a small farm in western New York, his family leading a half vagrant life. Joe was lazy, dull, loving whiskey, and a glib prevaricator, but not ill-natured. He was fond of revival meetings and of talking about complex or mysterious Bible texts. He joined the Methodist church at Palmyra on probation, but never took the final step. After the Smith family announced the existence of their "Golden Bible," sixty-two of their fellow-citizens of Palmyra, over their signatures, denounced the Smith family as lazy, intemperate and untruthful. Nevertheless the Smiths found dupes and confederates. Joe first flourished as a water-finding wizard; then claimed to be a discoverer of hidden riches. His father, by the way, had been a seeker after Captain Kidd's treasure. Joe unearthed what he called magic stones, and worked successfully on the cupidity of ignorant neighbors. His money-digging frauds lasted seven years, and must have been artfully managed. Experience taught him much about the credulity of men and the power of religious superstition and delusion. Presently he asserted that in visions he was admitted to the presence of Divinity. The manner in which the Mormon Bible was produced is described at length by the author. Smith did not write it. It was, in fact, originally an unpublished romance in Biblical language, from the pen of a man in Salem, Ohio, named Solomon Spaulding. Smith altered it ruthlessly to serve his purpose. Indeed, the whole origin of Mormonism was in gross deception, low superstition, religious frenzy and insane imaginings. In the course of time credulous cranks began to come in, and on the strength of their support Smith turned his attention more to religion and

less to buried treasure. He was reinforced by his confederate, Sidney Rigdon, a preacher who dropped orthodoxy to spread Mormonism. He was a ranting, fluent revivalist, and an ambitious enthusiast. His oratory was considered "magnetic." It is certain that he aided Smith in getting out the Mormon Bible. He was in a state of singular excitement several weeks before its appearance. When it was made public he received it with apparent amazement. Then, with due regard to advertising himself, he accepted the "new revelation" and began to preach it.

This is a strange chapter in human history, and in its effects one of the most pitiable extant. Joe Smith was a cunning vagabond, with remarkable insight into the weaknesses of impressionable people. He not only invented Mormonism, but he succeeded in keeping it alive and in making new dupes out of the ignorant and weak-minded. He was not strong in business administration. That was Brigham Young's gift. The Salt Lake episode in many respects stands apart from previous Mormon undertakings, and the author is right in closing his book at the migration which placed thousands of miles between its new abode and the borders of civilization.

THE PIONEER PRESS OF KENTUCKY.

By WILLIAM HENRY PERRIN. [Filson Club Publications.] Square 8vo, pp. 93. Pamphlet. John P. Morton & Co. 1888. Louisville, Ky.

The first hundred years from the establishing of the printing press and the issue of a newspaper in Kentucky, closed on the eleventh day of August, 1887. By request of the Filson Club of Louisville, this monograph was prepared and read at one of its meetings. It is a very concise and admirably written historic sketch of the rise of the newspaper press in Kentucky when the state was new, and its modern development and vicissitudes, and is a most valuable contribution to the history of the country. The office of the first newspaper, says Mr. Perrin, "was not a stone front building, but a rude log cabin, one story high, and covered with clapboards. Bradford printed his paper on an old-fashioned hand-press, which he had purchased in Philadelphia second-hand, and which, when pushed to its full capacity, might probably turn off from fifty to seventy-five sheets per hour. His 'editor's easy chair' was a three-legged stool of his own manufacture, and his editorial table corresponded in style with the chair. When he wrote at night it was by the flickering, sputtering light of a buffalo-tallow candle, or a greasy lamp fed by bears' oil, or perhaps by firelight. Many of his advertisements were as quaint as his office and its equipments. Among them may be noted those of 'spinning-wheels, knee-buckles,

gun flints, buckskin for breeches, hair powder, saddle-bags locks,' and other articles now obsolete. A notice appeared in one of the early issues, 'that persons who subscribed to the frame meeting-house, can pay in *cattle or whiskey*'—an evidence that two of the chief products of the famous blue grass region were even then legal tender."

SCHOOL HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES. From the discovery of America by Columbus to the present time. By HENRY E. CHAMBERS. [Practical Educational Series.] 16mo, square, pp. 245. New Orleans: F. F. Hansell & Brothers. 1888.

This volume has been prepared distinctively with the object of imparting to the child-mind a knowledge of the principal events of our country's history, and at the same time to fix firmly, ideas of the consecutiveness and relative time of these events. It has much to commend it, such as review outlines, blackboard forms, and other devices to aid in the success of the teacher's work. It seems to be a vast improvement on the various histories for children in common use in the schools, and deserves careful examination from those who are responsible for the education of our little ones. The language is simple, the sentences short, and the questions are well chosen. We do not think the pictures, however, add to its value, but quite the reverse. Some of them are seriously misleading. We trust the time will come speedily when the omission of pictures from all school-books will be strictly and conscientiously observed by authors and publishers.

THE RECOLLECTIONS OF A DRUMMER BOY. By HARRY M. KIEFFER. Sixth edition. Revised and enlarged. Illustrated 12mo, square, pp. 250. Boston: 1889. Ticknor & Co.

This delightfully readable volume for boys embraces a series of papers written some years ago for the *St. Nicholas Magazine*, and are chiefly the personal recollections of three years of army life in active service in the field, during

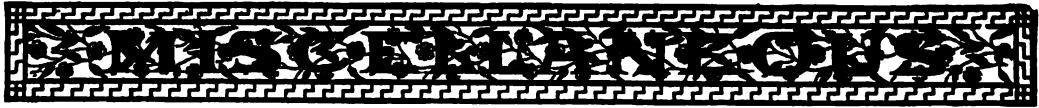
our late civil war. Andy was a studious boy, but he could not remain at school; he fell to day-dreaming and wool-gathering over his books, and finally closed them and enlisted. The story is one of great interest, and decidedly profitable to children, particularly to those of soldiers.

TREES AND TREE-PLANTING. By GENERAL JAMES S. BRISBIN, U. S. A. 12mo, pp. 258. New York: 1888. Harper & Bros.

"From my earliest youth," writes the author of this volume, "my voice has been raised against the destruction of the forests of America, but, lost amid the whirl of saws and the resounding stroke of axes, it was too weak to be heard, until now, the day of reckoning having come, we must dispassionately consider the evil done, and take measures to remedy it in the future. While the forests of America lasted, people could not and would not believe the day would ever come when they would have need of them. But now they look with dismay on the ruin which their own hands have wrought. To destroy the forests of America has been a brief work; to replant and reproduce them will be the labor of forty generations, but it can be done."

This book is an eloquent and timely treatise on a subject of vital consequence to us all. It should be read by every American citizen. "Unless there can be excited a national interest in this subject, and preventive measures are set on foot, the vast interior of the United States must part with a great portion of its magnificent agricultural, manufacturing and commercial prosperity."

"The Famous Trees of the World" forms the sixth chapter of the work, and it is most interesting. The "Warmth of Trees in Winter and Coolness in Summer," is admirably set forth in the tenth chapter; followed by "The Blood of Trees," "Shelter-Belts," and "Kinds of Trees to Plant," in subsequent essays. Every chapter, indeed, every page of the volume is instructive and valuable. The author tells us what trees to plant, and how to plant them, and in respect to fruit-trees shows in clear, terse language what will be most conducive to their productiveness. His well-expressed arguments are convincing that what comes from tree-planting in America is profit, honor, health, and wealth.



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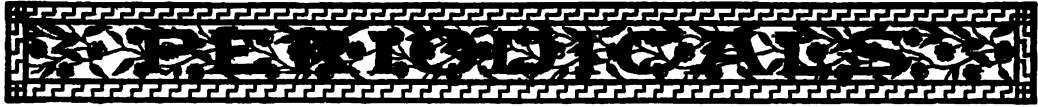
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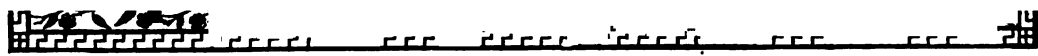
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	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1887	129,927	\$323,809,202 88	Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1888....	140,943	\$437,623,923 51
Risks Assumed.....	22,305	69,457,468 87	Risks Terminated.....	11,289	35,637,728 74
	152,232	\$463,266,671 25		152,232	\$463,266,671 25

Dr. Revenue Account. Cr.

To Balance from last account ...	\$104,719,734 81	By Endowments, Purchased Insurances, Dividends, Annuities and Death Claims.	14,125,423 60
" Premiums.....	17,110,901 68	" Commissions, Commutations, Taxes and all other Expenses	3,640,514 49
" Interest, Rents and Premium on Securities Sold.....	6,009,030 84	" Balance to new account.	110,061,718 68
	\$127,839,656 77		\$127,839,656 77

Dr. Balance Sheet. Cr.

To Reserve for Policies in force and for risks terminated ...	\$112,430,096 00	By Bonds Secured by Mortgages on Real Estate	\$49,615,268 06
" Premiums received in advance	82,814 86	" United States and other Bonds.	43,439,877 81
" Surplus at four per cent.....	6,394,441 82	" Real Estate and Loans on Collaterals.....	30,159,173 37
	\$118,806,851 88	" Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest	2,619,363 66
		" Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit and Sundries.....	3,973,109 98
			\$118,806,851 88

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.
A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884	\$34,641,420	\$351,799,895	\$4,743,771
1885	46,507,139	363,981,441	5,012,634
1886	56,832,719	363,809,203	5,643,583
1887	69,457,468	437,623,923	6,394,443

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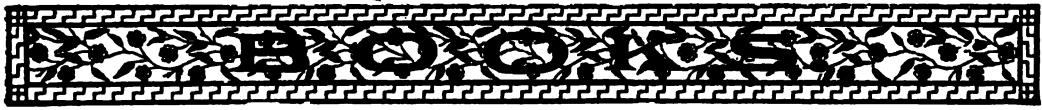
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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XX

NOVEMBER, 1888

No. 5

THE CITY OF A PRINCE *

A ROMANTIC CHAPTER IN TEXAS HISTORY

PART II

THE area in which Fredricksburg stands was then a dense forest, and until a few years since the stumps of trees which were felled when it was laid out could be seen in the streets. Oaks which did not interfere with traffic were left, and are still there, forming shade trees of great beauty and value. In pursuance of the policy of justice which Von Meusebach had marked out for himself, he purchased all unsurveyed lands that could be had in the vicinity of the new colony, and turned them over to the immigrants as the portion which had been promised them. But these lands had to be paid for over again by the colonists, for they were all claimed by an American under an old Spanish grant. The settlers shrank from a lawsuit, so offered a compromise, which was accepted, thus it is that the ground is said to have been twice purchased.

When Fredricksburg was settled, there dwelt upon the Perdinales a colony of Mormons. Surrounded by Indians, they lived in peace with the several tribes. They had a strong stone fort, and their settlement presented a beautiful picture of thrift, neatness and fertility. Every section had a frontage on the river, and a fine, broad road, well shaded, stretched along the river bank. The farms were irrigated and divided from one another by stone fences; so perfect were they with their neat stables, barns and dwellings, that they seemed like a piece of rural Europe dropped down into these wild surroundings. This community joined the immigration society so as to come in for a share of the land, which was being divided. They received their portion, but after the colony began to grow and Fredricksburg attained size and importance, they disposed of their lands advantageously and moved away from that country.

Greater difficulties than the settlement and apportionment of Fredricksburg now presented themselves to Von Meusebach. The society in Europe was sending ship after ship loaded with emigrants, but no money

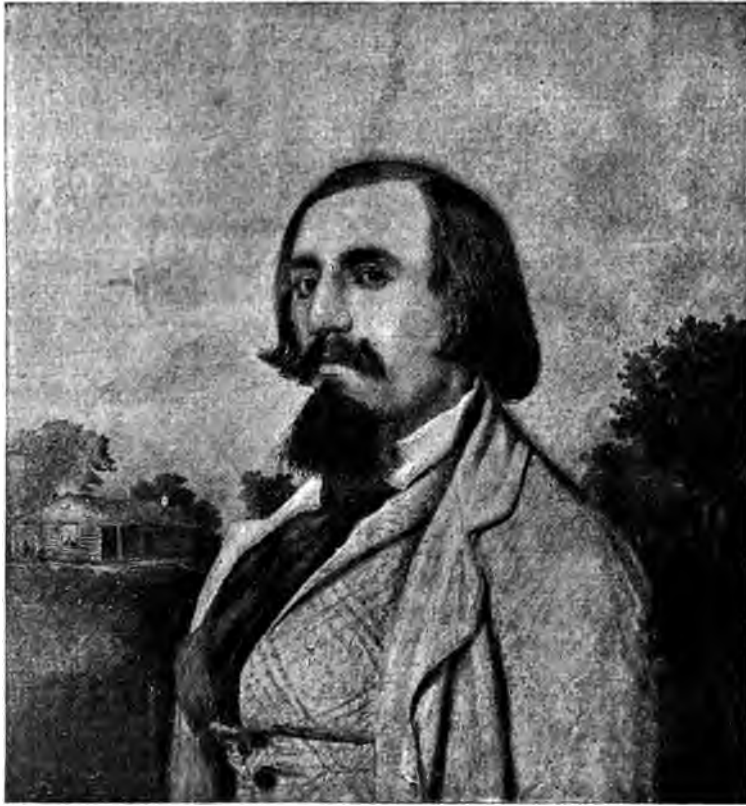
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came with them, and the means he had brought with him from Germany were exhausted. He had used his personal influence with the merchants of New Orleans and had succeeded in making large purchases of provisions on credit; but this could not be repeated, and there were two settlements to supply and many thousand mouths to feed. In the spring of 1846 there were six thousand immigrants gathered at Indianola awaiting transportation. They had reached that point in a most deplorable condition, for while on shipboard scurvy had broken out and the first work done on Texas soil was making coffins. An evil augury, truly foreshadowing the misfortunes yet in store.

At this time there was in the colony of New Braunfels but one mill for grinding corn and that a small one worked by hand. The colonists had to each wait his turn to convert his grain into grist; they formed in line, and literally, "first come" was "first served." If one dropped out of place the gap was closed and he could only come in again at the far end of the column, and it was often late into the night before the grinding was done. Such was the scarcity of food that it is related that in one instance a man who stood in ranks fell asleep, and relaxing his hold upon his bag, the corn it contained was strewed upon the ground. The sleeping man was pushed along with the gradually advancing line, which at the same time tramped and ground into the earth beneath their feet his precious store of food. When he reached the mill and awoke he found his bag empty; at once he went to work to recover his lost corn, and laboriously picked it up, grain by grain, from the mud and dirt.

Meanwhile Von Meusebach was residing at the Sophienberg and doing his utmost to help the people. That his efforts were futile, was not the fault of the man; the time had come when he could no longer carry the burden laid upon him. No one could fight with empty hands against poverty and sickness; his means were exhausted and he could not battle with the laws of nature. It was but natural, too, that he should have reserved for himself sufficient money and provisions to keep absolute want from his own door; but this the colonists bitterly resented. They saw in him the representative of the Society of Mayence—that body of potentates, of wealthy aristocrats, who had kept from them their money, broken every promise, and now left them to starve, while sending continually more men to consume the little left and then to fall victims to the same distress. Meusebach did not suffer; he lived in luxury, and so the colonists prepared to wreak their vengeance upon him. He was warned of the violence which might ensue and fled to the Plantation Nassau, where he was safe from the angry people.



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In the meantime the wretched immigrants at Indianola were in a serious condition. The heat of summer, privation and death had decimated their numbers, and still the survivors waited for transportation and provisions for the journey. The rainy season came on and they dug holes in the ground in which to seek shelter—covering them with boards and raising earth walls around them to keep out the pitiless floods. They saw their bedding, clothing, boxes, trunks—everything which was perishable—destroyed little by little before their eyes. At last Von Meusebach succeeded in procuring the transportation for them and hoped to be able to take them into the interior. Even in this he was foiled; war had been declared between the United States and Mexico, and the military authorities in Texas seized all wagons and draught animals not absolutely neces-

THE CITY OF A PRINCE

at New Braunfels and Fredricksburg were titled colonial directors, and were the most important personages in the settlements. Every one tried to curry favor with them, and they being for the most part unscrupulous persons, gave preference to those families which rejoiced in the handsomest wives and daughters. Thus beauty had a value, and a wild and dissolute life was led. The colonists grew reckless and became callous to death. While there was something to drink, they drank and danced. In a little tavern near the market house, a continued orgy was held. With every death the wilder the survivors danced, and while dancing many lives ended. The groans of the dying mingled with the strains of the music and the laughter and songs of the dancers, and when these sounds of anguish became too prominent the musicians would strike the sufferers with their clarionets. Strange to say not one of the musicians succumbed to want or disease.

While the Indians fed the people of Fredricksburg, those of New Braunfels were living on thistles and wild salads. What little money was there had been exhausted; the society had long ceased to send them the means of sustenance, and they were threatened with utter extinction. Von Meusebach did his best to stem the current of dissipation and recklessness. After renewed efforts, and through his personal influence, he again established a small credit with New Orleans and Galveston, and sent up provisions to relieve their most pressing necessities. The emigrants finally were made to realize that the society would do nothing further for them, that they were entirely dependent upon themselves and must either perish or work. They began to consider what would be the end of their wild career, and sober thought brought on a reaction. Even in the midst of the wildest excesses there had been some few who stood firm and labored as they should. These had sowed the fields, and corn planted in May and June of that year of 1846, matured miraculously, and ripened in October. The yield was great, and the settlers became much encouraged by the fine crops. They became sober and industrious, setting to work with a will, and displaying that perseverance and energy which have ever characterized German laborers on foreign soil. The young men enlisted in the army and went to Mexico, while heads of families remained at home gathering the crops and attending to other matters on their farms.

A grim humor was displayed by the survivors of that terrible march from the sea, in sending to the Society of Mayence a new coat of arms illustrating the situation. When the news of the misfortunes which had overtaken them reached Germany, public opinion was expressed in the bitterest manner, and feeling against the Society of Mayence a

its officers ran high. Pictures were painted and drawn representing the sufferings and death of the unhappy people, and pathetic songs on that theme were written and sung. Both songs and pictures were sold at the different fairs taking place in Germany, and the money received for them was transmitted to the colonists. Meanwhile the settlers were working bravely to help themselves, and as at this time the state needed many laborers and teams, they found in her service steady employment, good wages and, afterwards, a ready market for all their surplus provisions. The United States established a military post, Fort Mason, near Fredricksburg, and a lively trade sprung up between the soldiers and the Germans, who thus became acquainted for the first time with United States money. It is said that this fort was built upon land bought by the Society, through Von Meusebach, for the colonists. The land so occupied by the United States has never been paid for. The Germans think that the government will eventually have to remunerate them for it, but the claim has been left so long in abeyance that it is not likely to be recognized at this late day.

The spring of 1847 found the society lands still uncolonized. More than three thousand of the six thousand immigrants sent for that purpose had died, and yet the lands had not even been approached; but Meusebach resolved to lose no more time before making a determined effort to reach the Fisher and Miller grant. He therefore fitted out an expedition of thirty well mounted and equipped men, and started on his journey. They had made but one day's march when they were overtaken by a messenger from Governor Henderson forbidding them to proceed, as the Indian agent, Colonel Neighbors, considered it too dangerous. The Comanches had been incited by the Mexicans to hostilities against the Americans and were preparing for an invasion of all the settlements; therefore this expedition would most likely meet with a bloody reception. In spite of this, Meusebach persevered in his project confident that he could pacify the savages. Attached to the command was one Cherokee and one Shawnee Indian, who strengthened the Baron in his belief that peaceful arrangements could be made with the Comanches, and so they continued their journey. They traveled in easy marches, going always up hill. The country rose until they reached the edge of the mountains; there they halted and took in the glorious sight. Before lay a thickly wooded valley broken by grand masses of primitive rock; above them towered the chalky heights; over all the setting sun threw its golden rays—flashing back from the glowing red granite and calcareous hills. Beyond rose the mountains, looking blue and misty in the distance. This lovely landscape

belonged to the society, and it was the first time that its officers had had the gratification of beholding it. The completely changed character of the country was a genuine surprise, and they beheld it with delight and admiration. They followed an Indian trail down into the valley and found there an ice cold spring, whose delicious waters invited them to an encampment. They stayed that night, resuming their march in the morning, through fertile plains and dense forests, and over stony ground to the bank of the Llano, a lovely stream dashing its crystal waters from rock to rock. Crossing it they passed the water-shed between the Llano and San Saba, and soon reached the latter river. For miles on both sides stretched a broad, fruitful, almost treeless valley, while the river itself was bordered on either bank by a wide and dense wood of oaks, forming a grand leafy canopy and "bearing acorns as large as hens' eggs." Two hundred years before, all this land was in possession of the Spaniards, who cultivated it, as was plainly shown by the irrigating ditches which stretched in every direction—the main ditch being six miles long. At present, on the north bank of the river stands the ruins of an old fort. This, in the fashion of the days of Spanish rule, was church as well as fortification—that is, a "Mission"—occupied by monks as well as soldiers, both of whom tried to civilize the Indians, teaching them the arts of peace, religion, and a wholesome dread of the Spaniards' arms. The four walls of the fort are in fine preservation, but it is roofless, and from the centre of the interior towers a stately mesquite tree, at least seventy-five years old. Not far from the wall are found mines and their refuse; these are thought to be the famous "San Saba mines," once famed for their richness, but now lost; and though many efforts have been made to find the vein, up to this time they have all been unsuccessful. Professor Boemer, of the University of Bonn, who accompanied Meusebach's expedition, made an examination but could find no traces of silver. He held that all chalky formations precluded its existence, but in this he was surely mistaken, for in Mexico it is in just such calcareous lands that the metal has been found.

Exactly when this Spanish settlement was established, cannot be accurately determined, probably in the last quarter of the seventeenth century, about the same time that the Alamo in San Antonio was built. It was abandoned in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, as told by a quaint old legend preserved in the archives of the Mexican State of Coahuila, which says that at that time there arrived a Franciscan Friar who related as follows: "One day, while he with his brethren were performing their religious exercises in the mission of San Saba, a number of Comanches appeared without the walls and asked for admission into the fort,

under the pretext of being desirous of instruction in the Christian religion. This Friar protested against their entrance, for he distrusted them. The commander of the fort also had his doubts, and, being debarred, the Indians lingered around for several days. Finally it seemed as if they were really in earnest, so they were received into the mission and well treated. Upon the following night the Friar had a dream in which Mary the Mother of Jesus appeared and warned him to rise at once and flee, as the savages would massacre every one within the walls. Thereupon he arose, dressed



DR. THEODORE KOESTER.

[Medical Director of the Colony.]

and fled in the direction of a large river into which empties the San Saba. The following day he could hear the trampling of the horses and the Indian war whoop; he concluded that the Comanches had missed him, and were upon his track. Afar off he could see the great river, and he hastened in that direction. Nearer and nearer came the Indians; louder and more terrifying sounded their cries. When the over-wearied Friar reached the banks of the stream, he prayed fervently for help, and lo! the river divided itself, as the Red Sea of old, and he passed through it dry shod; but the Comanches who threw themselves after him perished in the meeting waters. In pious remembrance of his delivery he christened the river with the name of *Brazos del Dio*—Arm of God."

So runs the legend ; a mixture of truth, superstition and miracle manufacture—yet plainly showing how the old fort was abandoned and the mission stopped in its career of usefulness. The river named by the Friar is now called the Colorado—a misnomer, and undoubtedly a mistake of the Mexicans, who being unfamiliar with the topography of the country, confounded the two streams, for the Brazos of to-day should be the Colorado (and vice versa), as that was the “Red” river of the Indians.

When Meusebach and his men entered the valley of the San Saba, the first Indians were seen on the neighboring mountains. They were evidently scouts, posted there to observe the expedition as it entered the valley. The Cherokee and Shawnee accompanying the Germans, were sent to communicate with them. Returning, they reported that Buffalo Hump and his warriors awaited the colonists behind the mountains. Not the least dismayed, Meusebach and his men started eagerly forward. Upon reaching the first height they saw a number of Indians well mounted and armed cap-a-pie. Meusebach did not hesitate a moment : discharging his rifle into the air over his head, his followers doing the same, and all waving their hats, they charged down that slope and up the next one towards the Indians. These were at first supremely astonished, but soon comprehended the peaceful intentions the whites endeavored to convey. Uttering shouts of welcome, they galloped to meet the strangers ; in a few moments there was a confused mingling of the two races ; hands were shaken and greetings interchanged. Through his interpreters Meusebach made a full explanation to the Chief, and a common camp was pitched upon the San Saba. The pipe of peace was smoked and the Indians made to fully comprehend the object of the expedition ; then they accorded permission to the Germans for all the lands between the San Saba and the Llano to be surveyed. The negotiations lasted three days, when Meusebach and his companions returned to New Braunfels. The lands were afterwards surveyed, and some few settlements made. The Comanches kept their word to the letter and were always friendly, until the time came when the Texans attacked them ; then they became hostile, very naturally, and afterwards committed ravages along the whole line of settlements.

In Darmstadt, in 1847, an association was formed for the purpose of going to Texas and penetrating to these Llano lands. The number was limited to forty members, and they were called “the Fortiers”—a name which they have borne to the present day, for if an old settler is denominated a “Fortier,” his antecedents are designated with exactitude. Although their limit of forty gave them their nomenclature, only thirty-seven members ever came to Texas, and these were exclusively well-bred gentle-

men, such as foresters, civil engineers, physicians, and professors. They landed in Galveston in 1847, and went to New Braunfels on their way to the Llano. There they stopped some time, attempting to introduce into the colony communistic and socialistic principles; but without success. Such tenets did not agree with the aristocratic teachings of their princely founder, and accorded as ill with the respect for office and person implanted under the bureaucratic régime of Baron von Meusebach. Failing in their efforts, the Fortiers continued their way to the Llano, where they founded Castell, making it a colony of socialists and communists, and ruled according to their peculiar views; but even there these principles had only an ephemeral life; one by one the colonists left and went to some of the other settlements which did not indulge in such primitive ideas. A number of industrious German farmers, however, settled near there, until both banks of the Llano were occupied by them, but Castell, "the town of the Fortiers," never became a city. It is now the post-office for the surrounding farms, and has a school and a church. The Fortiers were under the leadership of Spies, who afterwards played a conspicuous rôle in the Mayence society affairs, and every member of the band has borne a prominent part in the development of Texas, as congressmen, legislators, county officers, physicians and in mercantile life; only six of the number are now living.

Towards the close of the year 1847, the Society of Mayence was bankrupt; more than two hundred thousand dollars had been spent to Germanize Texas, and what had been the result? The prosperity, indeed the continued existence of New Braunfels and Fredricksburg were doubtful, and Castell had but just been founded. The news of the misery and death of the immigrants had checked in a great degree the emigration fever. No one trusted the society, and to cap the climax of their misfortunes there was the imminent probability of losing the land which had been appropriated by the contract with Fisher and Miller—for the impossibility of settling this territory with six thousand colonists in the stipulated time had become evident, as the end of 1847 completed the period allowed them for this purpose. It was indeed unfortunate for the Germans that they could not push their settlements far enough northward, as their failure threw into the hands of the Americans the fertile country which they had contemplated making the Germanic centre of Texas.

Meusebach had sent in his resignation to the society on several different occasions, but they had always refused to consider it and insisted on his keeping his office. Now he needed more means, and this seemed likely to lead to further unpleasantness. He reminded the society that

debts had been contracted to keep the immigrants from starvation, and these must be paid without more delay. Besides, there were debts of honor which they were under obligations to discharge—chiefly the paying back of those sums which the emigrants had deposited with them in Bremen, upon the condition that they should be reimbursed as soon as they arrived in Texas. The society conceded the justice of these claims, but were entirely without funds. England, having long since ceased paying them a bonus for each emigrant sent, the exchequer was empty and the members declined to replenish it by further contributions. When this state of affairs was communicated to him Meusebach again resigned, and so emphatically as to force an acceptance. Under these circumstances the society determined to bring its business in Texas to a close. It owned no more land and, therefore, it would have been an additional breach of principle to send emigrants to the Llano when it could not verify its promise to endow them with homes. There was no longer a reason for its being in existence; its original plan had been altogether frustrated, and so it resolved to settle its affairs in Texas and Germany and then dissolve itself by mutual consent. To do this, however, it was necessary to have as its representative in Texas a capable and energetic business man. Its choice fell on Gustave Dressel, of Geisenheim, the son of a well-known Rhenish wine merchant. This gentleman, who seemed possessed of all the required qualifications, was sent to "the land of lost hopes" to relieve Meusebach. From Germany he went straight to New Orleans and settled all the monetary matters of the society there in a manner eminently satisfactory to both debtor and creditor. He then started for New Braunfels by the way of Galveston. While on the road he was seized by a violent fever, to which he fell a victim and was buried under a majestic oak tree near Gonzales.

The society being thus deprived by death of its representative, the colonial director of Fredricksburg, the so-called "Schubert," took advantage of the state of affairs to declare himself general commissioner of the Society of Mayence. To give weight to his self-nomination he, with his staff, took possession of the Plantation Nassau, and there presided as commander—fortifying the place and throwing up breastworks around it. This plantation was now comparatively well settled, for many of the unfortunate immigrants of 1846 had gone there; claiming their sections as promised by the society they took possession of the land, built houses and started farming.

In the meanwhile the society had nominated for itself another commissioner-general in the person of Herman Spies, one of the "Fortiers."

He, likewise, considered it his first duty to take possession of Nassau, but Schubert was not inclined to surrender. Then Spies determined to attack the place by night and drive off the holders. He did not find it such an easy matter; a fight took place and one Rohrdorf, a young artist, one of Schubert's men, was killed, though the aggressors were repelled without having accomplished anything. As soon as this affair became known the local officers interposed; it was all very well for the officers of the society to dispute and squabble among themselves, but when riot and disorder held sway it was time for the state to assert her authority. Spies was indicted for murder, but so great was the exasperation against him in Fayette County that he dared not come within its boundaries, nor would he have had the least chance for justice if he had then been tried. He dared not face his infuriated countrymen, and was counseled by his friends to flee to the Guadalupe Mountains. This he did and was pursued, but unsuccessfully, by the sheriff and his deputies. He was in hiding for some time until the excitement had calmed down, when he returned, stood his trial and was honorably acquitted. It was on this occasion that the real life of Schubert was unmasked, and the pretended physician was proved to be the obscure cigar-maker, Stroberg, of Cassel. This caused a reaction in favor of Spies, and he once more stood high in popular favor. He afterwards married a Mexican girl, an Indian captive; he ransomed her from her captors and had her well educated. She was both pretty and intelligent, and very apt at her studies. The marriage has been as happy as it was romantic, and they are now comfortable and contented in their home in Missouri.

The Schubert-Spies imbroglio did not tend to further the settlement of the affairs of the society. Everything was in discouraging disorder—no one knew who was head and who was servant. Schubert would have liked to dispose of the property of the society, but after he was exposed in his true colors no one paid the least attention to him. Official matters in the colony were in a wretched plight, yet the colonists worked steadily on and the men who had been in the Mexican war came back and founded homes with the money they had earned.

In 1848 the numbers of the colony were again increased by a large body of German students, professors, lawyers and scientific men. They had been concerned in the liberal movement of that year, resulting in uprisings and revolutions. They flocked here from the Fatherland, bringing with them their books and household furniture, their silver and house linen. They purchased their land and on advantageous terms, but knowing little of agriculture and being entirely new to such a mode of life, for a long

time they made but a bare living; yet hard and meagre as was their fare, they clung to their ancient belongings and would part with nothing, not even to secure themselves proper clothing. Thus strange contrasts would often be presented—a Herr, with his coat and pants made from an old blanket, sitting smoking his fine meerschaum and reading some priceless volume from his rare old library; his wife clad in a cotton gown patched and darned, putting their coarse food on a table which would have delighted a connoisseur in the antique—a table a prize in itself, covered with the marvelous hand-spun linen of Germany and set with silver of a century back. There in a log house, rough-hewed on the outer side and plastered within with clay and shell, is found an entire furnishing of cherry wood—hand-carved and hand-polished by countless rubbings with wax and oil; queer tables upheld by griffins; high, square-backed sofas with rolled arms; odd brackets and foot-stools and stately canopied bedsteads. They brought with them, too, their family portraits, and many a titled lord and lady smile down from the walls upon their democratic descendants.

The men of 1848 did not better matters in the way of a peaceable adjustment of the society affairs. New parties sprang up and countless dissensions arose; feeling ran high, and in the midst of it a new claimant for the Comal tract appeared on the scene. Under this man, Martin, began the Jesuitical era, which, though of short duration, was too long for the peace of mind of the colonists. Martin was the last legal representative of the Society of Mayence, or rather of the Catholic Church, which, he said, had bought all right, title and claim to this New Braunfels settlement. He was master of the Chambers to the Grand Duke of Hesse Darmstadt, and put on a great deal of style and ceremony, wearing full court dress and his side sword in visiting Governor Wood, who was as plain as Martin was pretentious. He wanted the state government to have all the colonists' land turned over to the Church, claiming that the purchase money had been already advanced. This scheme failed however, for the Church defaulted in some of its payments and the Emigration Society refused to make over their rights.

This was the last act in the drama of the Mayence Society. They had come to a standstill. The Plantation Nassau was attached by Roeder for money advanced the officers of the company; it was sold by order of the district court and the proceeds divided among the creditors. The place is now known as "Roeder's Mill," and but few in Texas have the slightest idea of the peculiar interest which attaches to that locality.

The contract between the state and Fisher and Miller having become void for non-performance, those gentlemen sued the Society of Mayence



"ROEDER'S MILL"—COMAL RIVER.

[Dr. Koester's dwelling-house was just back of the mill.]

for damages; they claimed all the land originally granted them by Texas, and brought their suit against the society and all claiming under the society's title. It is difficult to see what ground they had for this, as all their interests and privileges had been bought from them at a heavy price, and even if the contract had been fully carried out, Fisher would not have obtained the premium sections, but they would have accrued to the Society of Mayence. However, as "*les absens sont toujours tort*," the case was brought to trial in the court-house of New Braunfels; the society having no official representative in Texas, the Duke of Nassau and Prince Frederick of Prussia were cited to appear at that place on a certain day and answer their suit. It is needless to say that those august personages were not present, and Messrs. Fisher and Miller gained their case. This, however, would have had no practical result if it had not been that the state released the land of the immigrants from its claim, arising out of the failure of the society to colonize within the stipulated time. Texas appointed a commission, who confirmed the settlers in their title, apportioning the land among them, but giving the alternate and premium sections to Fisher, when in justice they should have belonged to the society, it having fairly purchased them from him. The old colonists are still bitter on this point, and score up many other grievances against this man who was made secretary of the advisory council. They claim that much

of the two hundred thousand florins that were paid over to him for their establishment and support went into his own pockets, while he left them to starve.

The first legislature of Texas created the county of Comal and incorporated the city of New Braunfels; afterwards a mayor and city council were elected. From the time that the dissensions about the society officers ceased, an era of prosperity dawned for the colonists, and by 1850 they were basking in the full sunshine of assured success. Fine crops blessed their endeavors, and new sources of industry opened everywhere before them. Shiploads of immigrants again landed at Galveston and Indianola, but now their friends met and welcomed them to well-appointed homes and comfortable providing. They brought money with them and purchased land, always around or about the original settlements; and so they spread, extending far beyond Fredricksburg, occupying the valleys of the primitive rocks and the rich lands of the Llano. Other towns sprang up all over the state, and the German settlements increased steadily in number until 1860, when all immigration ceased. The colonists were uncompromisingly republican in sentiment, and were totally opposed to southern politics, remaining adherents to the federal cause throughout the civil war. The constantly increasing immigration did not confine itself to the towns; the Germans made model farmers, settling up county after county, and bestowing prosperity upon every section where they made their homes. Fayette county, in which was the Plantation Nassau, boasts now of thirty-four hundred farms within her borders.

In Comal, of which New Braunfels is the county seat, the crops never fail, and no spot on earth can be fairer. Rising at its highest point eleven hundred feet above the sea, its surface undulates and is broken into mountain, hill and valley, irrigated by gushing springs and lovely, rapid branches, creeks and rivers, whose waters are deliciously cold and clear as the atmosphere. Here grow all forest trees which are desirable; here the pecan, the walnut and the hickory drop each year their burden of nuts, and the mulberry offers its feast to the birds of the air. Here the wild plum makes the woods redolent with its fragrance, and grapes climb and cluster on the mountain and in the valley, throwing their graceful tendrils from tree to tree along the river's edge, swaying long branches and purple fruit over the mirror of the stream. Upon its meadows graze thousands of cattle, and its hills are white with browsing sheep. Its gardens blossom in beauty, and its fields yield all grains in abundance, and are white each year with southern snow, that fleecy staple which keeps busy the looms of the world. The entire county is dotted with farms, thrifty, clean, picturesque; they

enliven the valleys, nestle among the hills, stretch along the mountains' sides. There is no land to be bought here; the early settlers hold it all, and as their sons and daughters marry they are given a portion of the family acres, and settle down around the old homestead. So the population grows by natural increase, and these New Braunfels girls are much sought after for wives, having the reputation of being notable housekeepers, besides possessing the genuine German type of beauty. The farmers here are all well-to-do and many of them wealthy. They love to accumulate money, and their living costs but little; yet there is much gayety and genuine enjoyment in their lives. They are sociable, and are fond of meeting together to enjoy the pleasures of the dance and a glass of beer or wine. Dance houses are scattered all over the county, and merry parties go from one place to another, from the valleys up into the mountains, and, meeting at some certain house, pass the time gayly together, the young dancing, the old singing songs or cracking jokes over their beer. Every family manufactures its own wine, yet they are very temperate; few cases of drunkenness are known, and broils are almost unheard of. Indeed, this is a peace-loving and law-abiding community—in proof whereof may be mentioned that in 1878 a handsome stone jail was erected in New Braunfels, but from that day to this it has never had an occupant!

In spite of decades spent on American soil, in the midst of Americans, this people preserve unto to-day their peculiar customs, their distinctive mode of life and their native tongue. Every one speaks German and many cannot understand English. There are but two American families to be found amongst them, and the few negroes who have drifted into the community are completely Germanized.

When the colonists found that a prosperous future was assured they turned their attention to the arts. They built schools and churches; heretofore divine service had been held, according to the rites of the German Episcopal Church, beneath a fine grove of elm and hackberry trees. Of these but three remain, which stand clustered together, on one of the streets that lead down from the Sophienberg. They organized, too, a dramatic corps [page 277] and singing societies, and the first German-Texan "Saengerfest" celebrated in the state took place at Herman Seele's lovely farm "Elisenruh" (Eliza's Rest) in the first building erected for such a purpose in Texas. From this, these societies spread into various towns, and now this festival is hailed each year with as much delight by Americans as by Germans.

The inhabitants still keep up their home festivals as they do their home customs; notably the Schützen Fest, Mai Fest and Ernte Fest—



THE GUARD OF HONOR AT THE VOLKS FEST [PEOPLE'S FESTIVAL].

this last being similar to the "Harvest Home" of the English. Two years ago they held a beautiful festival which to American eyes seemed more Venetian than German. The exercises took place by torchlight, upon the river; the participants were embarked in light skiffs, most difficult to manage and easily overturned. They engaged in a mimic warfare—fighting each other with long wooden spears, and each trying to sink or overturn his adversary's boat. Those thus served would have to swim for their lives, the water being from fifteen to twenty feet deep. The scene was most exciting and picturesque; the flaming torches were mirrored in every ripple of the swift flowing stream; the giant oaks, moss-draped, threw weird and fantastic shadows, and the great masses of caladiums clashed their broad leaves together as if longing to be shields in the mimic battle of the spears. These same caladiums are a feature of the Comal river; their magnificent tropical foliage adding a distinctive character to the beauty of the scenery. They belong to the great yam family and are edible. Whether the colonists were aware of this fact in their time of starvation, tradition saith not—but there are acres and acres of these roots along the entire length of the Comal, and they could have been prepared for food by a thorough boiling or roasting, which deprives them of their acidity. This river, in many places forty feet deep, is so clear that a dime dropped on the bottom is as plainly seen as if laid on land. Its bed is carpeted with exquisite water grasses, mosses, and aquatic plants of most brilliant colors, giving the channel of the stream the appearance of a lovely terraced garden viewed through glass—save that the swift waters make it as variable in aspect as the ever-changing kaleidoscope. This stream and the Guadalupe, which is only less lovely, furnish magnificent water power and turn many a mill in their merry course.

The Germans, ever foremost in educational matters, boast that their Prince's private secretary, Mr. Seele, established the first school in all



SCENE AT THE VOLKS FEST.—IN THE PROCESSION.

Western Texas, and that New Braunfels was the first city in the state where the citizens, by a unanimous vote, imposed upon themselves a tax to support a free school. The children are taught in the German language, having their own professors and tutors, and so grow up virtually a foreign population in our midst.

After resigning entirely from the service of the society, Baron von Meusebach withdrew from New Braunfels, and in subsequent years built a fine residence in Loyal Valley, near the beautiful Llano, where he is surrounded by lovely scenery, fine grounds, flourishing orchards and vineyards. Here he leads a secluded life—a relic of a past and monarchical régime; his sons have left the parental roof, are railroad men and merchants, and have dropped forever the distinguishing *von* from their names. Meusebach married a daughter of Count Correth, of the Tyrol. This gentleman forsook a gay court life in Vienna and gave up his commission in the Uhlans to come out to this new country—actuated by a pure love of republican institutions. He despised show and lived a simple, honest life, holding himself no higher than his German compatriots. He dropped his title and shrank in every way from display. An old oil painting shows him in his magnificent uniform—tall, fair-haired, slender and aristocratic—a masculine reproduction of his beautiful lady mother; behind him stands a liveried servant holding his master's richly caparisoned steed. He was but twenty-one then, and such a change did his views undergo in later years, that his sons refused to allow that portrait to be copied, as it would seem like ostentation, and be contrary to the known desires of their dead father. The portrait given here [page 265] represents him as he was in America—sooth to say neither as handsome, refined, nor debonaire as when he touched the hearts or fancy of the fair Viennese.

New Braunfels can boast yet another example of genuine love of democratic principles in the person of their county surveyor. This gentleman is the nephew of that General Bosè who was renowned in the late Aus-

trian war. He himself was a captain in the Confederate army; he inherited all the titles of the family and the estates which accompanied them, but he would not go back to Europe to receive the latter and was too democratic to bear the first, willingly renouncing it all in favor of the next heir. He is now seventy-three and enjoys a hale and hearty old age in the midst of his family, who are all well to do and settled on prosperous farms.

Others of the nobility who came out with Prince Solms or immediately after him, did not make much of a record for themselves. The great majority drank themselves to death; of a few there are still many tales extant. Count Henkel von Donersmert, of Hesse Cassel, kept the first grocery store ever opened in the colony. He married a respectable young servant girl and was subsequently elected sheriff of Comal county. But gambling was with him a mania; he lost all that he had at the gaming table, and finally in a fit of remorse and despondency hung himself.

Baron Wedemeyer, son of the prime minister to the King of Hanover, lived here for some time. He began farming and had every promise of success; but the grand free life of America could not content him; he missed the glories of the Court in which his youth had been passed, so disposed of his real estate and returned to his native land. The lives of these titled gentry in this country offer a sharp contrast to their family traditions. Think of Baron von Nauenendorf presiding over a bar! Imagine Baron von Dalbigh breaking horses and running races—which business he still pursues. Baron Kriewicz Czepry found even these new settlements too civilized for him. His adventurous spirit led him among the Indians and with them he lived for years, but at last returned to civilization, married and settled down, and his sons still dwell by the borders of the Llano.

The untitled members of the community made better records for themselves and many attained to responsible positions. Gustave Schliecher, one of "the Fortiers," was first state senator and then, for two terms, representative in Congress for his district. Since his death, the 20th legislature of Texas has named a county after him to perpetuate his memory. Edward Degner was also a member of Congress, and his sons are aldermen of the city of San Antonio. Jacob Kuechler, another "Fortier," and J. J. Groos, were commissioners of the general land office of Texas. Baron von Meusebach and George Pfeuffer were both state senators, and the latter was also regent of the state Agricultural and Mechanical College. Von Wrede, the commander of the Prince's body-guard, and Herman Seele, his secretary, have both been state legislators, the last having held many



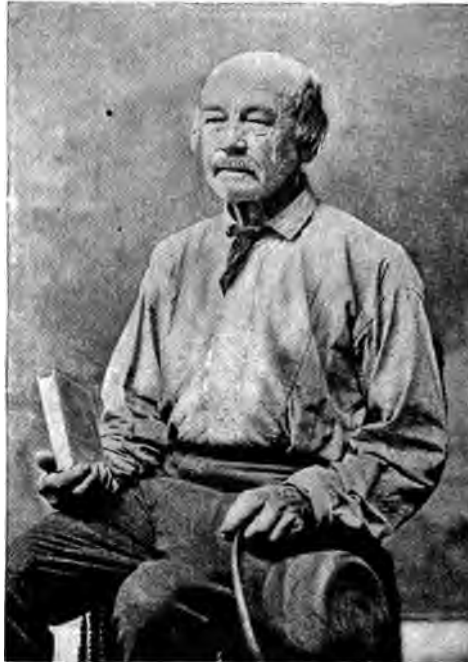
RUINS OF THE SOPHIENBERG, 1886.

[*The Home of Prince Solms Braunfels.*]

other offices in district and county. Staechely, Kessler, Wurzbach, Clemens and Arnold, were all members of the legislature at various times. In fact Texas has given many honors to these adopted children of hers, and has ever been repaid with love and loyalty.

The merchants of New Braunfels have made themselves a national reputation for integrity and business acumen. They take no notes from each other or the farmers who trade with them, saying that the man who has to be bound by his note will cheat his neighbor. They have retained all their primitive and old world notions of business integrity, and their characters seem to have been strengthened by the furnace of fire through which they have passed.

One more trial was laid upon the people of this town and they met it manfully. The Baron de Bastrop, under the title of an old Spanish grant made to him, laid claim to the 1260 acres which form the town site of New Braunfels, and which Prince Solms had purchased from the Veramendi family. A long and troublesome lawsuit ensued—lasting nearly twenty-five years—and which has become one of the *causes célèbres* of Texas court records. The expense of this litigation was defrayed by every house-holder contributing, each according to the value of his property. There was appeal after appeal and all the vexations of the law's delay;



KARL KLINGER.

[*Prince Solms' old Servant.*]

but it ended at last, and, as a matter of justice, in the favor of the colonists.

When the city celebrated the twenty-fifth anniversary of its existence, the town-council sent a cablegram to its founder in his castle of Rheingrafenstein. They received a gracious reply, and that was all. There were some hopes expressed that his Highness would present the city with a portrait of himself—but this was never done. In fact the whole result of the German emigration scheme was a disappointment to Prince Solms, who, metaphorically, washed his hands of the immigrants from the day that they voted for annexation. The Prince died in December, 1874, holding the rank of General Field Marshal of Austria. The Sophienberg, which he had named for his lady love with such pomp and ceremony, stood until very recently, but battered, shattered, almost roofless. Only one person clung to it, refusing to leave the spot where he had served his dear master, and enjoyed by reflection the glories of his brief, bright rule—old Karl Klinger, Prince Solms' servant, lived in the only rain-proof corner of the building until the autumn of 1886, when a

mighty storm arose and completely demolished it, strewing its fragments far and wide. As long as the house held together, no hand was so irreverent as to disturb its foundations for the documents and picture placed under it by the Prince. After its destruction the stone was searched for, but up to the present has never been discovered. It was impossible that it should melt into nothingness; it must have been taken by those who were well aware of its historical value, and doubtless it will some day be brought to light. Old Klinger would not leave the hill even after his dearly loved habitation was destroyed, but still lives there in a little cabin and supports himself by the sale of most excellent home made cider; for who would miss climbing the Sophienberg, and once there refuse to drink to the prosperity of the fair city in a bumper of "Klinger's Ale"?

New Braunfels—this city of a prince—is something unique; a piece of the Old World set down into the New; a German town in fact, transplanted into American soil, and of all states, in Texas, and western Texas at that; a state settled by the Latin race, where many Spanish laws still obtain, and the very part of the state where the Spanish had their strongest hold and still exhibit their greatest strength. It is indeed strange that just here this thoroughly Teutonic town should have been located and this Gothic people have kept their style of life unchanged and their race unmixed. Just as great a contrast is presented in an ecclesiastical view; founded by a Catholic, it is a Protestant community—and it seems a strange anomaly that these liberal-minded, free-thinking Germans, should be thrown among the superstitiously religious Latins, who named their rivers and cities for their saints, called a town Corpus Christi and a bay Espiritu Santo.

Free L. Hearby

HOUSTON, TEXAS.

[Conclusion.]

BOSTON IN 1741, AND GOVERNOR SHIRLEY *

Boston was, in 1741, a vigorous town, and held probably for the next forty years a larger space in the view which Europe took of the New World than has belonged to her since. Forty topsail vessels were at this time building in her ship-yards. She was dispatching to sea twice as many



BOSTON HARBOUR IN 1732.

sail as New York, and Newport was far behind her. Fortunes were relatively large, and that of John Erving, who became Shirley's son-in-law, was

* Extracts from "New England, 1689-1763," in *Narrative and Critical History of America*. The map of Boston Harbor, republished from the fifth volume of the above work through the courtesy of the publisher, is a curious and instructive study. It originally appeared in *Peoples' British Empire in America* in 1732.

perhaps the largest of its day. He earned a few dollars in ferrying passengers across to Cambridge on a commencement day; put them into fish for Lisbon, then into fruit for London, and the receipts into other commodities for the return voyages, until the round of barter, abundantly repeated, made him the rich man that he became, and one who could give tea to his guests. The privateers of the merchants brought royal interest on their outlay, as they captured goods from the French and Spanish traders. Yankee wit turned sometimes unpromising plunder to a gain. One vessel brought in a bale of papal indulgences, taken from a Spanish prize. Fleet, the printer, bought them, and printed his ballads on their backs. Another Boston merchant, of Huguenot stock, had given the town a public hall. This benevolent but keen gentleman, of a limping gait, did not live long to add to the fortune which he inherited. The first use that Faneuil Hall was put to was when James Lovell, the schoolmaster and a writer in the local magazines, delivered a eulogy there on this same Peter Faneuil,* while the loyal Bostonians glanced from the speaker to the likeness of George II., which had already been hung on its walls.

William Shirley, the governor who succeeded Jonathan Belcher when he was removed on the 6th of May, 1741, was an English barrister who had come to Boston some time before (about 1733-5) to seek his fortune.† He looked about for offices in the gift of the home government, and began soliciting them one after another. When the Spanish war came on he busied himself in prompting enlistment, and took care that the authorities in England should know it; and Mrs. Shirley, then in that country, had, to her husband's advantage as it turned out, the ear of the Duke of New Castle. Shirley was in Rhode Island acting upon the boundary question, which was then raised between Massachusetts and her neighbor, when his commission arrived, and he hastened to Boston to take the oath.

Shirley had some excellent qualities for political station. He was courtly and tactful; and when at a later day he entertained Washington, he captivated the young Virginian. He was diligent in his duties, and knew how to retreat when he had advanced unadvisedly. He governed his temper, and was commonly wise, though he did not possess surpass-

* There is a fine steel portrait of Faneuil in the *Magazine of American History*, Vol. VII.

† William Shirley was born in 1693, and was therefore about forty years of age when he first appeared in Boston. His fine portrait in the *Narrative and Critical History of America* represents him at about that period, and is an interesting example of both early art and the fashionable costume of the day. "It follows an engraving 'T. Hudson, pinxt: J. McArdeil, fecit, reproduced in V. C. Smith's *Brit. Mezzotint Portrait*, 1896." Governor Shirley planned the successful expedition against Cape Breton in 1745.



GOVERNOR WILLIAM SHIRLEY.

ing talents. In his speech to the legislature he urged the strengthening of the defenses of Boston, for the Spanish war still raged ; and he touched without greatly clarifying the financial problem. He tried in a more civil way than his predecessor had followed to get his salary fixed ; but he could not force a vote, and a tacit understanding arising that he should be sure annually of £1,000, he desisted from any further attempts to solve the vexed question. A month later, he went to commencement at Cambridge,

and delivered a Latin speech, at the proper moment, which was doubtless talked over round the punch in the chambers, as it added one scholarly feature to a festival then somewhat riotously kept. There was more dignity at the Boston lecture when Benjamin Coleman preached, and when his sermon was printed it had in an appendix the address of the Boston ministers to the new governor, and his Excellency's reply. Spencer Phips was retained in the chair of the lieutenant-governor, but a new collector of Boston came in with Sir Henry Frankland, the story of whose passion for the maid of a Marblehead inn is one of the romances of the provincial history of New England.

In 1749, in pursuit of a plan to build and maintain a line of posts at the eastward, Shirley obtained leave of absence, and went to England, while the conduct of affairs was left in the hands of Spencer Phips, the lieutenant-governor, a man of experience and good intentions, but not of signal ability. . . . Shirley, after four years' absence, during which he had been employed in an unsuccessful mission to Paris about the Acadian boundaries, came back to Boston in 1753, to be kindly received, but to feel in bringing with him a young Catholic wife, whom he had married in Paris, the daughter of his landlord, that he gave her the position of the first lady in the province not without environing himself and her with great embarrassment, in a community, which, though it had departed widely from the puritanism of the fathers, was still intolerant of much that makes man urbane and merry. While Shirley had been gone, the good town had been much exercised over an attempt to introduce the drama, and the performance of Otway's *Orphan* at a coffee-house in King Street had stirred the legislature to pass a law against stage plays. The journals of Goelet and others give us some glimpse of life, however, far more prudish, and show that human nature was not altogether suppressed, nor all of the good people quite as stiff as Blackburn was now painting them. Notwithstanding his hymeneal entanglement, Shirley was unquestionably the most powerful Englishman at this time in America.



THE TREATY OF GHENT

The treaty of peace between the United States and Great Britain, by which the War of 1812 was brought to a termination, is known as the Treaty of Ghent. It is probably the most abused and least understood, but one of the rarest and most successful pieces of American diplomacy.

Ghent is the capital of East Flanders. It is an old city, rich, industrious and proud. Its settlement began in the seventh century; the foundation of the old abbey, now in ruins, dates from that time. The Counts of Flanders made this one of their principal residences, and the old castle, built in the year 1000, the gateway of which is still to be seen, was the birthplace of John of Gaunt, the head of the house of Lancaster, which maintained the contest for the Crown of England during the War of the Roses. The Gauntois were celebrated in early times for their spirit of independence and unwillingness to brook the restraints of autocratic rulers. Their desire for freedom was as strong as was that of the English, and was contemporary with the magna charta of Runnymede.

During the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries revolution seems to have been the order of the day in Ghent. A prominent feature was the existence of the guilds, as they were called. The Trades Unions and Knights of Labor of the present may think their organizations a new invention and a cure-all for the wrongs done to the laborer, but the workingmen of Ghent anticipated them by more than five hundred years. In the time of Charles V. there were fifty-two guilds, and during a period of five hundred years the number has not materially changed. About 1325 the guilds of the weavers and the fullers joined in battle in the *Marché au Vendredi* and fought for two days, leaving six hundred men killed and wounded. Then it was that Jacques Van Artevelde, the chief of the guild of brewers, took command of the city for the preservation of peace, and finally became the ruler of the province. He wielded a power and exercised an influence among the rulers of Europe scarcely inferior to the proudest king. A jealous faction arose against him and he was assassinated. His statue now stands in the market place.

Charles V., Emperor of Germany, was born here, and the burghers and guilds, presuming upon his favor, in their desire for freedom demanded concessions, which Charles refused to grant, and which ended in another

rebellion. Charles marched against them with his army and chastised the haughty Gauntois. He ordered as a punishment that the burgomaster and the aldermen should march through the streets, barefoot, clad only in their shirts and with a halter about their necks should present their submission and plead for mercy. The guilds were dissolved, their property confiscated



RESIDENCE OF THE AMERICAN COMMISSIONERS IN GHENT.

[Scene of the negotiations of the famous Treaty.]

and they directed to choose each a representative as a scapegoat to bear the sins of the rest, and he, in expiation of their crimes, was to be executed. The wealthy societies and clubs at the present day point with pride to the beauty and magnificence of their club houses; but some of those of the old city of Ghent, notably that of the boatmen, 1531, and of the fencing club, adjoining the Beffroi, were their equals.

The city of Ghent is intertwined with a net-work of canals, which are crossed at every street by bridges that swing almost every quarter of an hour for the passing of boats. From twelve to one o'clock these bridges are not allowed to swing, that the forty thousand work-people, and half that number of school children may be accommodated during their dinner hour. The Place d'Armes is a favorite promenade, and here the bands play each evening during summer, and the people congregate to promenade, and gossip, and listen to the music. Here I sat in front of the Hotel Royal one evening in the summer of 1881. I asked Mr. Marit, the landlord, where the treaty between the United States and Great Britain was made. He told me in the house at the corner of Rue des Champs and Rue Foulons where the American commissioners resided. On their first arrival they stopped at the Hotel des Pays Bas, a building directly opposite where we were then sitting. But for a more convenient and permanent arrangement the landlord of the Hotel des Pays Bas hired and furnished for their use this other house which had been the private residence of Schamp, whose daughter afterward married the Spanish nobleman, Count d'Alcantara, and the house is now known as the Maison d'Alcantara. It is a substantial, plain structure, with very little ornamentation, three stories high, built as appeared by its inscription, in the year 1716. It had a broad front of seven windows with a *porte cochère* in the middle. A wing runs back on the Rue Foulons, of six windows, beyond which are the kitchens and houses for domestics, and a high stone wall to the stable on the rear of the lot. A large garden attached to the house was within the enclosure. I had photographs made of all the prominent places connected with the treaty and forwarded them to the Department of State. The American commissioners reached Ghent in the latter part of July and were installed in the Hotel Schamp on the 29th. Great Britain delayed appointing her commissioners so long as to cause irritation on the part of the Americans, making them feel as though they were being treated as inferiors or representatives of an inferior nation rather than equals. The British commissioners arrived in Ghent on the 6th of August. They stopped at the Hotel Lion d'Or. They immediately sent their secretary, Mr. Baker, to call upon the American commissioners and invite them to the Hotel Lion d'Or for a conference, to exhibit their respective powers and commissions, and to enter upon the business before them. All the American commissioners were absent except Mr. Bayard, who, inexperienced in forms and indifferent to ceremonies, at once acquiesced in the suggestion of the British secretary. But his associates on their return instantly took exceptions to what was considered an offensive pretension to superiority on the part of England.

Mr. J. Q. Adams exclaimed : " Meet the English ministers who have kept us here so long awaiting the condescension of their coming ; meet them at their bidding, at their own hotel, to be the laughing stock of Ghent, of London, and of all Europe ! " " Never, never ! " responded Mr. Gallatin ; " I would rather break up the commission and go home ; " and Mr. Adams added : " It would be a submission to English encroachment, to which, for one, I will not submit. " Authorities were cited favorable to this decision, the whole was reduced to writing, and Mr. Hughes, the secretary, was entrusted with a message to the British commissioners proposing to meet at any other place, mentioning the Hotel des Pays Bas, where, on the next day, August 8, the first meeting was held. There being no conveniences at the Hotel Lion d'Or for the British commissioners, they, like the Americans, demanded an entire establishment for themselves, finally securing the ancient Chartreuse Convent. The Chartreuse was a religious order of monks, whose first monastery was founded in the year 1084, four leagues from the town of Grenoble, France. They established themselves at Ghent in 1320, but their convent was destroyed in 1566, during the religious wars. The present convent was erected in 1466 by another religious order, and used as a hospital for the insane, which order was driven out and the Chartreuse succeeded to and took possession of their convent in 1584. This they occupied until their suppression by Joseph II., Emperor of Austria, 1783. Four years afterward they were re-established, and again suppressed by the French in 1796. The convent then served as a military hospital until the year 1800, when M. Lievin Bauwens became proprietor and established there a cotton-spinning establishment, the first of its kind in Belgium, and perhaps on the continent. England, as the inventor, enjoyed a monopoly of spinning by machinery, and for years guarded the secret, refusing to continental countries all knowledge thereof, and providing penalties for any attempt to divulge the secret. The story of how Lievin Bauwens went there and learned the trade of cotton spinning, then furtively purchased and exported the necessary machinery for the inauguration of the industry elsewhere ; how he was pursued, his foreman captured, and he escaped, would make interesting reading, but cannot be noticed here. A statue has been erected to him on one of the principal avenues of the city.

The front building of the convent of the Chartreuse was fitted up and transformed into a magnificent residence. It had been occupied by the Emperor Napoleon, the Empress, and their suite, when on their way through the city in 1807—and their rooms are still shown. On our visit we were conducted through them and through the building, and into the

grand dining-room, now divided into three. Here, as we understood, the treaty of peace was signed.

When the British commissioners were duly installed in their new residence, it was early agreed that the meetings of the commission should be held alternately at the respective residences of the two commissions. The treaty was agreed upon at a meeting at the house of the American commissioners on the 23d of December, 1814. It was engrossed and six fair copies made, and at the meeting December 24, at the house of the British commissioners, the treaty was signed and exchanged, each party keeping three copies.

While visiting these places of historic interest, I thought how, in these little, low Dutch countries, rescued as they were from the sea, and the right to their lands and the lands themselves maintained and kept only by continuous fight with the sea, had begun those great controversies which once and forever determined the ocean to be the highway of all nations, and gave to each and to every one an equal right thereon. We all know how Philip II., in his time claimed, as absolute owner by the divine right of kings, three-fourths of the land in the civilized world, and all the water. He considered the oceans his own private property, with all they contained or encircled—he claimed them as a nobleman would claim the fish-pond in his own park. This was contested by the Dutch, in which they were aided by the English. Philip, in order to maintain his right, instituted his famous Spanish Armada.

One Sunday afternoon three hundred years ago a fleet of vast magnitude appeared in the English channel. It had been anxiously looked for, and on its approach a signal fire was kindled on Lizard Point, which illuminated all England. This fleet was the great invincible Spanish Armada, with its vessels arranged in the form of a crescent, seven miles wide across the horns. It had been expected for weeks, and preparations had been made to receive it; therefore as the Spaniards swept up the channel they were closed in from behind by British cruisers and gunboats, and all sorts of craft, metamorphosed into war ships for the occasion, swarming out from Plymouth and the Isle of Wight, and every bay and inlet along the coast, and what with "small fighting and heavy," and "fireships," and "Antwerp devils," and westerly winds, the Armada was swept on through the straits of Dover, where it was met by the Dutchmen and Flemings from Ostend and Flushing, and the mouths of the Scheldt, Meuse and Rhine, and all the inlets and harbors of the indented and protected coast, coming out like a nest of infuriated hornets; these organized an impromptu admiralty court and attacked Philip and his fleet right and left, before and behind,

and ere they stayed proceedings the pleasure-pond question was forever settled against Philip and against Spain.

The judgment of that admiralty court has never been reversed or set aside. Philip's representatives went home on the conclusion of the trial, by what seemed to them, for obvious reasons, the safest, if not the quickest route, to wit, *via* Norway, to the north of Scotland, and so out into the Atlantic ocean. Philip's claim has never been heard of since.

However, England afterward undertook to set up, by way of subrogation, a claim to the benefit of this judgment and to say that *she* was mistress of the seas. Without stopping to describe the contest between the British and the Dutch, who were joint defendants with her in the Spanish war, I come to the time when she was engaged in the Napoleonic wars in which all Europe was involved. England was then driven to establish paper blockades on the coasts of her antagonists, which was retaliated by the French declaration of blockade of the entire British Isles. This course soon led to the capture of neutral ships, and the United States, being almost the only neutral maritime nation was more affected than all others. The naval power of France was insignificant, and practically its paper blockade had but slight effect on United States commerce; while the naval force of Great Britain was strong enough to make serious inroads upon it. The complaints of the United States were accordingly much greater against Great Britain than against France, though their offenses against the law of nations were, in this regard, theoretically the same. Under the pressure of these wars and the necessity for maintaining her power on the high seas, Great Britain revived or enforced her original claim, denying to her subjects the right of expatriation, and with it claimed the right to search the vessels of other nations on the high seas whenever she had reason to suspect she could find a sailor who had once owed allegiance to her flag, and pressed them into her service at once. Many of these found on American vessels proved to be Irishmen, and it is said that the inspecting British officer required the sailors, as they passed him, to pronounce the word "peas;" the response "paise" betrayed the Irishman, and resulting in his capture and transfer to the British ship.

It was charged by the American government that no less than six thousand sailors had been captured from American vessels and transferred to the British, of which number two hundred were able to prove their American citizenship by birth. The gravity and extent of these British infractions of what the Americans deemed to be sound international law, together with the damage inflicted, produced on the part of the Americans first a protest, and then retaliation. The embargo act was passed in 1807, and

the non-intercourse and non-importation act in 1809, and finally the declaration of war by act of Congress June 18, 1812.

It required the two causes, the paper blockade and the search of neutral vessels on the high seas, to produce sufficient irritation on the part of the Americans to cause this declaration of war. One cause would not have been sufficient; and it is curious to note how near the war came to being avoided. The British, unaware of the declaration of war by the United States, abrogated their paper blockade before the news of it reached England. If the Americans had known the willingness of Great Britain to do this, the declaration never would have been made. But, having embarked in the war, neither party was willing to give up without a settlement of the vexed question, the right of search.

This war dragged slowly along. England was fully occupied with her continental wars, and could spare few soldiers for America. In the United States, New England, which could furnish the greater portion of the sailors from her merchant marine, was opposed to the war. The course of events proved as strange as it was unexpected. The Americans were defeated everywhere on land where they had expected to have been successful, while the British were defeated everywhere at sea where *they* had expected to have been successful. Russia offered her mediation March 8, 1813. It was accepted immediately by the United States, and President Madison appointed commissioners, who sailed on the 21st of May, 1813, and arrived in Europe June 21. The summer was spent in diplomatic discussions, and finally in October Great Britain refused the mediation of Russia; but that she might not be offended, offered to treat for peace with the United States direct. The President immediately appointed commissioners, John Quincy Adams, then United States minister to Russia; James A. Bayard, from the United States Senate; Henry Clay, a member of Congress; Jonathan Russell, United States minister to Sweden, and Albert Gallatin, Secretary of the Treasury. Adams, Gallatin and Bayard were already in Europe, having been there in connection with the Russian mediation. Clay and Russell sailed on the 27th of February, 1814. Gothenburg, Sweden, had been selected as the place of rendezvous. The United States was without any representative to Sweden, and as it was eminently proper she should have one if the treaty was to be negotiated in that country, Mr. Russell was appointed to that post. Gallatin and Bayard journeyed from St. Petersburg to London, where they arrived April 14, and from whence they immediately conferred with their colleagues. In the meantime affairs in Europe were undergoing great change, one rather inimical to the United States. Wellington was in Paris, Napoleon was

captive, the continental wars were over, and Elba bounded the political horizon. This left the British government untrammelled in Europe, and ready to devote its entire energy to prosecute the war in America; but at the same time it was deprived of all the excuses existing at the beginning of the war. The paper blockade, of which the United States complained, had been given up in 1812, and with the cessation of the continental wars, ceased also England's need to obtain sailors by impressment. After peace was declared in Europe the war was waged by Great Britain against the United States principally from obstinacy and pride. The war-spirit ran high in Great Britain, the war was popular. The press and the people demanded its vigorous prosecution. The country was elated over its military victories in Europe, but smarted under its many defeats, especially those its navy had received from the United States, and was irritated at being unable to overcome at once a nation so young and comparatively so weak. The government and the people of Great Britain demanded a glorious termination of the war, that it might console them for the mortifications of naval defeats, that it might cripple the naval and commercial resources and the growing manufactures of the United States; and they meant to inflict on America a chastisement that would teach her that war was not to be declared with impunity against Great Britain.

The peace party in the United States grew powerful and its opposition to the administration became more successful. It was loud in its declaration of the inability of the United States to succeed against Great Britain, and now it had greater reason than ever for that position. To such a pitch was party spirit carried that Mr. Gallatin, one of the ablest and most conservative of the statesmen of that day, and probably best qualified by reason of his experience and temper to negotiate successfully a treaty with a power at war with us, was rejected by the Senate, though he was finally confirmed. Mr. Gallatin probably expressed the opinion of a large proportion of the public concerning the prospects of the war and the necessity for peace when he said, in his letter to Mr. Monroe, Secretary of State, June 13, 1814, "I have the most perfect conviction that under the existing unpropitious circumstances of the world, America cannot by a continuance of the war, compel Great Britain to yield any maritime points in dispute, and particularly to agree to any satisfactory arrangement on the subject of impressment; that the most favorable terms of peace that can be expected are the *status ante bellum*." In this opinion he was supported by Mr. Adams and Mr. Russell. Mr. Bayard was more firm, but Mr. Clay the firmest of all. He was the only western representative on the commission, of whom one of his contemporaries has said: "As for war,

so for diplomacy, for oratory, even for society, there is a genius which outstrips the endowments of culture."

The American commissioners being assembled, after their various arrivals in Europe, were ready and anxious to enter upon their labors. Great Britain procrastinated. Objections were made to Gothenburg, for the reason, as it afterward appeared, that it was too distant from London and not sufficiently under its influence; and so the place of rendezvous was changed to Ghent, then in possession of the British army with an English commanding-general. The points which the British commissioners presented for discussion, as instructed by their government, are interesting. 1. "The forcible seizure of mariners on American vessels, and connected therewith the right of the King to the allegiance of all his native-born subjects." This denied their right of expatriation or naturalized citizenship in the United States. 2. "Protection of their Indian allies, and the drawing of a boundary line for them, beyond which the United States could not pass, and whose property the United States could not purchase." Both these were a *sine qua non* to the conclusion of any treaty. 3. "The partial revision of the boundary line between the United States and the British possessions"—but in this Great Britain contemplated no acquisition of territory. The question of the fisheries was mentioned, incidentally, and while the British proposed the concession to land and dry fish on territory exclusively their own, it was not proposed to do so without an equivalent.

The American commissioners were instructed to present two points. "1. A definition of blockade and of certain neutral and belligerent rights. 2. Claims of indemnity to individuals for captures and seizures." A short discussion developed two points of difference which widened as they were discussed. "1. The demand of the British commissioners for the establishment of an Indian territory, to be occupied by their allies, and to so lie between, as to prevent the touching of the United States and the British possessions." This brought out the further claim of disarmament of the United States on the lakes, which offended the American commissioners. "2. The demand of the American commissioners for compensation for individuals." This claim developed into a demand for compensation for slaves that had been captured by the British, carried off and said to have been set free. The American commissioners were not always harmonious, and when these two questions, slavery and the Indian question, which have given the United States so much trouble since, were projected into the commission one can understand the possibility of their disagreement. The dictatorial character of Mr. Clay and the irascibility of Mr. Adams also had a peculiar effect. Mr. Adams said: "I had also (written) the pro-

posals for the article of amnesty to the Indians. It was agreed to adopt this article, though *with objections to almost every word* in which I had brought it up. This is a severity with which I alone am treated by all my colleagues. Almost everything written by any of the rest is rejected or agreed to with very little criticism, verbal or substantial. But every line that *I write passes a gauntlet of objections* by every one of my colleagues, which finally issues, for most part, in the rejection of it all. I write and propose a great deal more than all the rest together, Mr. Gallatin excepted. I have in the end, I believe, not more than my fifth of the papers as we dispatch them."

Again, he says, "I found, as usual, that my draft was not satisfactory to my colleagues. On the general view of the subject we are unanimous, but in my exposition of it, one objects to the form, another to the substance of almost every paragraph. Mr. Gallatin is for marking out every expression that may be offensive to the feelings of the adverse party. Mr. Clay is displeased with the figurative language, which he thinks improper for a state paper. Mr. Russell, agreeing in the objections of the two other gentlemen, will be further for amending the construction of every sentence; and Mr. Bayard, even when agreeing to saying precisely the same thing, chooses to say it only in his own language. Of the part of my own draft which had been left for consideration, two-thirds were now struck out. The remnant left of mine certainly does not form a fifth part of the paper as finally settled, and it is patched with scraps from Mr. Gallatin, and scraps from Mr. Bayard, and scraps from Mr. Clay, all of whom are dissatisfied with the paper as finally constructed. Each of us takes a separate and distinct view of the subject-matter, and each naturally thinks his own view of it the most important."

The British commissioners also changed their manner. Mr. Adams says under date of 19th of August, "Their tone was more peremptory and their language more overbearing than at the former conferences. In Mr. Bayard's draft in our long dispatch he had closed with a paragraph complimentary to the personal deportment of the British commissioners. *We now struck it out.*"

The feeling grew among the commissioners from both countries that they would be unable to conclude a treaty and that the commission would be a failure. As already remarked, their differences seemed to widen, and their antipathies for each other to strengthen. The *sine qua non* of the British claim was regarded as impossible by the American commissioners; while the instructions from each government showed no sign of change from their original condition. Mr. Adams says, August 20, "It is proba-

ble that our answer (to the British note) and the reply which will be written to it may close the negotiation."

The Americans had engaged their hotel for a single month, believing they would surely not remain longer; but at the end of that time their business was not concluded and apparently no prospect of agreeing upon a treaty; and they discussed the propriety of each returning to his respective station. Mr. Adams says the commission declined to take the hotel for another month, and they finally arranged with the landlord for half a month at the rate of six hundred francs, "as probably some of us will be here at least ten days longer." The commission, however, remained in the hotel on consecutive half-month leases until the first of January following—in all five months.

The British army had taken possession of Castine and certain islands in Passamaquoddy Bay; and when the American commissioners proposed an investigation or consideration of the claims of the United States to this territory they were scouted, and Mr. Goulburn said they might as well discuss the English title to Northumberland. This irritated again the American commissioners, especially Mr. Adams. The differences between the commissioners of the two countries, and the difficulties of the American commissioners were seriously increased by the following facts: The treaty of 1783, which brought peace after our revolution, guaranteed two privileges, one to Great Britain—the free navigation of the Mississippi from its source to its mouth—and to the United States the right to take and cure fish in any of the Canadian waters. The disturbing questions before the commission arising out of these provisions will be apparent after a moment's thought. What was the effect on them of the subsequent war? Were they abrogated or did they remain in force? Was it necessary that they should be re-enacted? If one was enacted and the other omitted, what would be the effect? The British commissioners contended that one was equivalent for the other, and that if one was enacted both must be. As they much desired to retain the free passage of the Mississippi they were, of course, willing to grant the right of fisheries. But circumstances had materially changed since the treaty of 1783. At that time the United States owned *no* territory west of the Mississippi, while now it owned it all. The Mississippi was now entirely within our own country, and Great Britain might as well demand free passage on the Hudson, the Delaware or the Potomac. This claim of the British commissioners could not be admitted, nor its consideration even tolerated. Mr. Clay was spokesman of the opposition. He was from the West, hence interested in this

and the Indian question. He could not understand the magnitude of the fishery question, nor how the mere right to catch fish, a right in his region free to every one, should be an equivalent for these other demands, and he would have surrendered the fishery question without a contest.

Mr. Adams, coming from Massachusetts, was anxious to secure the fishery right, and he announced that if the British claim to Moose Island, which had been a county of Massachusetts, in Passamaquoddy Bay, were admitted and the fishery right denied, he would not sign the treaty—for if he did, his return to his native state would scarcely be safe.

It was about this juncture, September 25, that they received the London newspapers, furnished by the British commissioners, giving an official account of the battle at Bridge Water, or Lundy's Lane, which was claimed with a great flourish of trumpets to be an American defeat. On the first of October they received also the news of the taking of Washington City and the destruction of its public buildings. The President and his Cabinet were fugitives.

We should consider the effect of these disasters upon the American commissioners, and the difficulties which surrounded them at this period of their deliberations. They were in a strange land, separated by the ocean from their own country, with no friend on whom to rely; and, cut off almost entirely from consultation with their own government, they must depend upon themselves. That they should have made the treaty by which their country gained so much under these circumstances is the foundation for my statement at the commencement of this paper, that it was one of the rarest and most successful pieces of American diplomacy. They were pertinacious, full of courage, always polite, kept on good terms with the British commissioners, discussed minor points when they failed on major, and never allowed the sessions or discussions to close on any point with a decision against them, or beyond the possibility of renewal at a more favorable time.

The British had sent three expeditions to America, composed of the flower of their continental armies; one to the north to operate through Canada, one to the mouth of the Chesapeake to operate upon Baltimore and Washington, and one against New Orleans. On the 11th of September Commodore McDonough defeated at Plattsburgh, on Lake Champlain, the northern British army and the fleet which it was supporting. The news of this defeat arrived in England soon after that of the sacking of Washington. The British government seem to have been much disgusted with both the victory as well as the defeat, and from thence turned its attention earnestly toward a consummation of the treaty of peace.

These two engagements, the elation over the victory on Lake Champlain and the disgust over the sacking of Washington, combined to inspire the Americans to overcome all opposition to the war, to drown the clamor for peace, and to unite the people in a determination to conquer at all hazards. To these two causes must be added a third. Immediately upon the receipt of the draft of the British claims at Ghent, which were announced as a *sine qua non*, the American commissioners transmitted it to the President, by whom it was received and sent at once to the House of Representatives, and at once made public. The exorbitant demands of Great Britain were such as to unite our people in the conclusion that Great Britain meant dismemberment if she didn't mean destruction of the United States, and that our only salvation lay in a vigorous prosecution of the war. When these various items of news were received by all the parties concerned, and time given for them to operate, the way of the American commissioners at Ghent was much smoothed, and their task became less laborious. The British yielded the contested points, and the treaty was agreed to substantially as follows:

"Peace to be established—all possessions taken during the war, and all captures made to be restored to their original owners; and prisoners to be released, their advances to be repaid in specie. Commissioners to be appointed to fix the northern boundary between the United States and Canada, and the British possessions, from the Bay of Fundy through the chain of Great Lakes and Lake of the Woods. Cessation on each side of Indian hostilities. The two countries to unite for the abolition of the slave trade."

On Saturday, the 24th day of December, 1814, Christmas Eve, the treaty was signed. On Monday it was taken from Ghent to London—the English copy, by Mr. Baker, the secretary; the American counterpart was entrusted to Mr. Henry Carroll. At London, the treaty was so far altered in cabinet council as to put off actual peace until it should be ratified by the United States. This gave to Great Britain the right to continue hostilities by her fleet under Admiral Cockburn (that which had operated in the Chesapeake against Washington and Baltimore) now on the shores of Georgia and Florida, and by her combined fleet and army, under Sir Edward Pakenham at New Orleans; so that by their probable successes she might recoup the damage of the defeat on Lake Champlain. It was objected by the British press and people, that the treaty of peace should not be made in the face of disaster and defeat of the British arms. If the making of the treaty could have been postponed until after the news of the defeat at New Orleans by General Jackson, with the death of

Packenham, one cannot say that the British pride might not have been so inflamed as to demand the continuance of the war until this last and greatest defeat should have been offset by a corresponding victory, that the prestige of the British arms might not go out under a cloud.

But it was not to be thus, and the British government by its own alteration of the treaty, made in cabinet council, agreed to assume the responsibility, and take the risk, staking its reputation upon the battle which would be fought before the peace could be made known to the commanders of the two armies then facing each other, and at that moment actually engaged in their preliminary conflict.

The treaty is remarkable, more for what it omits than what it contains; every principle which each government presented at the beginning, even the *sine qua non* of Great Britain, and that one for which it refused Russian mediation, was ignored and omitted. No reference was made in the treaty to the right of Great Britain to establish a paper blockade. Nothing was said about the right of search on the high seas, nor the impressment of sailors, nor the extra-territorial regions of British subjects; yet by the arguments of the American commissioners these doctrines were overthrown as effectually as if they had been expressly negatived in the treaty. The British government has never since claimed them as rights for itself, nor recognized them as right in any others. England's pretensions in this regard were extinguished by this treaty as completely as were Spain's by the loss of her great Armada. The contest for equal rights on the high seas, begun in the channel and continued on the German Ocean and amid blood and carnage, was finished in peace at Ghent by the triumph of American diplomacy.

Instead of wearing themselves out over impracticable, perhaps impossible, questions, the commissioners turned their attention to the northern boundary between the two countries, and it was by them forever settled, and in such manner as to give the United States the foundation for its future greatness. The commissioners even builded wiser than they knew, for they provided for the acquisition of that great West which is our pride and strength. What would be our condition if we were shorn of our northern and western possessions, as we would have been if Great Britain had been successful at Ghent? The Rocky Mountains, Yellowstone Park, the Black Hills, Dakota, Washington Territory, Idaho, Oregon, the gold and silver mines, Pacific railways—these are some of the things we would have lost but for the fortunate and wise actions of our commissioners at Ghent. The British demanded a guaranteed territory for the Indians who had aided them in their war, which the United States should never purchase,

and which should be a perpetual barrier against possible American encroachment on Canada. This might have been good for Great Britain, but by it the United States would have lost the great lakes and a territory which now forms some of our strongest and richest states. The treaty of 1783 gave to Great Britain the free navigation of the Mississippi River from its source to its mouth—the treaty of Ghent by its silence annulled this right and took it away.

The victory of the American diplomats at Ghent was two-fold: first, they secured the benefits desired without enumerating them—even to a greater extent than if the benefits had been enumerated; and second, if they had insisted upon an enumeration of the benefits obtained, it is apparent they would have periled the entire treaty and lost all. Thus I close this paper, by repeating the opinion expressed in the beginning, that this much abused treaty was one of the rarest and most successful pieces of American diplomacy.

Thomas Wilson

A NEW FRANCE IN NEW ENGLAND

One of the most remarkable immigration movements, within the last twenty-five years, is that of the French Canadians into the United States, and especially into New England. Although French Canadians could be found in the lumbering districts of the West and in the more important manufacturing centres of New England prior to the Civil War, no decided inflow had been noticed, certainly none of a kind to deserve the name of a wholesale, systematic immigration. The late war was the first great inviting agency to this race, some of whose representatives assert that 35,000 of their fellow countrymen fought for the North. But it is principally within the last fifteen years that the great bulk of the French Canadian population has noiselessly settled in this country, to share its fortunes and take part in the national development. Our northeastern cities and rural districts are constantly attracting more of this element, notwithstanding the cheapness of land, especially government land, in their own province.

Could a more striking illustration of the wonderful changes of our time be found? No longer are invasions of Canada from New England the popular cry; not even the most war-like or ambitious of our military youths dream of forcibly annexing the vast, sparsely settled region to the North, nor are any aggressive colonization projects entertained with a view to its absorption. The tide of national feeling on each side of the boundary is turned into different, more honorable and fruitful channels, each race striving after nobler objects than to vex or destroy the other. The French Canadians pour into the traditional enemy's country, not for war or spoil, but to find homes in their most thriving cities, and to aid in the cultivation of their most fertile fields. The descendants of the old combatants now mingle in peace, to work amicably together in the promotion of American civilization.

In contemplating this modern marvel, the greatest cause of astonishment is the progress so speedily made, with the moral certainty of its continuance. Unconscious, itself, of the importance of the movement, this modest but vigorous national element has struck for the very centres of American culture, capital and political influence, determined to permanently establish itself therein. This is one of the most significant natural movements yet attempted. Great results often flow from modest begin-

nings, such as Plymouth Rock settlement and Jacques Cartier pioneer scheme.

A brief glance at the surprising progress of the French Canadians in their own country during the last century, will enable one to form an estimate of the probable development of this people in the Northern states, under more favorable educational and other influences. Despite the loss of life in the two American wars, with the serious injury to trade and property, also the stoppage of immigration to Canada, this remote community, chiefly agricultural, backward in education and primitive in habit, increased from 65,000 at the time of the Cession—1759-60—to a million and seven hundred thousand to-day, and this does not include the outflow to adjoining provinces and United States.

Where can a parallel to such astonishing increase be found? This spread of the French supplies one of the impressive phenomena of our time.

But rapidly as the French element has multiplied, its political influence has exceeded the proportion properly belonging to its numbers, in the affairs of Canada, a state of things that contributed materially to the formation of the existing larger Union, the present Confederation. In 1861, by the census report of that year, the western province, Upper Canada, possessed 285,000 more population than the eastern, Lower Canada, the difference probably reaching nearly half a million by 1866, when the present larger Union had to be effected, mainly to prevent continued party agitation and sectional heartburning and disorder, which must have ended, ere long, in the break-up of the old Union, with every probability of annexation to this country soon following it. The larger Union, embracing the maritime provinces with the Northwest as an enormous valuable background, accompanied as it was by an amalgamation of the long hostile parties, did get rid of the old Canadian difficulty, but only for a while.

The immense influence of the French in Canadian politics, notwithstanding their disadvantages in numbers and education, both previous and subsequent to 1866, was and is one of the wonders of the times. In view of the excitable nature of this element, and the ease with which it can be stirred by keen politicians and prejudiced agitators, as evinced by the recent change in the Quebec local government by means of the Riel cry, great care has to be exercised in dealing with any question affecting its feelings or interests, particularly in a union of which it forms so large a part as the existing Confederation. Constant care and extreme delicacy in handling those perilous "national" questions must be resorted to if they are to live together in peace. The Union is yet only a sapling, occasionally

tried sharply enough, requiring especially favoring material conditions, including greater prosperity than most of the provinces or branches have the last five years enjoyed, to form into a healthy and a vigorous tree.

The French have hitherto enjoyed the advantage of leaders, shrewd, diplomatic and far-seeing, with manners which give decided advantage over men otherwise as able. Sir George Cartier and Sir Etienne Taché vigorously and successfully opposed, with the aid of the present Premier of the Dominion, Sir John A. Macdonald, their opponents led by Hon. George Browne, L. H. Holton and Sir Antoine Aimée Dorion, all of them remarkably clever men. Their actual leaders in the Dominion at present are men of respectable talents. Sir Hector Langevin, political successor to the late Sir George Cartier, the oldest and ablest colleague of Sir John A. Macdonald, is sagacious and temperate. He is a good worker and a friend of peace and order. One of his colleagues, Mr. Chapleau, is a fair rhetorician, but however ambitious and energetic he cannot be ranked with the statesmen or orators, while his lack of principle and doubtful political morality cause him to be shunned by many of his party. The only French Canadian in public life in the Dominion truly an orator is the Hon. Wilfred Laurier, the leader of the Liberal opposition. This gentleman is indeed a very able man, refined, broad-minded, thoroughly fair and liberal. In the domain of provincial politics there is the Hon. Mr. Mercier, a gifted politician and a skillful debater, possessing much tact and a good knowledge of men. But however sentimental on festive or national occasions, the French Canadian politician can be thoroughly practical. He is generally a ready and fluent speaker, easily arousing the masses and securing their assistance in schemes of every kind, worthy or otherwise.

Let us observe next, what impression has been already made upon the social and industrial condition of the Northeastern states by this productive race. The census of Massachusetts for 1885 gives in the whole State a French Canadian population of 64,503. But the total reported by French agents sent to discover the actual number of their fellow-countrymen reaches 120,000. This discrepancy is easily explained. By the former enumeration, the French Canadian population of Fall River is set down at but 10,785, while it is actually over 14,000. Of course three years elapsed between the two counts, and it is well known that the immigration of this race was considerable in that period. But many departures from that city would also have been made, more or less affecting the final result. I am informed by a distinguished lawyer of Fall River, Massachusetts, Mr. V. H. Dubuque, who is specially interested in the movements and experiences

of his race in the New England states, that careful calculation on the part of official representatives, fix the total French Canadian population of New England and New York at nearly 500,000. It appears that the only state that classifies them under this heading is Massachusetts. In the other state censuses hitherto published, and notably in that of the United States for 1880, the French Canadians are recorded under the heading of "British Provinces." Of course the contribution of the maritime provinces includes many Acadians, who should appear under the heading of French Canadians. It is customary, besides, with the children born in the United States to report themselves Americans. Reliable authorities estimate the total population in this republic, of French Canadian origin, immigrants and descendants, at about 800,000, an astounding aggregate for this people and the brief period of their immigration and the extent of the sources of supply. This result far exceeds proportionately that to the credit of either Ireland or Germany.

In considering the progress of these people in this country, it must be remembered that it is chiefly the poorest and least instructed who come hither, persons for whom the small and well-worn paternal farm could make no provision, and the laborers from town or country. Some years ago they came with the intention usually of returning to the native parish when they had earned enough to cancel the mortgages on their farm or to enable them to start in some small business. Many did carry out such a programme, which accorded with the "repatriation" schemes of the Roman Catholic clergy and sympathetic politicians, but most of those subsequently returned to the republic, allured by wages unattainable at home and by other influences. Now a new and different system prevails; most of them regard this country as their permanent home. They soon become useful as farm or factory hands, easily adaptable to all work, making quiet, industrious citizens; and many by dint of energy, intelligence and probity rise to positions of trust, emolument and honor. One very deserving feature characterizes them; they all impose upon themselves great sacrifices to give their children the best education, to make clergymen or professional men of them.

The conquest of Canada has shown that the French Canadian can not only rise above ancient prejudices and forgive old injuries, but learn of his conquerors valuable lessons, including the love of liberty. While cherishing the virtues of his own race, he has cultivated the good qualities of the Anglo-Saxon. In this way suspicions have been banished, respect and confidence won, and the road paved to amicable co-operation with alien races in the labors and sacrifices of citizenship. Among the ignorant and

prejudiced he is thought to be "slow," antiquated in his notions, and unenterprising, but considering his isolated condition, till the end of the first half of this century, in a region of long, hard winters, together with his home-loving feelings, his contented disposition and modest wants, it is a wonder not that he has accomplished so little, but that he has achieved so much.

Formerly the inferiority of the common school system, particularly in country parishes, was a great drawback to them, and this was due, partly to want of means and to the lack of interest in those indispensable institutions. But the present generation is better equipped in this respect than its predecessors, although there is still room for further improvement. The high schools, colleges and universities are excellent and effective, as the crowded condition of the professions in Quebec shows conclusively. The French Canadians can boast of not a few learned and eloquent men in the various professions, many of them being adorned with names of notable reputation.

In Canada the working classes do not realize the great importance of education, but in the United States they soon feel the necessity of self-improvement, learning rapidly the fact that their class may rise by merit in the social scale. Stimulated by this brave hope, they become steady newspaper readers, members of political and literary societies, and participants in studies and discussions of state and national affairs, the better to discharge their duties of citizenship. They send their children to the public schools, while preferring the parochial in which both languages are taught, thus exhibiting a proper, a creditable estimate of the value of education.

They usually cluster in bodies of a few hundred to ten or twelve thousand, for mutual help and sympathy, as generally the newcomers do not understand English. The acquisition of the English language soon prompts material dispersions. Those who came here when adults prefer speaking French among themselves, but their children, who command both languages, mingle largely with English speaking people. A remarkable fact is that they marry Americans far more frequently than their British fellow-creatures. Many of their children born in this country speak but little French, to the great regret of the seniors, still retaining some share of national pride. They form Canadian parishes with churches and priests of their own nationality, become attached to this country by affectionate bonds which but gain strength with time.

Of late years a significant movement of these people is that in favor of naturalization. They have not, like the Irish or Germans, shown haste in

this matter, one reason being their nearness to their native land, in which the French language is so largely spoken and their religion so widely professed; another being the absence of exciting political or material objects. They have 45 naturalization clubs, with many others in course of formation, in which lectures in French are given on the privileges and duties of citizenship. It is believed that within ten years there will be few if any of them not naturalized, all being of late fully alive to the importance of this step. Many have been successful in business, and several have entered the New England legislatures: one, the Massachusetts; four, the Maine; two, the Connecticut; two, the New Hampshire; and two, the New York; and they are found among municipal councillors, aldermen, etc. They support in New England and New York, 9 newspapers; have 287 French societies, with a total membership of 43,051. This is a most creditable showing, in so brief a period, showing capacity for union and political management.

These emigrants manifest judicious interest in their present and future welfare, by holding conventions in different parts of the country, to which each society or parish, where they are tolerably numerous, sends three delegates. Questions affecting the condition of their race are here discussed, especially education, political and domestic economy, naturalization, the best method of preserving the French language, and so forth. Every second year a general meeting of all the French Canadian societies is also convened. The last was held in Nashua, New Hampshire, last June, and a very important and creditable one it proved to be, when 30,000 people participated in the proceedings. They hope thus to secure even greater unity, mutual sympathy and co-operation. There is nothing secret about these meetings; the discussions however are always carried on in French.

The French Canadian in this republic readily adopts the thoughts and habits of the people about him, while retaining some of his original tastes, such as the love of dress and parade. This conversion of the foreign element into the material of good American citizenship evidences the wonderful molding and assimilating influence of American society and institutions. Their lively habits and cheerful spirits lighten their toil, dispelling the gloom of discontent and care from all around; this cheery disposition blossoms out in varied games and pastimes. They love holidays and observe them with great mirth, proving their title to the children of gay France.

The court records of the different states show a considerably smaller proportion of arrests for every kind of offense, than other nationalities can boast. While fond of diversions, as stated above, they study to keep within the bounds of law and order. There is abundant evidence of their

industrious, quiet and orderly habits in the Report on "The Canadian French in New England" (from the 13th Annual Report of the Massachusetts Bureau of Statistics of Labor, by Carroll D. Wright). Witnesses of good standing, lay and clerical, testified on this and kindred subjects in a way to sufficiently explain the eagerness of New England employers to engage a large amount of help among them.

Many of the French Canadian leaders believe that unless their countrymen preserve their national language, they will become so assimilated to the Americans as to be absorbed in the great, preponderating mass, a result which they would deprecate. While admiring the republic and loyally discharging all their duties to it, many would prefer to set up a sort of autonomous system, or maintain a distinctive nationality within a nation, as in the Dominion. I shall not attempt to argue at present whether this would be desirable or wise, but I confess my doubts as to its practicability, at any rate to anything like the extent witnessed across the northern boundary.

Whether it be due to the aggressive, all-conquering character of the Anglo-Saxon race itself, to its wonderful spread in all parts of the world, or to the richness and vigor of the language, or all these combined, our penetrating, absorbing speech has a knack of making its way into other languages and assimilating not a little of their most useful and marked features. French people, in Canada, rapidly come under the spell of the imperial language, the uneducated often, in conversation, making use of suggestive as well as comical combinations of French and English words. The working classes often use the English names of the tools they handle, articles, inventions, establishments, institutions, and so forth, of British and United States origin, being frequently designated by their English name. A few examples will suffice: *le horse car*, *le railroad*, *le steamboat*, *le sidewalk*, etc. Remarkable and whimsical combinations of both languages are indulged in, such as *l'enjine a bursté*, *je vais au store cri des groceries*, *c'est ma business maintenant*, etc. Some, to conceal their origin, have foolishly anglicised their names: Greenwood for Boisvert, Shortsleeves for Courtemauche, Winner for Gagné, Miller for Meunier, White for Le Blanc, etc. Some of them who have resided in the republic for some years have an accent as marked as that of the regular down-Easter. This denationalization, this self-incorporation with the vast ever-growing American population is one of the wonders of the modern world.

At the last Presidential election, the vote of this element told effectively in not a few districts. It is stated that in Clinton county, New York, 5,000 who formerly voted the Republican ticket voted for Cleveland, and

in many other places a great many supported him, although the majority, influenced by their employers, voted for Blaine. The majority are Republicans, though a good many are Democrats. They are naturally conservative. They favor order, discountenance radical views or experiments, and oppose strikes and secret societies, except the Knights of Labor. Unlike their kindred of the mother country they are not eager for change for its own sake. Their affection for France is as strong to-day as of yore, notwithstanding her political whims and melancholy experiments: they rejoice in her victories and mourn her defeats.

Who then need wonder at the prediction of an able New England statistician, that before the end of the first quarter of the next century that the French Canadians in the New England States will outnumber the Anglo-Saxon population! Why, we have in them already considerably more than England conquered in Canada, with thousands coming yearly from Quebec to join them. With such extraordinary progress achieved under so many disadvantages, the above prediction is far from improbable. The social philosopher and American patriot can find abundant food for speculation in the fact that against the Yankee family of one or two children, and often none, the French Canadian will count his flock of from half a dozen to a dozen and a half.* And the Anglo-Saxon will doubtless continue to "go west" to a large extent, while the French Canadian will probably maintain and increase the movement to the southeast. So we shall have history repeating itself. We shall see the Normans overrunning and taking possession of another England by the worthy and beneficent arts of peace, and the judicious employment of manners and powers which have enabled this people, from insignificant beginnings, under most unfavorable and discouraging circumstances, to build one vigorous State in North America within a century, and then undertake the rapid formation of another.

The thoughtful observer of each race, as well as the patriot and philanthropist will await the events following this peaceful rivalry with the greatest interest.

Prosper Bender

BOSTON, MASSACHUSETTS.

* According to the census of 1885, the population of Massachusetts is 1,942,141—native, 1,415,274, and foreign born, 526,867—the percentage of foreign born, 27.1.3 per cent. There are 68 cities and towns in the State in which is found an excess of persons having a foreign parentage.

A TRIP FROM NEW YORK TO NIAGARA IN 1829

UNPUBLISHED DIARY OF COLONEL WILLIAM L. STONE

[Continued from Page 324]

Thursday, October 1. Left the residence of my father, in the Oswego stage for Rochester. The preceding night and the morning had been stormy; but the clouds broke away before noon, and at 3 P.M. when we started the weather was fine. The road also was good, and we made the first stage with celerity. But soon after commencing the second stage, the clouds began to gather darkly, and at twilight we broke down. A rail was placed under the body of the coach, and we dragged slowly along for many a weary mile, having exchanged the Ridge road for one infinitely its inferior. The darkness concealed many of the terrors of the descent of the dangerous pass of the Dug-way, but flickering lamps occasionally disclosed more than we cared about seeing. However, we got through in safety, and reached the Clinton House at about 11 o'clock instead of 7, as we expected.

Friday, October 2. And this is Rochester! The far-famed city of the West, which has sprung up like Jonah's Gourd! Rochester, with its two thousand houses, its elegant ranges of stores, its numerous churches and public buildings, its boats and bridges, quays, wharves, mills, manufactories, arcades, museums, everything—all standing where stood a frowning forest in 1812! Surely the march of improvement can never outstrip this herculean feat. It was my purpose to have proceeded on my journey this evening, but the indisposition of Mrs. Stone prevents.

Saturday, October 3. We left Rochester at 10½ o'clock A.M. in a convenient mercantile boat on the canal. The country appears almost a dead level in all directions—not a mountain even in the remotest distance lifts its blue crest towards the heavens, not a hill diversifies the landscape, which robbed altogether of the sublime, reposes in quiet beauty. Everywhere, however, as we pass, the fields bear ample testimony to the unbounded fertility of the soil. . . . We had a strong head-wind which prevented our horses from trotting ahead as fast as we could have wished. It was therefore past 5 o'clock before we reached Brockport, a goodly-sized, new and flourishing village, 20 miles east of Rochester. This village is well built, and seems to be the centre of some considerable business.

After a stoppage of twenty minutes, we resumed our way, and did not reach Albion, 15 miles further, until 11 o'clock at night. This traveling by canal boats, save when the roads are excessively bad, is a tedious process. The charm of novelty is soon lost, and the sameness becomes overpoweringly wearisome. Even good company, or an excellent author, will scarce serve to wile away the irksome hours. I tried the experiment of both to-day—talked about the crops, the trees, the weather, General Jackson, and anti-masonry, and read 100 pages of the captivating author of *Pelham*, in his *Devereaux*, his latest work. But all to little purpose.

Sunday, October 4. This is Albion, the third town of the last created county in the state. It much resembles its sister village of Brockport, save that it is not quite as large. . . . Here, as in most, if not all villages which have sprung into existence with the canal, everything looks new and naked. In most of them not a shade tree is to be seen. Even in Rochester scarcely a green bough greets the eye weary with burning bricks and white paint. The fatal error, however, of cutting away all the natural growth of trees, has at length been discovered by some gentlemen, who are beginning to plant saplings, the grateful umbrage of which may perhaps be enjoyed by another generation. Every woodman seems to have regarded each and every tree as an enemy to be vanquished, and when a forest is assailed without regard to laws and building-lots, the whole mass of timber is forthwith leveled with the earth. By a little forethought and care the most vigorous and beautiful ornamental trees, of suitable sizes and maturity, might have been spared to adorn the pleasure-grounds and court-yards of the citizens, and mitigate the fervid rays of a vertical sun. But according to the present practice people only think of shade trees after they are gone, and they are consequently compelled to do without them for some twenty or thirty years—until they can cultivate others.

Attended church to-day, the services being conducted in the court-house; a young minister full of ardor and zeal officiated. Both as to matter and manner his discourses reflected more credit upon his heart than his head—upon his feelings than his discretion—upon his zeal than his knowledge of the simple tenets of the gospel, the attributes and the government of the Deity. The congregation was quite respectable as to numbers; there was not an old person of either sex in the house. This is a most striking feature of all our new settlements and villages. Let a stranger visit a New England church or public assembly, and he will be astonished at the disproportion between the aged and young—the former greatly preponderating over the latter. Let him visit our newer but still well-peopled

districts of county, and he will be equally astonished to find the whole population correspondingly young, rarely finding an old man, or even those slightly frosted with age.

Monday, October 5. Called up at half-past four o'clock this morning to take the canal packet for Lockport. Found the boat a very comfortable one, with an attentive and obliging captain. The morning was clear and very cold for the season—the frost lying heavily on the ground, and the pools of water congealed with ice. The day, however, proved to be mild and remarkably fine. The general aspect of the country to Lockport, 28 miles, is about the same as that lately passed. . . . For a few rods before reaching Oak Orchard creek the canal is formed by a deep cutting through a rock. It passes the creek by a large stone aqueduct, firmly built, and the creek itself descends over a rocky bed towards the lake, through a deep, dark, and wild looking ravine, sufficiently romantic without having been rendered more so by the *romance* relating to the body of Morgan having been found in its estuary, but which proved to have been the harmless corpse of one Mr. Timothy Monroe. The village contains some good buildings and one or two large mills or other manufactories. Stepping ashore to look about a little while the boat stopped to water the horses, I was surprised to find on turning round that the boat was off, and a bend in the canal had thrown it out of sight, as if by magic. I lost some moments in the vain endeavor to get a horse to follow on; but was compelled to test my own speed, which, hindered with a heavy overcoat and an asthmatic affliction, was not of the fleetest. However, after running about a mile I came near enough to hail the boat at the moment I was so much exhausted that I could not have run another rod for an estate. We arrived at Lockport at half-past twelve o'clock. The approach to this place is rather imposing. It is here that the canal climbs to the summit level of Lake Erie through a succession of double locks, and it is here that the deep cutting through the compact limestone of the mountain ridge commences. This work is here a splendid monument of the ingenuity and enterprise of man, in surmounting obstacles seemingly insurmountable. Before reaching the locks the canal penetrates the elevation several rods, by means of a natural ravine or glen, along the sides of which large flouring and other mills have been erected, and more are in progress. The water power is taken from the canal, which at this end has for its feeder, Lakes Erie, Michigan, Huron, Superior, and I know not how many more. The principal village of Lockport stands on the hills, and is much larger than I had anticipated. A new village on the plain east of it has been commenced, and those engaged in the enterprise

confidently predict it will rival its neighbor. This is the third town of Niagara county, and here are the public buildings of the county. It was in the jail here that the unfortunate Morgan was for a short time confined by his blind and bigoted Masonic kidnappers. There are four newspapers published here, which is at least three too many. One is entitled *Priestcraft Exposed*, and the sign is painted on the broad side of a house in letters so large that the O in the last word is large enough for the head of a rum barrel!

We left the canal boat here and dining at the hotel (where we had a very good dinner), we met a pert, half-Quaker sort of a man, very well dressed, with whom a conversation ensued. Mrs. Stone rallied him about the Priestcraft sign, and the poor fellow colored to the tips of his ears. He was doubtless the editor from the warmth of his defense. We left Lockport in a coach at half-past one. Hence to Lewistown our traveling companions were a boisterous gang of universal suffrage Jackson men, on their way to attend the exhibition instituted by the hotel keepers at the Falls, to collect a crowd of customers in a dull season. Our road across to the "Ridge Road," which we did not reach until within two miles of Lewistown, was through a new country, some of the way almost entirely unsettled. We passed through a section of the Indian reserved lands, partially settled by a portion of the Tuscarora tribe. For several miles, while traversing the northern range of this mountain ridge, our admiration was engrossed by the prospect of one of the most glorious uncultivated landscapes upon which the eye of man ever reposed. Beneath our feet on the north, and extending from east to west as far as the eye could reach, was stretched a belt of woodland, apparently perfectly level from the base of the mountain to the southern shore of the lake. Although the whole of this tract is sparsely settled, yet the forest so far predominates over the occasional spots of cultivation, that the latter seems entirely merged in, and lost in the former. To the eye, the tops of the trees presented the even surface of the parlor floor; and the forests having changed the verdant foliage to those numberless bright and beautiful hues, which are the peculiarity of an American autumn, rendered the whole surface far more beautiful than the most gorgeous carpet ever imported. All the colors and hues which nature can paint were here blended together in the sweetest harmony: and had the whole extent been covered by a grand collection of all the blossoms that ever bloomed since the gates of Paradise were closed, glowing in their richest and brightest tints, they could not have constituted a richer flower garden. Beyond this most delightful region, that "fancy's footsteps ever trod," rolled the dark waters of Ontario,

bounded on the north by the azure hills of Upper Canada. Soon after we ascended this height we came in sight of Lewistown, beyond which the monument that Canadian patriotism erected to the memory of General Brock, on Queenstown Heights, rose loftily in view. Lewistown is pleasantly situated, and a pretty town. We did not stop at the spacious and inviting hotel, but rode directly to the ferry. And here, for the first time, did I behold the troubled waters of the Niagara—the mighty river, the name of which of all others was the most deeply implanted in my memory in my schoolboy days—the grand outlet of the great inland seas of the still greater West! The banks are high, rocky and precipitous, and the river itself is confined by its massive barriers into a narrower space than I had supposed. The current is rapid and it boils and whirls, and in some places breaks into a surf as though not yet restored to tranquillity after its angry leap some miles above. Only a small row-boat was plying upon the ferry, into which we should as strangers scarcely have ventured, had we not seen it safely rowed across the river by a single hand for our observation. We passed over the dark and troubled current, however, speedily and in safety; and I found myself in a foreign country for the first time, and under the power of one who “a kingly crown has on.” I am as decidedly a Republican in principle, as any man. But I am no Jacobin—no Democrat. I hate the mob; and I have such an utter loathing of the character of Jackson, that it is a relief to me to get beyond his jurisdiction. I seemed to breathe a purer air; and, although I love my own country best, and its institutions, yet I regret my circumstances are such as to compel me to return to the United States, until the people shall have returned to their senses, and this disgraceful state of things terminated. At the tavern near the ferry, I was detained nearly an hour for the want of a carriage to take us to the Falls; and here I fell in with an old friend who removed to the Province from Otsego, seventeen years ago.

The village of Queenstown stands at the foot of the heights, and is not a town of much consequence, though rendered memorable during the last war with England, by the brilliant, though in the end, unfortunate expedition of General Van Rensselaer, in 1812. I gazed upon the steep ascent, up which the gallant Solomon Van Rensselaer led his troops, cutting his way through a line of British soldiers with his sabre, as he fell covered with wounds. I also looked with feelings of mingled shame and indignation upon the opposite shore where our own recreant militia stood, refusing to pass over and secure the victory which had been won—refusing to cross even to save the battery.

[To be continued.]

UNCONSCIOUS HERESIES

Every one has heard of the patriotic Tennessean who kept on voting for "Jineral" Jackson, after the name of his hero had become the appellation of a dead man; or of the Bourbonist who never forgot and never learned anything; or of the poor monomaniac who kept on repeating "Once one is two," after acknowledging his misapprehension of the multiplication table. Such examples of the power of habit, or of the pride of ignorance, or of partial mental aberration, excite a derisive smile, provoke ridicule, or awaken feelings of commiseration by reason of their supposed rarity. But are they really so infrequent as we imagine? Do we not see them all around us, as for instance in the repetition of worn out creeds of sectarian religion; or in the formulated "platforms" of partisan politics, long after those creeds and formulas have ceased to convey any meaning?

Take, for example, our well worn phrase in American politics, "The time honored Jeffersonian principles of constitutional government." We can scarcely glance through the columns of a Southern newspaper, or through the less entertaining columns of the *Congressional Record*, without encountering it. And perhaps in the very same newspaper, or possibly in the very same speech, as the case may be, we are sure to see vehement protestations of adhesion to "the principles of the Constitution as it is." That a well balanced mind cannot accept both propositions as true, seems self-evident. But, in order to be quite sure that they are mutually contradictory and destructive, let us briefly examine their genesis and import.

And, first in order, "the time honored Jeffersonian principles of constitutional government." As their name implies, they originated with Thomas Jefferson. He was the father of our "State Rights" theory of federative government. Taking his cue from the writings of Rousseau, with whose visionary and impracticable theories he had become fascinated even to the verge of madness, the great American "apostle of democracy" found no difficulty in arriving at the conclusion that the world was being "governed too much." He started out with the assumption that each individual was a "sovereign," floating about at random in the universe, governed by laws inherent in himself, rather than a member of the civil society into which he had been born or adopted, and to which he owed unqualified allegiance. Applied to our federative system, the logical

sequence of this assumption is, that a part is greater than the whole; that is, the local community, or constituent "state" of the federal union, is greater than the union. The state is "sovereign and independent;" the nation but an "agent" of confederated "sovereigns." Hence, as between the state and nation, the ultimate allegiance of the citizen is due to the former; and as between the state and his own individual self, it is due to the latter! It follows, then, that we are a nation without citizens or subjects. But a nation without citizens or subjects is no nation at all. Therefore the government of the United States, as formed under the Constitution of 1787, was not a nation at all. It was merely a league or "compact" between independent nations. Each of these "sovereign states" or nations, had delegated certain powers to an indefinable something which, by courtesy, was called a "general government;" a government having no powers whatsoever, except those specially delegated.

Such, in brief, are the basic "principles" of the Jeffersonian theory. Now let us glance for a moment at the circumstances under which they were introduced into our political history.

The funding act, the national banking act, and the alien and sedition acts of Congress, were regarded by the leaders of the "State Rights" party as federal usurpations. With those leaders, the supreme question of the hour was, how to prevent the enforcement of those laws. Some suggested resistance by state authority; others suggested the breaking up of the union by the withdrawal of the several states from the federal compact. Pending the excited discussion, Mr. Jefferson was applied to for an expression of opinion; and, under date of June 1st, 1798, he wrote in reply that, "It would not be wise to proceed *immediately* to a disruption of the Union;" thereby clearly implying the opinion that the union might rightfully be so proceeded against at some more opportune moment.* He had not a word to say against the *rightfulness* of an immediate disruption of the Union. He merely contented himself with dissuading from it then, on the ground of expediency. But, on further reflection, he seems not to have been quite satisfied with this. In November following, he penned the "Kentucky Resolutions," wherein it was declared that,

"Whenever the general government assumes undelegated powers, its acts are unauthoritative, void and of no force; that to this compact (the federal Union) each state acceded *as* a state and as an integral party; that this (federal) government, created by this compact, was not made the exclusive or final judge of the extent of powers delegated to itself. . . . but that, as in all other cases of compact among parties having no com-

* See Jefferson's Works, IV., pp. 245-8.

mon judge, *each* party has an equal right to judge for itself, as well of the infraction as of the mode and measure of redress."

And, in order that these "principles" might not be misapprehended; they were supplemented, some months later, by the further declaration that "the several states who formed" the Constitution, "being sovereign and independent, have the unquestionable right to judge" of its infraction; and that a "*nullification* by those sovereignties of all unauthorized acts done under color of that instrument, is the rightful remedy."

I am aware that the admirers of the "sage of Monticello" have tried to explain away the force of these ominous words; and that, conscious of failing in this, they have even gone so far as to deny that Mr. Jefferson ever wrote them. It is sufficient to remark, however, that all technical pleas in his behalf, as well as the denial that he was the real author of the Resolutions, have been completely refuted by the publication of his unofficial writings. Among his papers were found, in his own hand writing, two copies, or rather rough drafts, of the Resolutions referred to. One of them reads as follows:

"Resolved, that when the general government assumes powers which have not been delegated, a *nullification* of the act is the rightful remedy; that every State has a natural right, in cases not within the compact [*casus non fœderis*] to *nullify*, of their own authority, all assumptions of power by others within their limits."

It thus appears that Mr. Jefferson was not only the author of the Resolutions in question, but that he was the father of the doctrine of Nullification. He it was who first used that treasonable word. True, his assent was secured (by Mr. Madison and others) to the striking out of the word in the Resolutions as originally submitted; but there is no evidence, so far as I have ever seen, that he had begun to doubt the position assumed by its use. On the contrary, there are passages in one of his letters to Col. Nichols, which indicate quite plainly that he adhered to his original position. And thus, wily and cautious, as he proverbially was, he fully committed himself to the doctrine of Nullification, and likewise to the "constitutional right" of secession.

Such, then, are "the time honored principles" of the Jeffersonian Democracy, whereof, strange to say, we still hear so much. Of course it would be an easy task to trace their various practical application in our national politics. First in the abortive attempt to thwart the national government in its efforts to protect its adopted citizens on the high seas; then in the successful nullification of a public treaty which stood in the way of the ambitious project of one of the states; then in the effort to nullify a revenue law of Congress, resulting in the compromise measures of 1832;

and finally in the formal ordinances of secession of 1861-2, resulting in the most destructive civil war of modern times. But my purpose is to point out the incongruity between these "time honored principles" and "the Constitution as it is." In order to do this, let us see what is meant by a profession of adhesion to "the Constitution as it is." It will be admitted, I presume, that "the Constitution as it is," embraces its XIVth article; and that that article is just as obligatory and inviolable as any of the preceding thirteen. Article XIV. expressly declares that,

"All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States, and of the state wherein they reside."

No construction is necessary to an understanding of such language as this. It upsets completely the Jeffersonian theory of local allegiance. A person may now be a citizen of the United States without being a citizen of any particular state of the Union; whereas, according to the Jeffersonian "principles," as elaborated by Mr. Calhoun and others, a person could be a citizen of the United States only as he was such incidentally by reason of his being a citizen of some particular state. To be a citizen of the United States now, it is only necessary to be born or naturalized anywhere within our national territory and jurisdiction; while to be a citizen of a particular state of the Union, an additional circumstance is necessary, namely, we must "reside" therein. We are therefore no longer a nation without citizens or subjects; but a nation in fact as well as in name, with real men and woman for its citizens.

It is sheer nonsense, then, to talk about persons of African descent being the only beneficiaries of article XIV. It reaches far beyond all the mere incidents and consequences of African slavery. It completely eradicates, as it was intended to eradicate, those pernicious "principles," formulated by Jefferson, and advocated by his political followers, which had distracted the country for three-quarters of a century.


What shall we say, then, of those well meaning politicians who in one breath protest eternal fidelity to "the time honored Jeffersonian principles" of constitutional government, and, in the very next, protest, with equal vehemence, their eternal fidelity to "the Constitution as it is." The explanation of their strange conduct seems to be found in the force of habit, which not unfrequently controls our forms of speech as well as our modes of action; and thus makes us say things we do not really mean, as well as do things we do not fully intend.

Another rudiment of political heresy is discoverable in the current discussions of the tariff question. After the compromise measures of 1833, but more particularly after the close of the war with Mexico, in 1848, the

current of political opinion in the Southern states was in the direction of Free Trade. Under a system of slave labor, we of the South had become a purely agricultural people. We bought everything in the line of manufactured articles, from an axe helve to a bale of cloth; and we sold nothing but raw cotton and peanuts. We therefore had no local or mediate interest in the protection of mechanical or other skilled labor. To buy manufactured articles where they could be bought cheapest, and to sell our raw products in the highest markets, was our only aim. We felt little or no interest in the protection of Northern manufactures, or in the Northern system of free labor. If we could sell cotton to English manufacturers, and get in exchange cotton and woolen fabrics free of import duty, it was manifestly to our immediate pecuniary interest to do so. It was but natural, therefore, that we should have become a section of free traders. Any other people, similarly situated, would have fallen into the same line of thought. It may have been a heresy of selfish origin; but all heresies are of selfish origin, as the very etymology of the word implies. The same selfish instincts which made the inhabitants of the manufacturing states of New England protectionists, made us of the slave labor states free traders.

But now, a quarter of a century after the abolition of slavery, and in the process of re-adjusting our political creeds to a system of free labor, we are beginning to discover our possibilities as a manufacturing people. We begin to realize that our real wealth and power are not in the cotton fields and peanut patch exclusively; but in our coal and iron deposits, in our magnificent water power, in all kinds of skilled labor. We are therefore forced to the admission that if ever protection was a good thing for the Northern people, it is now an equally good thing for us. "Why, then," it may be asked, "are we not now as solid for protection as we once were for free trade?" The only rational reply is, "because we are unconsciously under the dominion of an hereditary habit." We have been so long in the habit of accepting everything labeled "Free Trade," that, as in the case of everything labeled "Democratic," or "Jeffersonian," we find much difficulty in formally rejecting it. True, our judgment may condemn it as antiquated, useless, or even mischievous; but, being haunted by tradition and sentiment, we hesitate. We must therefore have time to outgrow the fixed habit of unconditionally accepting what our better judgment would now applaud us for rejecting.

William L. Scruggs.



AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GENERAL JOSEPH B. VARNUM

FROM THE ORIGINAL MANUSCRIPT, DICTATED BY GENERAL VARNUM IN
1819, RECENTLY DISCOVERED AND NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED

Joseph Bradley Varnum, son of Major Samuel Varnum and Hannah Mitchell, was born in Bracutt January 29th old stile, or February 9th new stile 1751; his father and mother buried their three children who died in childhood; afterwards they had four sons, Samuel, James Mitchell, Joseph Bradley, and Daniel, and five daughters, who all lived to be married. James Mitchell had a collegiate education: the rest of the family were brought up together with the scanty opportunity of schooling which was afforded to the youth of that time, in the town of Dracutt; and the opportunity was indeed very scanty.

Thus our Joseph Bradley Varnum was left to devise ways and means to procure an education for himself,* such as would enable him to transact any important business which might be assigned him by his country, with reputation to himself and advantage to his employers; with this view he procured such necessary books as could be obtained in his neighborhood, which to be sure formed but a very scanty library for a young man to recur to in order to obtain a knowledge of the arts and sciences, without a teacher. His father was a farmer, and his industry and economy, together with the necessities of his family, induced him to keep his son assiduously and constantly employed in that occupation until he was twenty-five years of age; but this strict attention to agriculture did not prevent him from a recurrence to his little library, and every other means which came fairly within his power, for the purpose of acquiring such an education as was the object of his pursuits. He employed many hours in pursuit of his object, while many of his neighbors and friends were reposing themselves with easy respiration on their pillows. In fact, in regard to all the improvements which he has made in the arts and sciences, he was almost entirely self taught;

* The portrait of General Joseph Bradley Varnum, who was the brother of Judge James M. Varnum—one of the first Judges of the Northwest Territory—appeared in the *Magazine of American History* for September, 1887. In addition to his military commissions referred to in this autobiography, he was state senator for many years, sheriff of Middlesex county, justice of the court of common pleas, chief justice of the court of general sessions, member of Congress from 1795 to 1811, speaker of the House of Representatives during 10th and 11th Congresses, United States Senator 1811-17, and president *pro tem.* of United States Senate at one period of his service.

how far he has succeeded in those acquirements must be left for those who have been acquainted with him, and the world to judge.

When he was about thirteen years of age, it pleased the great Sovereign of the Universe by the influences of his holy spirit, to manifest to him the enormity and evil nature of sin, and the direful consequences of living and dying in a state of unbelief; the wickedness of his own heart was made manifest to him in such glowing colors, that at many times he almost sunk into a state of despair; this situation of mind continued for more than three years; at length it was made manifest to him that Jesus Christ the Redeemer, by his virtuous life, painful death, and glorious resurrection, had wrought out and brought in, a complete salvation for every believing, repenting, and returning sinner; that this salvation, wherever it is applied to any soul, is the free gift and sovereign grace of the triune God—and not from any virtue or merit in the creature. This powerful work of Jehovah has been frequently expressed by him, as the great sheet-anchor of his soul, and has enabled him in his military, civil and political characters, to view the cause of liberty, good government, and the welfare and happiness of the people of his beloved nation, to be the primary objects which he was bound in duty to pursue in his several important public offices; which by the sufferance of the people and their immediate agents, he had been called upon to sustain; and he has often, upon a retrospective view of his own conduct, in all the public capacities aforesaid, expressed great consolation, that all his decisions in his public capacities have been governed agreeably to the dictates of his own conscience and the views above recited. But he has also expressed a repungent regret, that he has been left to wander in many instances from the paths of virtue and uprightness, both in committing offences against the divine law, and in the omission of many duties enjoined by the gospel of peace. Oh! the depravity of the human heart; but great and incomprehensible are the beneficence and mercy of Jehovah, through the merits of the second person in the adorable trinity.

In the year 1818 it pleased the Lord to impress his mind with a deep sense of the necessity of forsaking the pleasures of sin, and of a perseverance in the discharge of all the duties prescribed in the gospel; he remained under this impression until the spring of the year 1819, when he was compelled no longer to halt between two opinions, but to come forward and embrace the ordinances of peace. On the 11th day of July, he, together with his beloved wife, and five others, were emersed in baptism by the Rev'd Charles O. Kimball; on the 5th day of August following, they with others were formed into a church, by the name of Baptist Church

in Dracutt, and the succeeding autumn the said church was received into the Boston Baptist Association, and received from that Association the right hand of fellowship.

From the first impressions upon his mind of a serious nature he was led to an examination of the holy Scriptures, the result of which was that the gospel knows of no other baptism than that of believers, nor any other mode than that of emersion. In the year 1769 he for the first time became acquainted with his present beloved wife, that acquaintance was continued until the 26th day of January, 1773, on which day they entered into the holy bonds of matrimony, and on the 4th day of February following, they commenced the station of housekeeping at Dracutt. She was the daughter of a respectable farmer in Pelham, Newhampshire, by the name of Jacob Butler. They have lived together in this endeared relation for more than forty-eight years, and have been blessed with twelve promising children, six sons and six daughters. The names of the sons were George Washington, Joseph Bradley, James Mitchell, Jacob Butler, John Hancock, and Benjamin Franklin. The names of the daughters were Hitty, Molly, Phebe, Abigail, Hannah, and Phebe the second; added to these is Harriet Swett Varnum, their grand-daughter and adopted daughter.

Notwithstanding the cordiality and friendship which has uniformly pervaded both their minds towards each other since their first acquaintance, they have been called upon to sustain many grievous trials and afflictions, which required Christian fortitude to sustain. For the first nine years of their dwelling together nothing unusually grievous occurred, except the loss of a darling daughter eighteen months old, while he was absent in the army. In the year 1782 they had a house, together with a principal part of their furniture and other property, to a large amount consumed by fire, which seemed to devour a greater part of the property which by their industry and economy they had accumulated in that early stage of life; yet finding that none of their dear children were consumed in the flames, they had reason to bless *God* that nothing more grievous had befallen them. Their enterprise, industry and economy were exerted, and through the blessings of Providence, they have been enabled to acquire a comfortable livelihood and raise their numerous, and, as they trust, respectable family, with an education which enables them to transact the various branches of business calculated to render them respectable in life, and procure for themselves and families a comfortable subsistence. In the year 1797, Mr. Varnum was afflicted with a violent attack of the yellow fever in Philadelphia, which strongly threatened his dissolution; the poignant grief which this intelligence brought to his affectionate and beloved wife

and dear family, caused great distress and anxiety on their minds, but being under Providence blessed by the skill and affectionate attendance of the great Dr. Rush, the fever was broke within five or six days, and he was recovered to a state of health in due time.

When he commenced business for himself he was furnished by his father with one hundred and sixty acres of land, with half a dwelling-house and a small barn thirty feet by twenty ; a very small proportion of land was under cultivation and almost entirely without any permanent fence, and he had for those times to pay a considerable sum of money for the benefit of his brethren. But having been raised a farmer he became attached to that occupation in preference to any other occupation or profession ; he therefore pursued it with all the industry and perseverance which his robust constitution for many years would permit, so that with the industry and economy of his wife, and the aid of his children, he has now in possession in his own right of upwards of five hundred acres of land, a great part of which is under good cultivation ; he has reared and finished extensive buildings, divided his farm into suitable lots by stone walls, so that he has now more than ten miles of good stone fence upon it.

His sons were severally and industriously employed in agriculture until they respectively arrived at the age of twenty-one years. His daughters were as constantly employed in all kinds of house work, attention to the dairy, and in all kinds of domestic manufactures, except in both cases the time which they necessarily expended in acquiring a suitable literary education ; they all became industrious and have been doing very well for themselves in the necessary acquirements for a livelihood, and now they all sustain respectable and moral characters. He is therefore fully persuaded in his own mind, as he always has been, that parents can do nothing better for their children than to bring them up in the habits of industry and economy and in the fear of the Lord.

They feel great consolation that their honest endeavors through the beneficence of Divine Providence have been so far blest that they are placed above want as to the necessities and comforts of this life, and that, unless the afflictions of Job come upon them they have reason to hope that they shall not be under the necessity of calling upon an innocent public to support them ; and their consolation is still very much heightened when they contemplate how much comfort and satisfaction is afforded them by the conduct of their children, and their constant prayers to Heaven are that they and their children may feel a humble sense of the goodness of Divine Providence towards them in all their prosperity, and that in adversity they have only received gentle chastisements for their

wanderings from the path of rectitude by the hand of a kind and benevolent heavenly Parent, and that they may all be born of the spirit of God and embrace the kind offers of the great Redeemer in his holy gospel, so that, when a dissolution between their spirits and bodies shall take place, their spirits shall be wafted on the wings of the holy Angels of God into the heavenly Jerusalem, where they may be permitted to surround the table of the Lord in company with the holy angels and the spirits of just men made perfect.

In the year 1765, when the famous Stamp Act passed the British Parliament and became a law, and a principle of liberty and patriotism were roused in his breast, although then quite a youth, he applied himself to the study of the various systems of government in the world, and especially to the propriety or impropriety of the measures which had been taken by Great Britain towards America, which by no means lessened his opposition to the Stamp Act, nor was he much elated when the repeal of this obnoxious act in 1766 took place, when he considered the circumstances and principles on which the repeal was effected. The Tax Act of 1767 upon tea and other articles to be imported into America confirmed him that his former apprehensions were not ill founded, nor did he relax in those feelings upon the repeal of the act of 1767, excepting that of three cents per pound on tea. While the British troops were in Boston, transported thither with an avowed design of enforcing submission to the mother country, a military ardor glowed in his breast, and with a view the better to enable himself to become useful in the defence and in anticipation of the independence of his country, he, in an isolated and apparently obscure situation, visited the British troops in Boston from day to day, for some time; after what he had acquired from that source he applied himself to the study of the then most recent and approved authors upon tactics and military discipline, by which means he acquired many of the rudiments of discipline necessary to be possessed by the soldier.

Previous to the Revolutionary War, in the arrangement of the militia of Massachusetts under the royal government, the town of Dracutt in which he lived was formed into one company, but no arrangements were made by the officers of that government for calling out the militia or for affording them opportunity for acquiring the knowledge of tactics.

The massacre committed by the British soldiery in 1770 seemed to rouse every latent spark of the love of liberty and independence which had for some time apparently laid dormant in the breasts of the inhabitants of that town. Soon after the massacre they formed themselves into two volunteer companies; one of them included about seventy men, went

on to organize themselves in a manner similar to the organization under the royal government, and although at that time, according to the views of the people generally, Joseph Bradley Varnum was but a boy and quite too young to be intrusted with military command, yet having been acquainted with his manners and disposition and learned something of his military acquirements, they unanimously made choice of him for their captain—the train band then included men from fifteen to sixteen years of age ; they went on harmoniously, frequently meeting for discipline, and making as much progress therein as the nature of the case would permit, until December, 1774. when the provincial Congress thought proper to continue the royal arrangement of the militia into regiments and companies as the best adapted rule of procedure under existing circumstances, and agreed that there should be enlisted twelve thousand men to act as minute men on any particular emergency. The volunteer companies in Dracutt being attached to good order and government, reassumed their standing as private soldiers, and the whole company thus again collected made choice of Stephen Russell as captain, Ephraim Colburn as first lieutenant, Simon Colburn as second lieutenant, and Abraham Colburn as ensign. These were all respectable gentlemen considerably advanced in life, but all of them almost totally uninformed in tactics and military discipline. In order to acquire a degree of necessary information in the military art they employed the said Varnum as an instructor, both to themselves and the militia under their command, in which capacity he continued to serve them until after the commencement of the Revolutionary War, without fee or reward, while he continued in the honorable station of a private soldier in the said company, and as such marched with Captain Russell to the battle of Lexington, which took place on the 19th of April, 1775, and upon various other occasions of alarm throughout the year 1775, and until the British troops evacuated the town of Boston, on the 17th of March, 1776. In the course of the year 1775, by the advice of the Continental Congress, the provincial Congress organized themselves into a legislature similar to that under which they acted prior to 1774, conformed as nigh as possible to the spirit and substance of the charter, and were only to last till a governor of His Majesty's appointment would consent to govern the colony according to its charter.

The legislature thus formed, having now organized the militia, they divided the town of Dracutt into two companies, a choice of officers was ordered, and the company to which the said Varnum belonged, both train band and alarm list, except seven old men, avowed that they had no dislike to him as an officer except as to his age. The next day after the

choice he had an interview with each of those dissenters, and informed them individually that he was convinced that the time was fast approaching when the greatest difficulties and distress would probably meet every man in the community, and especially those who held a commission and took up arms against the royal government. This he himself was willing to hazard in defence of the glorious cause of liberty and equal rights, in which the people had so generally embarked, but if he should accept the command he should certainly stand in need of all the advice and aid which the wisdom of each individual in the company could possibly afford him. Yet, as he might, by their opposition, fail of receiving all that aid, he would write a line to the field officer who presided at the election and signify to him his non-acceptance of the appointment, if either of them would carry the same to the presiding officer ; but they one and all refused to do it, saying they had rather submit to the choice as it stood than to be at that trouble. He then told them that if they would not be at that small trouble he should accept the command, and that he felt fully determined to perform his duty without favor or partiality ; that, therefore, notwithstanding their advanced years, they must expect equal with the other members of the company to do their duty or abide the rigor of the law. Accordingly he gave his answer to accept the command, and on the 31st day of May, 1776, he received a commission from the then government of Massachusetts, signed by sixteen colonial councilors. In this unsettled state of things it was found necessary to beg the government to reorganize the militia a number of times in the course of the Revolutionary War, and consequently to make a new choice of officers, at which reorganization the said Varnum had the unanimous vote of the company. He held the command of the same company until April 4th, 1787.

In the course of the Revolutionary War there were many repeated calls for soldiers both by the national and state governments which he strictly attended to, and never failed in a single instance of raising the quota assigned to the company under his command.

His time during that period was very much occupied in attending trainings, in raising men, in procuring them to be mustered, and in delivering them over to their proper officers. In addition to the expenditure of his time, it became necessary for him to expend considerable sums of money in the discharge of the duties of his office, neither of which accorded with his pecuniary circumstances. But such was his love of liberty and the ardor of patriotism which constantly glowed in his breast that he was firmly determined to abandon every pecuniary consideration, and idea

of the accumulation of property, rather than abandon, or in any measure relax in the glorious cause of liberty and independence.

Through the whole of this struggle he had the consolation of the accordance of his beloved wife; when soldiers were called upon to go into the service who were not possessed of blankets, her feelings induced her to supply them to the last one she had; when they wanted shirts or knapsacks she furnished them by cutting up her sheets even to those of her own bed, relying on divine Providence for strength to manufacture more in their room.

In 1771, he marched with a volunteer company from the town of Dracutt to the siege of Burgoyne, and on the 17th of October, 1777, he had the consolation of seeing a whole British army, with Burgoyne at their head, march from the heights, music beating a retreat, upon the plains of Saratoga, and there lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners of war to the American army and militia. Burgoyne's army, when he left Canada, consisted of nine thousand five hundred and seventy-five men; when he surrendered there were on the field..... 2,442

British officers and soldiers—Germans.....	2,190
Canadians, Tories, etc.....	1,100
General Burgoyne's staff.....	12
Prisoners of war before the surrender.....	400
Sick and wounded.....	598
Deserted.....	300
Killed and made prisoners at Bennington.....	1,220
Killed between 17th September and 17th October.....	600
Taken at Lake George.....	433
Killed in Harkeman's battle.....	300

Total..... 9,575

Varnum and his command again volunteered their services and guarded the German troops from Saratoga to Winter Hill, near Boston, depositing the prisoners there on the seventh day of November, 1777. In 1778, he marched in command of a company of militia to Rhode Island to join with General Sullivan in a contemplated attack upon that place in conjunction with a French fleet which met us there. The fleet being dispersed by a heavy gale of wind it became necessary for the General to retreat. They retreated by the way of Providence and served out the term of their enlistment at East Greenage and Warwick.

In the year 1776-77 he left the senate chamber and marched with a militia company with General Lincoln to quell the insurrection of Shays and others in the western counties; this was not a bloody campaign but a

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF GENERAL [REDACTED]

very fatiguing one, the snow being deep and the weather cold. The army marched from Hatfield after breakfast-time next morning to Petersham before breakfast-time next morning, without eating or stopping, the snow being more than six inches of light snow had fallen the day before. At Hatfield. The evening was pleasant, but about midnight the wind became boisterous and the weather changed, a heavy rain was blown about so as to fill the atmosphere with a driving storm. The snow was much drifted, many of the soldiers' brows were frozen, in consequence of which several lost their way, but from the state of the army, were not permitted to do so. Shays' army and the march of the militia were never again to quell the insurrection in that quarter, the General never again to send an express to the General Court at Boston. The General, such troops as he thought necessary to retain at his disposal, was selected, made a rapid trip to Boston, and returned to Pittsfield, three hundred and thirty miles, in less than three days and a half. During this time the General was annoyed by a number of those friendly but malicious friends in a most menaced manner, but that he never was deterred, which was her uniform characteristic during her life, she promptly to repel their insinuations, and compelled them to retire with apparent shame, and happy termination of this extensive journey. attending to the history of the same, and the influence of the Federal Constitution. The company was very cordial toward him, affectionate at all times, and aided in the discharge of the duties of the company. They were always attentive and obedient to his commands when on parade. After serving with them for some time, he left them as their commander in chief, and they were disciplined. On his return home from the war, he was elected by his brother officers as commander of the company, and served, and received a colonel's commission. The lieutenant-colonel and major, who had served under his command for many years, he ordered out the several companies, and attended upon their discipline, and mustered in the autumn of 1787.

tors and especially among those who were best acquainted with military discipline.

The officers were prompt and uniform in giving the words of command. Throughout the day many evolutions were performed with great precision and accuracy, and it was announced by many officers who had been through the Revolutionary War in the army as well as others that the regiment was highly pre-eminent in point of order and discipline to any other regiment in the commonwealth. This day excited a spirit of emulation among the military corps in the state which has never been extinguished, yet it is believed that this regiment retained their supremacy in the knowledge of tactics so long as he continued in the command of it, which was about six years.

On the 22d day of November, 1802, he was elected and commissioned brigadier-general of the second brigade third division of the militia of Massachusetts, the same brigade in which he had performed his militia services, in which capacity he served about three years with the same military ardor and zeal for promoting military order, discipline and knowledge, which had characterized his military character in former commands.

On the 25th of June in the year 1805, he was appointed major-general of the said third division by the unanimous vote in the house of representatives and a concurrent unanimous vote in the senate with the exception of one member whose name and county delicacy forbids us to mention. He has continued in that capacity from the time of his appointment to the present period. He has attended to the good order, discipline and acquisition in military knowledge, which has been manifest in his former stations and which the important extension of his military command required. He has attended to the reviews and inspections of the several regiments and corps composing the division, when called out by legal authority, except when bodily indisposition has prevented.

And it is confidently believed that no division of the militia in the commonwealth stand pre-eminent to them if equal in all the acquirements necessary to enable an armed body of independent yeomanry, mechanics, and traders, whose breasts are fired with love of liberty and independence to support the wholesome laws of the country and repel every invading foe.

Contributed by

James M. Varnum



THE POET'S AWAKENING

One day as there lay in a green, shady nook,
Quite hid in the bushes, that grow by the brook,

A youth, who was musing, half-lost in a dream,
There fell on his ear a soft voice from the stream.

O dreamer, arouse thee ! chase sleep from thy brow ;
A new life awaits thee, thy work begins now.

Thy thoughts were not given to be wasted ever,
But shaped in sweet numbers to live on forever.

O fear not ! I'll lead thee, where wild flowers grow,
Past wood-land and meadow, where soft breezes blow.

Such sights I'll unfold to thy wondering eyes,
That earth will seem heaven, and thou in the skies.

The secrets of nature shall not say thee nay ;
The dark things of wonder shall shine as the day.

The language of birds, and the thought of each flower,
By thy mystical gift shall unfold to thy power.

Thy tongue shall find words to fit daintiest thought,
And thy rhythm shall roll in sweet melody wrought.

Thy dreams and thy musings, with love for a leaven,
Shall fall on hearts weary like rain-drops from heaven.

But, poet, in turn for this song-gift divine,
Thy heart's whole devotion must ever be mine.

Reward for thy worship is undying fame—
Thy songs shall live, joy giving, ever the same.

Young minstrel, farewell : let thy song take its flight ;
Thy task is the poet's, the crown's on the height.

NEW YORK CITY.

Edmund Smith Middleton.

MINOR TOPICS

REVOLUTIONARY TROOPS

Editor of Magazine of American History:

Captain Jacob Rumph commanded a partisan company in the Revolutionary army, recruited chiefly from the Orangeburg (South Carolina) District. This company was conspicuous for its raids and fights with the South Carolina Tories in 1783. The name of the officer who commanded the battalion, or regiment, of which Captain Rumph's company was a part, was Colonel Wm. Russell Thompson.* Following is a list of names of members of Captain Rumph's company, taken from authentic records. The following list is sent to THE MAGAZINE, with the hope of eliciting further information in regard to the command.

MARCUS J. WRIGHT.

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Jacob Rumph, Captain.

Jacob Wannamaker, 1st Lt.

Lewis Golson, Sergeant

John Golson, 2d Lt.

Daniel Gisendanner, Clerk

Frederick Snell

John Densler, now Dantzler

John Cooke

John Miller

Henry Whestone (now spelled Whetstone)

Henry Wannamaker

Jesse Pearson

Peter Snell

Jacob Amaka

John Moor

Jacob Hoegar, now Hurger

John Ditchell

Christian Inabnet

Paul Stroman

George Shingler

Jacob Riser

Anthony Robinson

Abram Miller

John Cooney, now Cooner

John Lemmerman

Jacob Stroman

John Whestone

John Deremus, now Deramus

Michael Zigler, now Ziegler

Jacob Cooney

Peter Pound

Thomas Aberhart

John Ott

John Stroman

David Rumph

Nicholas Dill

John Rumph

Peter Staley

John Hooper, now Hover

Nicholas Rickenbacker

*Colonel Wm. Russell Thompson was the officer in command of the forces which held General Clinton in check at the storming of Fort Moultrie.

Nicholas Hulong
 John Inabnet
 John Houk
 Jacob Rickenbacker
 Robert Bayley, now Baily
 Arthur Barrot
 John Amaka
 Michael Larey
 George Ryly, now Riley
 John Amaka
 John Brown
 Daniel Bouden
 Wm. Hall

Benj. Collar, now Culler
 Conrad Crider
 Abram Ott
 Frederick Burtz
 Peter Crouk, now Crook
 Martin Grambik, now Gramling
 John Dudley
 John Richenhacker
 Isaac Lester
 Henry Lester
 Henry Stroman
 John Housliter

70 men.

THE MORALS OF CHESS. BY DR. FRANKLIN

"Life a kind of chess."

[This practical essay of the great philosopher long since buried from public view in the tomb of a London magazine of a former century, snaps into our pages like a thing of life. Its suggestions are forcible—for life is not unlike a game of chess; "we have often points to gain"—and every intelligent reader will be interested in obtaining a glimpse of the peculiar train of thought chronicled four generations ago.—EDITOR.]

The game of chess is not merely an idle amusement; several valuable qualities of the mind, useful in the course of human life, are to be acquired and strengthened by it, so as to become habits ready on all occasions: for life is a kind of chess, in which we have often points to gain, and competitors or adversaries to contend with, and in which there is a vast variety of good and ill events that are, in some degree, the effect of prudence, or of the want of it. By playing at chess, then, we may learn—

1st. Foresight, which looks a little into futurity, and considers the consequence that may attend an action; for it is continually occurring to the player, "If I move this piece, what will be the advantage or disadvantage of my new situation? What use can my adversary make of it, to annoy me! What other moves can I make to support it, and to defend myself from his attacks?"

2d. Circumspection, which surveys the whole chess-board, or scene of action; the relation of the several pieces, and their situations; the dangers they are repeatedly exposed to; the several possibilities of their aiding each other; the probabilities that the adversary may make this or that move, and attack this or that piece; and what different means can be used to avoid the stroke, or turn its consequences against him.

3d. Caution, not to make our moves too hastily. This habit is best acquired by observing strictly the laws of the game ; such as, if you touch a piece, you must move it somewhere ; if you set it down, you must let it stand.

Therefore, it would be the better way to observe these rules, as the game becomes thereby more the image of human life, and particularly of war ; in which, if you have incautiously put yourself into a bad and dangerous position, you cannot obtain leave of your enemies to withdraw your troops, and place them more securely ; but you must abide all the consequences of your rashness.

And, lastly, we learn by chess the habit of not being discouraged by present bad appearances in the state of our affairs ; the habit of hoping for a favorable chance, and that of persevering in the search of resources. The game is so full of events, there is such a variety of turns in it, the fortune of it is so sudden to vicissitudes, and one so frequently, after contemplation, discovers the means of extricating one's self from a supposed insurmountable difficulty, that one is encouraged to continue the contest to the last, in hopes of victory from our skill ; or, at least, from the negligence of our adversary. And whoever considers, what in chess he often sees instances of, that success is apt to produce presumption and its consequent inattention, by which more is afterwards lost than was gained by the preceding advantage, while misfortunes produce more care and attention, by which the loss may be recovered, will learn not to be too much discouraged by any present successes of his adversary, nor to despair of final good fortune upon every little check he receives in the pursuit of it.

That we may, therefore, be induced more frequently to choose this beneficial amusement in preference to others, which are not attended with the same advantages, every circumstance that may increase the pleasure of it should be regarded ; and every action or word that is unfair, disrespectful, or that in any way may give uneasiness, should be avoided, as contrary to the immediate intention of both the parties, which is to pass the time agreeably :

1. Therefore, if it is agreed to play according to the strict rules, then those rules are to be strictly observed by both parties ; and should not be insisted upon for one side, while deviated from by the other, for this is not equitable.

2. If it is agreed not to observe the rules exactly, but one party demands indulgences, he should then be as willing to allow them to the other.

3. No false move should ever be made to extricate yourself out of a difficulty, or to gain an advantage ; for there can be no pleasure in playing with a man once detected in such unfair practice.

4. If your adversary is long in playing, you ought not to hurry him, or express any uneasiness at his delay ; not even by looking at your watch, or taking up a book to read ; you should not sing, nor whistle, nor make a tapping with your feet on the floor, or with your fingers on the table, nor do anything that may distract his attention ; for all these things displease, and they do not prove your skill in playing, but your craftiness and your rudeness.

PRESIDENT LINCOLN'S LEG CASES

No man clothed with such vast power as President Lincoln ever wielded it more tenderly and more forbearingly. No man holding in his hands the key of life and death ever pardoned so many offenders and so easily. There were from time to time, of course, instances of cowardice in the army in the face of the enemy—a crime justly punishable by the laws of war throughout the world with death. In the earlier years of the war all the death penalties of courts-martial had to be sent to the President, as commander-in-chief, for his approval. When Judge Holt, the Judge-Advocate-General of the army, laid the first case before the President and explained it, he replied: "Well, I will keep this a few days until I have more time to read the testimony." That seemed quite reasonable. When the judge explained the next case, Mr. Lincoln said: "I must put this by until I can settle in my mind whether this soldier can better serve the country dead than living." To the third, he answered: "The general commanding the brigade is to be here in a few days to consult with Stanton and myself about military matters; I will wait until then, and talk the matter over with *him*."

Finally, there was a flagrant case of a soldier, who, in the crisis of a battle, demoralized his regiment by his cowardice, throwing down his gun and hiding behind the friendly stump. When tried for his cowardice there was no defense. The court-martial in examining his antecedents found that he had neither father nor mother living, nor wife nor child; that he was unfit to wear the loyal uniform, and that he was a thief who stole continually from his comrades. "Here," said Judge Holt, "is a case that comes exactly within your requirements. He does not deny his guilt; he will better serve the country dead than living, as he has no relations to mourn for him, and he is not fit to be in the ranks of patriots, at any rate." Mr. Lincoln's refuge of excuse was all swept away. Judge Holt expected, of course, that he would write "approved" on the paper; but the President, running his long fingers through his hair, as he often used to do when in serious thought, replied: "Well, after all, Judge, I think I must put this with my leg cases."

"*Leg cases*," said Judge Holt, with a frown at this supposed levity of the President in a case of life and death. "What do you mean by *leg cases*, sir?"

"Why, why," replied Mr. Lincoln, "do you see those papers crowded into those pigeon-holes? they are the cases that you call by that long title, 'cowardice in the face of an enemy,' but I call them, for short, my '*leg cases*.' I put it to you, sir, and I leave it for you to decide for yourself; if Almighty God gives a man cowardly legs, how can he help their running away with him?"

Schuyler Colfax, in Reminiscences of Abraham Lincoln.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

THE QUAIN PETITION OF MARY ELLIS FOR THE COLLECTION
OF A DEBT

A DRESSMAKER'S BILL IN 1790.

[Among the papers of Rev. Dr. Derwick Romeyn, contributed by Mrs. Pierre Van Cortlandt.]

To the Honorable Henry Glen and Isaac Vrooman
Esq' two of the Judges of the Court of Common please
of the City and County of Albany.

The petition of Mary Ellis of the County of Albany—humbly sheweth

That your petitioner was an inhabitant of the County of Albany on the Ninth day of July in the Year of Our Lord One Thousand Seven Hundred and Seventy Six and that Daniel Clause of the County of Montgomery before the said Ninth day of July in the year aforesaid was indebted to your petitioner for the sum of one pound eleven shillings, and that also Guy Johnson of the same County Last above mentioned was indebted to your petitioner for the sum of one pound twelve shillings. That all the estate real as well as personal of the said Daniel Clause and Guy Johnson is become forfeited by the attainder of the said Daniel Claws and Guy Johnson to the people of this State under the act of the Legislature of the said State Intitled an act for the forfeiture and sale of the Estates of persons who have adhered to the enemies of this State, and for Declaring the Sovreignty of the people of this State in respect to all property within the same passed the 22^d of October 1779. Your petitioner therefore humbly prays, that your honours will be pleased to examine your petitioners Claim and demand against the Estates of the said Daniel Clause and Guy Johnson in Consequence of the debt aforesaid and according to Equity and Good Conscience determine the same agreeable to an act Entitled an act for the speedy Sale of the Confiscated and forfeited Estates within the State and for other purposes therein mentioned passed the 19th day of May 1784—

And if your honours shall determine in favour of your petitioner to grant unto your petitioner such Certificates and other relief as by the said act is prescribed,

And your petitioner as in duty bound shall ever pray,

Mary Ellis.

Schenectady July 19th 1790—

1775 Feb^r 11th. Daniel Claws To Mary Ellis D^r

To making a Calico gown	-	-	-	-	-	-	£o.	5.	o
Do. 20 To making one do	-	-	-	-	-	-	o.	5.	o
To altering a Silk gown	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	4.	o
April 1 To altering two Calico gowns	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	2.	o
To making a habbit for Peggy	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	4.	o
To making two gowns	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	10.	o

£1. 11 o

The above account was Sworn

to before me, this 12th of July 1790

Mary Ellis.

Isaac Vrooman

1775 March 11th. Guy Johnson to Mary Ellis D^r

To making a Calico gown 5s silk 1s	-	-	-	-	-	-	£o.	6.	o
To altering a frock	-	-	-	-	-	-	o.	1.	o
April 8. To making a Silk & gratticote	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	14.	o
To making a Frock	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	5.	o
To making two bonnets	-	-	-	-	-	-	o	2.	o
To making a Clash (Calash)	-	-	-	-	-	-		4.	

£1. 12. o

July 12 1790

The above account is sworn to

before me

Isaac Vrooman.

Mary Ellis

NOTES

BEGINNINGS OF AMERICAN SCIENCE—

I am not in sympathy with those who feel that their dignity is lowered when their investigations lead toward improvement in the physical condition of mankind, but I feel that the highest functions of science is to minister to their mental and moral welfare. Here in the United States, more than in any other country, it is necessary that sound, accurate knowledge and a scientific manner of thought should exist among the people, and the man of science is becoming, more than ever, the natural custodian of the treasured knowledge of the world. To him, above all others, falls the duty of organizing and maintaining institutions for the diffusion of knowledge, the schools, the museums, the expositions, the societies, the periodicals. To him, more than to any other American, should be made familiar the words of President Washington in his Farewell Address to the American people :

"Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion it should be enlightened."—*John Brown Goode's Address before Biological Society.*

PAPER-RULING—The following advertising card, pasted in an old volume, may be an addition to facts as to paper-ruling.

W. HUDSON STEPHENS

LOWVILLE, N. Y.

"Geo. Howorth, BOOK-BINDER
in all its various branches and
PAPER RULER
by Machine—

Corner of the Darby Road : Quarter of
a mile West from the Market Street
bridge, over the River Schuylkill,
Philadelphia.

N.B.—ACCOUNT BOOKS Ruled to any
pattern and Bound at the shortest no-
tice, on the most reasonable terms.

March 12, 1819."

LEWIS CASS—In his "Men and Measures of Half a Century," just published, the Honorable Hugh McCulloch says : "Lewis Cass held the office of general superintendent of Indian Affairs in Michigan for many years. During that period he negotiated a score of treaties with Indian tribes by which he might have enriched himself and his friends, but so uprightly did he administer his trust that no stain ever rested upon his reputation. I did not have the honor of an intimate acquaintance with him, but I knew him well enough to entertain for him the highest respect. Of the distinguished men of his day I can think of few, if any, more deserving of high honor than General Cass. As a soldier, Secretary of War, minister to France, senator, Secretary of State, he exhibited qualities of a very high character—learning, executive ability, diplomatic skill, graceful oratory, statesmanship. He failed in his highest ambition, as did his compeers, Clay and Webster, but his failure neither soured his temper nor weakened his zeal in his country's

service. . . . Fortunately for himself and his family, he bought, in 1815, a large farm near the village of Detroit. This village soon became a town and city, of which this farm became an important part. Thus, by the investment of a few thousand dollars, General Cass became a millionaire.

PURITAN GENTLEMEN—In an address on the 250th anniversary of the settlement of New Haven, William L. Kingsley says: "The Puritans gave to the world a new idea of what it is to be a gentleman. With the views respecting manhood, which they received from the Bible, they conceived a new idea as to what is the proper way to treat others. Polished manners, and a gracious deportment to one's equals is not enough, according to the Puritan idea. A man may 'smile and smile and be a villain.' There should be such delicacy of perception of the rights and feelings of others as to lead a person not only to avoid giving offense to any, high or low, but the perception should be accompanied by such a treatment of all as reveals a friendly feeling. This idea of a gentleman did not exist before the time of the Puritans. I do not say that there were not persons who had such a character. But Shakespeare uses the word 'gentleman' more than five hundred times, and not once to designate anything more than a person of high social position. One of the most eloquent English essayists of modern times, Rev. Charles Kingsley, a dignitary of the Anglican Church, says that 'Puritan and not the cavalier conception of what a British gentleman should be is the one

accepted by the whole British nation at this day.'"

WHITTIER'S ADVICE TO A BOY—My acquaintance with the poet Whittier dates from a lovely summer afternoon just before my fifteenth birthday. Whittier, as is well known, spends much of the summer season near Asquam Lake, in the hill country of New Hampshire. As my father then was living only a few miles from this sylvan spot, he and I drove over to see the Quaker bard,—known to us hitherto only through his poems. I shall not try to describe the tall, noble figure and delicate yet commanding features with which we are all familiar, nor attempt, either, to repeat the sparkling conversation which ensued.

One thing especially impressed me at the time, and will never be forgotten. Mr. Whittier said that his early ambition had been to become a prominent politician, and from this ideal he was persuaded only by the earnest appeals of his friends. Taking their advice, he united with the persecuted and obscure sect of abolitionists, and to this course, he said, he attributed all his after-success in life. Then, turning to me and laying his hand on my head, he remarked, in his gentle voice: "My lad, if thou would'st win success, join thyself to some unpopular but noble cause." My father chanced to mention, before leaving, that I had occasionally written scraps of poetry. Whittier kindly asked me to send him some verses on my return, which I readily promised, and, armed with his autograph, I retreated to the carriage, happier, I dare say, than I have ever been before or since.

Some days afterward I mailed to the poet a few rhymes which had seen light in a religious journal published in Boston. The reply, as dear a treasure to-day as it was then, spoke flatteringly of my effort, and closed with the following advice :

I would not advise thee to publish much for the present. In two or three years much will have been gained by thee. Study, experience, close observation of Nature, and patient brooding over thy verse will do a great deal for

thee. I would, however, advise no young man to *depend* upon poetry. A profession or trade is needed ; and brave work must be done in a world of need and suffering. With kind remembrance of thy father, and with all good wishes for thyself, I am truly thy fr'd,

JOHN G. WHITTIER

Would it be a bad idea to send a copy of this letter to every aspiring young verse-writer in the land ?

FRED. LAWRENCE KNOWLES,
in *The Writer*.

QUERIES

THIRTEEN NOT AN UNLUCKY NUMBER—*Editor of Magazine of American History* : Will some of your learned historians explore the records of the past and explain why we are distressed and guided at all our dinner parties by the silly superstition that if *thirteen* sit at table together one of the members must

necessarily die before the year is out ? Is there not just as much proof to be discovered that thirteen is not an unlucky number ? Can we not dispense altogether with this disturbing element in our social affairs ?

OLIVER HAYWOOD

BUFFALO, N. Y.

REPLIES

FISKE'S SERMON [xx. 313.] Mr. Frank B. Gay, Secretary of the Connecticut Historical Society, writes that there is a copy of Mr. Fiske's sermon on Joshua Spooner in the library of that institution. Dr. Charles Deane, vice-president of the Massachusetts Historical society writes that he has a copy of the second edition in his own private collection. Mr. J. B. Drew, librarian, Pilgrim Hall, Plymouth, Massachusetts, sends us corrective information as to the execution of Mrs. Spooner. He says : "Mrs. Stebbins must have confused some other execution with the one in question, which did not take place on Boston Common, but in Worcester, the

shire-town of the county which includes Brookfield where the murder was committed. In the *Continental Journal and Weekly Advertiser*, Boston, July 9, 1778, appears the following : 'Thursday last, were executed at Worcester, agreeably to their sentence, Mrs. Bathshebe Spooner [daughter of the noted Timothy Ruggles, one of the mandamus counsellors] prime Conspirator of the death of her Husband, Mr. Joshua Spooner, formerly of that town ; together with her accomplices, James Buchanan, Ezra Ross, and William Brooks, whom she hired to perpetrate the hellish plot.'"

EDITOR

SOCIETIES

THE NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its opening meeting for the season October 2, in its hall in Second avenue, President John A. King in the chair. The attendance was unusually large, and after the preliminary reports and business of the meeting had been accomplished, an appreciative and enthusiastic audience listened to the paper of the evening, read by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, on the "Inauguration of Washington, 1789," prepared by request, as a fitting introduction to the interesting ceremonies and celebrations in perspective for the coming year. Mrs. Lamb gave a careful analysis, accompanied by incisive comments upon them, of the characteristics of the members of the first Senate and House of Representatives under the Constitution, that assembled in New York in the spring of 1789; but no member of this body who was not actually present at the inauguration was introduced into the sketch. Minutes of the proceedings of both houses of Congress were quoted, and other documents hitherto unknown beyond the walls of the Historical Society. The paper contained much fresh information.

THE NORTH CAROLINA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its first autumn meeting September 18, at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. President Butler read a paper proving the error of the statement in a recent history that North Carolina, like Rhode Island, founded her dislike to the Federal Constitution on its prohibition of bills of credit, because she had issued so much of her own. He showed by quotations

from the speeches of its opponents in the state convention of 1788, viz., of Bloodworth, Taylor, Galloway, McDowell, Caldwell, Lenoir, Goudy, Jones and others, as well as by quotations from the speeches of Federalists, such as Iredell, Davie, Maclaine, that the objections were of a general nature, that too much power was granted, that this power was undefined, and that the rights of the states had not been guarded. The anti-Federalists of North Carolina really dreaded a consolidated government. It was conclusively shown that no one objected to future prohibition of state bills of credit, and that the fear of the state being forced by the Federal courts to pay par in specie for her depreciated paper was only one of many objections urged to immediate adoption. North Carolina did not reject—she only deferred accepting until assured the much-desired amendment would be adopted.

Dr. Stephen B. Weeks presented a paper on "Blackbeard, the Corsair of Carolina." He sketched the rise of privateering and buccaneering in America, and showed how Teach came to turn pirate. He had been a soldier in Queen Anne's war, and although the historians accuse him of being a pirate before, there is no proof he was one prior to the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713. He then became a pirate, because it was the easiest way for him and his men to make a living. He was slain at Ocracoe Inlet in 1718 by Capt. Brand. The historians gave this honor improperly to Lieut. Maynard. The evidence for and against Knight was given and

summed up. The author came to a verdict of guilty; this has been the verdict of the state for one hundred and seventy years. Dr. Weeks then presented some anecdotes and local traditions concerning the life of the pirate, his wives, buried treasure, body after death, and the real existence of at least one chest of his money.

Mr. Wm. J. Andrews of Raleigh was elected secretary and treasurer in place of Dr. Weeks, who goes to the Johns Hopkins University to pursue his studies. Mr. Andrews is a man of talent, is interested in his work, and will make a good officer.

RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY. The October quarterly meeting was held October 2, President William Gammell in the chair. Reports were read from the secretary and the librarian, and various committees, after which Mr. Isaac P. Noyes, of Washington, D. C., read a paper on "Our Weather System." He claims that the reports will become more perfectly reliable when some needed new stations are established and the general public show more active interest in the reports and assistance in collecting data. He explained why the weather of last summer was almost uniformly heated, while this season it was regularly cool with intervals of heat.

At the close of Mr. Noyes's remarks the society adjourned for six weeks, when Mr. W. E. Foster, of the Public Library, will read a paper on "The Rhode Island Charter of 1663."

THE NEW JERSEY HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its autumn meeting September 28, in the beautiful hall of the University at Princeton, New Jersey; Rev. Dr. Hamill, the president, occupied the chair. The meeting was opened with prayer by Rev. Dr. McCosh, after which President Patton, in behalf of the faculty of the college, welcomed the society to Princeton in a most able and effective address—in response to the opening address of the president of the society; and the Rev. Dr. McCosh also addressed the assemblage. Reports were read, new members were elected, and several valuable gifts received. Colonel Halsted, of Newark, presented to the society the last photograph of the statue of Richard Stockton, with very interesting remarks on the subject, and on that of General Kearny. Mrs. Frederick H. Pierson, of Elizabeth, read a carefully prepared paper entitled "Mrs. Martha J. Lamb, the historian," giving many bright sketches of incidents in the interesting career of that well-known author and editor who had just been elected to honorary membership of the society. Dr. Stephen Wicks read a paper on Rev. Jedediah Buckingham, the first preacher at Orange Mountain; Professor Cameron gave a rapid history of the battle of Princeton; and Professor Frothingham, of the Archæological chair in the college, in an interesting speech, developed the idea that the existence of this continent was known as early as the sixth century to the Chinese, who fixed it between China and Spain.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

If we of this stirring generation were suddenly jolted backward to the time when the art of writing consisted in painting with different kinds of ink, or when events were recorded by planting trees or throwing stones into a pile, we should begin to appreciate our current privileges. Visitors at the British Museum are often entertained by the examination of specimens of the earliest modes of writing on bricks, tiles, tables of stone, ivory, the bark of trees, and the leaves of trees. In the Sloanian Library is a Nabob's letter on a piece of bark, about two yards long, and richly ornamented with gold. There are also several copies of the Bible written on palm leaves. The ancients appear to have written on any leaves they could find adapted to the purpose. Hence the name *leaf*, of a book, referring to a tree, was derived. The Babylonians made their contracts of business on tiles or *broken pots*. The treaties between the Romans, Spartans, and the Jews were written on brass. The speech of Claudius, engraved on a plate of bronze, is preserved in the town-hall of Lyons, in France. There are *wooden manuscripts* which must have existed prior to 1423. In the shepherd state people wrote with thorns and awls; then they invented an iron bodkin. After that the *stylus* came into use, made sharp at one end to write with, and blunt and broad at the other for effacing and correcting. But the Romans found these sharp instruments dangerous, as vicious persons used them for daggers. A schoolmaster was killed on one occasion with them in the hands of his own scholars.

With the roll of the centuries every possible facility has been provided for perfection in writing and for the manufacture of books. Now the most important question before the rising generation is "how to write." A great number of well educated and ambitious people are constantly besieging and seeking to enter the literary profession. Some of them have genius, taste and aptitude, while many are groping in the dark. A few, possibly, are impressed with the fact, on the start, that there is no excellence reached in any branch of literature without great labor. Others fancy they can climb the ladder and perch on the top with very little effort and without any previous schooling or guidance. They fail. Some try again and again, and learn the lesson of application at last, which would have saved them a score of troubles had it been vigorously attacked and conquered in the beginning.

To the task of interesting and aiding all literary workers with hints, suggestions, and practical advice, *The Writer* is devoted, as for instance, in its October number is an article entitled, "How to write a story," the author of which says: "There is one encouraging feature about writing stories which lends a ray of hope to sustain the young writer in his efforts. In no other field of literature is success so directly the result of cultivation and determined zeal; for there is a literary mechanism about the work which cannot be disregarded, and the secret of which can be acquired only by patient and persistent study." Then comes a hint to be remembered: "Nothing wears so much upon a reader as to have long and tedious descriptions of people who never by a word or a deed ascribed to them really impress us as the living creatures represented." Better still is

the positive advice given : " Never locate a story amid surroundings with which you are not perfectly familiar. In these days of extensive travel any error which you are liable to make in regard to places will be easily discerned and criticised."

One of the most charming books of the current month is McCulloch's *Men and Measures of Half a Century*, in which the author seems to be telling a succession of stories almost entirely without reference to himself, or, as some one has remarked, " it is like the after-dinner talk of a man of affairs, a man of ideas, of vigorous thought and decided action." He says : " The only time I ever heard Mr. Webster in Faneuil Hall was at a meeting of which Mr. Otis was chairman, soon after the veto by President Jackson of the bill making appropriations for the extension of the national road to the Mississippi. In speaking of the nationality of the enterprise, of the necessity of it as a means of communication between the Eastern and Western States, Mr. Webster said : ' There is no road leading everywhere ; no road over which everybody or even a majority of the people travel, except, except '—and here he seemed to be at a loss for a word—' except the road to ruin,' interjected Mr. Otis, in his clear and penetrating voice. ' Except the road to ruin,' shouted Mr. Webster, ' and *that's an administration road!*' When down came a thousand feet upon the floor of the grand old hall, with an emphasis that made its thick walls tremble as if struck by a thunderbolt."

Such writings are infinitely superior to stories—short or long—of any description wrought simply out of the inner consciousness of immature minds. If young writers would only cultivate a better knowledge of the world's affairs, their chances of success in literary ventures would be materially advanced. McCulloch left his New England home in 1833 for life in the West. That was fifty-five years ago. He says : " Within the period named the population of the United States has been more than twice doubled. Sixteen States have been added to the Union, and what was then the far distant West has become the centre of population and political power."

There was but one railroad then in all New England, the road between Boston and Providence. Mr. McCulloch records : " In 1832 I listened to an argument made before the House Committee of the Legislature of Massachusetts, by Jeremiah Mason, in favor of a bill for the incorporation of a company to construct a railroad from Boston to Salem. The bill was violently opposed by a turnpike company, on the ground that its passage would be an infringement of the chartered right of the company to control the traffic between the two cities." An amusing anecdote is told in this connection : " Ichabod Bartlett, a contemporary of Jeremiah Mason, was one of the leading lawyers of New Hampshire. Inferior to Mr. Mason in legal knowledge, he was more than Mason's match in jury trials. In a case of some importance, in which, as usual, they were on opposite sides, Mr. Bartlett, who was a very small man, in his address to the jury made some remarks which irritated Mr. Mason, who, rising to his full height (six feet and a half), said : ' May it please the court, brother Bartlett is traveling out of the record, and if your honor does not restrain him, I shall have to pick him up and put him in my pocket.' ' And if he does,' replied Bartlett, ' he will have more law in his pocket than he ever had in his head.' The laugh was at the expense of Mr. Mason."

BOOK NOTICES

NARRATIVE AND CRITICAL HISTORY OF AMERICA. Edited by JUSTIN WINSOR. Vol. V. The English and French in North America, 1689-1763. Vol. VI. The United States of North America, Royal 8vo. pp. 649 and 777. Boston and New York. Houghton, Mifflin & Company.

As this great historical work advances towards completion we are more and more impressed with the vast amount of conscientious labor it represents. The fifth volume is devoted to a period in which every American citizen is or should be interested—from 1689 to 1763. "The English and French in America" forms a theme of many and varied features. The volume opens with a well written chapter on "Canada and Louisiana," by Andrew McFarland Davis, which occupies, including the critical essay on the sources of information, and the editorial notes, some eighty-six pages. The French scattered their settlements from Cape Breton to the Mississippi, and the record of their adventures reads like a romance. The explorations of Iberville and the chaotic state of affairs in the territory of Louisiana are illustrated very clearly. The governor of Canada claimed that Louisiana should be brought under his jurisdiction, and found fault with Iberville for interfering with the beaver trade. The name of Louisiana was for a long time in doubt. It was indifferently mentioned as "Louisiana or Mississippi" in many dispatches. The era which this chapter covers is coincident with a period of decline in France; when European politics were largely influenced by the desire to control territory in the new world. A colony at that time was merely a business venture, and if it did not earn money it was a failure. The antique maps in this connection are excellent.

The editor handles the subject of "New England, 1689-1763," in a masterly manner. Boston was in tribulation after the sudden restoration of the old government, first through the disastrous expedition which Phips led against Quebec in 1690, which cost Massachusetts £50,000; then with the discussion of the charter question, and a little later on with the witchcraft frenzy. The portrait of Samuel Sewall is one of the best illustrations in the volume, and Mr. Winsor's pen-picture of "the First Abolitionist" is equal to the artist's portrait. He says: "Poor Sewall was a man whom many things disturbed, whether it was that to mock him some one scattered a pack of playing-cards in his fore-yard, or that some of the godly chose to wear a wig." Mr. Winsor also quotes from Mr. Sewall's diary of October 20, 1701, with reference to the Mathers, who were blamed seriously for many things in

their lifetime: "'Mr. Cotton Mather came to Mr. Wilkes' shop, and there talked very sharply against me, as if I had used his father worse than a nigger: spoke so loud that people in the street might hear him.' There is," continues Mr. Winsor, "about as near an approach to conscious pleasantry as we ever find in Sewall, when, writing, some days later, that he had sent Mr. Increase Mather a haunch of good venison, he adds: 'I hope in that I did not treat him as a negro.'" Mr. Winsor also writes the fourth and the eighth chapters in this volume—"Maryland and Virginia," and "The Struggle for the Great Valleys of North America,"—with the critical essays and editorial notes in each instance, which are veritable mines of valuable information. "The Carolinas" are treated by Professor William J. Rivers; "The English Colonization of Georgia," by Col. Charles C. Jones, Jr., LL.D., and "The Middle Colonies," by Berthold Fernou. The contribution of Colonel Jones, the historian of Georgia, is scholarly and exact, and adds greatly to the interests of this portion of the work.

The sixth volume opens with a very instructive and philosophic study by Hon. Mellen Chamberlain, of the causes of the struggle, "The Revolution Impending." He says: "The American Revolution was not a quarrel between two peoples—the British people and the American people—but like all those events which mark the progress of the British race, it was a strife between two parties, the conservatives in both countries as one party, and the liberals in both countries as the other party; and some of its fiercest battles were fought in the British Parliament. Nor did it proceed in one country alone, but in both countries at the same time, with nearly equal step, and was essentially the same in each, so that at the close of the French War, if all the people of Great Britain had been transported to America and put in control of American affairs, and all the people of America had been transported to Great Britain and put in control of British affairs, the American Revolution and the contemporaneous British Revolution—for there was a contemporaneous British Revolution—might have gone on just the same, and with the same final results. But the British Revolution was to regain liberty; the American Revolution to preserve liberty." Then again, he says: "The Congress of 1774 was the inevitable result of the conduct of the British ministry subsequent to the peace of 1763." Mr. Winsor writes the second chapter, "The Conflict Precipitated;" and Dr. George E. Ellis, president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, the third chapter on "The Sentiment of Independence, Its Growth and Consummation," remarking on the start that "the assertion needs no

qualification that the thirteen colonies would not in the beginning have furnished delegates to a Congress with the avowed purpose of seeking a separation from the mother country; and we may also affirm, that, with a possible forecast in the minds of some two or three members, such a result was not apprehended." Gen. George W. Cullum writes the fourth chapter, entitled "The Struggle for the Hudson;" Frederick D. Stone writes of "The Struggle for the Delaware;" Edward Channing of "The War in the Southern Department;" Rev. Edward E. Hale of "The Naval History of the American Revolution;" Andrew McFarland Davis of "The Indian and Border Warfare;" and Mr. William F. Poole of "The West, from the Treaty of Peace with France, 1763, to the Treaty of Peace with England, 1783." This volume, like its predecessors, is fully illustrated. The portraits and maps will greatly aid the student who turns to these pages in the future for exact data, and the exhaustive critical notes form a compendium of authorities of the first importance. The only danger is that the immature mind may become bewildered in such an ocean of riches and lose the right pathway altogether. It is presumed, however, we suppose, that no person would be likely to enter this field without a certain amount of previous culture in historical inquiry. These massive tomes will naturally find their way into every library in the land, and serious investigators will owe a debt of gratitude to the learned editor for his able work and lavish provision of labor-saving aids, and to his accomplished associates and enterprising publishers.

A SHORT HISTORY OF THE WAR OF SECESSION.—1861-1865. By ROSSITER JOHNSON. 12mo, pp. 552. Boston: Ticknor & Co. 1889.

Bibliographies of the civil war, if we include state and regimental histories, special pamphlets and the like, number at this writing somewhat more than 4,000 titles. The appearance of a new general history therefore, calls for some kind of an explanation. In the present instance this is found in the fact that Mr. Johnson has for many years been engaged in collecting and studying books and publications treating of the slaveholders' rebellion. With characteristic frankness he says in his introduction that the work has already appeared in the *New York Examiner*, for which journal it was originally prepared at the request of the editor, with a prescribed limit of thirty chapters. The reception accorded to the work in this form demonstrated to the author's satisfaction, that there existed a demand for a war history complete in itself, but comparatively short, and the present volume is the result.

No one but a literary worker can appreciate

the difficulty of condensing into a single volume the history of a war that covered so wide a stage, included in its official records nearly 2,500 engagements, and sacrificed more than half a million of lives. Mr. Johnson, through his long experience as editor of the *American Cyclopaedia*, (Appleton's), is particularly well qualified to undertake such a work, and his first chapter, naturally devoted to the causes of the war, is a model of concise and accurate composition. The opening sentence so aptly presents the whole question that we cannot do better than to quote it: "When, within a period of eighteen months, a Dutch vessel entered the James river with a cargo of African slaves (1619), and the 'Mayflower' landed at Plymouth, Massachusetts, a company of seekers after liberty (1620), the prime conditions were established for one of the mightiest conflicts that the world has ever seen." The first chapter covers only twenty-five pages, but it is safe to say that it omits nothing essential to an understanding of the fundamental reasons that led to the great conflict.

"What was it all about, this war of yours?" has been a question often asked by foreigners and not infrequently by the younger generation of Americans. A Southerner answers in one way and a Northerner in another, and between the two it is not surprising that at times the seeker after truth is somewhat perplexed. A careful reading of Mr. Johnson's chapter leaves small room for doubt. While it is perfectly evident on which side the author's sympathies are enlisted, the statement is singularly free from partisan bias, and this is true of the whole volume as well.

After a chapter describing the outbreak of hostilities, the history of campaigns and of contemporary diplomacy and politics is taken up. The inexorable limitations of space render it impossible to cover so wide a field in a continuous narrative. Military operations on the Potomac, west of the Mississippi, and along the Gulf Coast, were contemporaneous and yet distinct. It is unavoidable that the account of one campaign should be finished before another is taken up, and this sometimes necessitates a certain overlapping of dates.

In accounts of campaigns and battles the author's happy gift of picturesque condensation is again apparent. Maps accompany nearly all the accounts of battles, and they are drawn as simply as possible, showing only the essential topographical and tactical features which rendered a position strong or weak in a military sense. The personal jealousies and controversies of the war are ignored, so far as possible, though the blunders on both sides are narrated with unsparing impartiality. The second election of Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency deserves the space that is accorded to it, and the underlying significance of the popular vote then cast is

emphasized in a few well-chosen sentences that bear strong testimony to the inherent good sense of the American people.

Of the concluding scenes of the war, the negotiations for peace and the final surrender of the Confederates, we can only say that they are treated in the same spirit that pervades the rest of the book. Unless we are sadly at fault in our estimate, its peculiarly meritorious combination of sustained interest with terse statement of fact will commend it to the public, and the warning conveyed in the concluding chapter should commend itself to every thoughtful observer of the signs of the times.

CITIZENS' ATLAS OF AMERICAN POLITICS, 1789-1888. A series of colored maps and charts. By FLETCHER W. HEWES. Large folio, pp. 56. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons.

This unique and singularly comprehensive atlas is a résumé of American politics, admirably adapted for general use. Mr. Hewes has used charts and maps in presenting his facts, and by the aid of a semi-pictorial method brought before the eye at one glance what would require pages of text and dry statistics to cover. The entire history of the political parties from 1776-1888 is thus portrayed, and a more interesting study of the same matter has never been presented; their origin, times of supremacy, analyses of votes in Presidential elections since 1824, are given by states. Even statistics become attractive in such a showing. We are able to learn the wages and cost of living and the comparative condition of the tariff, and the wages of skilled and unskilled labor for any corresponding periods during the past forty years, by only a moment's search, as different colors are used in the maps and charts to make each class of facts stand out distinctly. It is a remarkable production. The entire material, economic and political development of the country, is furnished in a general survey that leaves nothing to be desired in its compactness and clearness. It would be difficult to recommend a work of more practical value and timely interest to every intelligent American voter.

AROUND THE WORLD ON A BICYCLE.

From Teheran to Yokohama. By THOMAS STEVENS. Vol. II. 8vo, pp. 477. New York, 1888: Charles Scribner's Sons.

Mr. Stevens possesses two qualifications indispensable to an entertaining writer of travels—enthusiasm and a ready pen; but besides these, for the unique journey which he has accomplished, resolute will, pluck, tact, and cool, American common sense were absolutely necessary—all

of which he seems to have possessed in an eminent degree. He went around the world on a bicycle in two years and eight months—five months of which were spent in the city of Teheran, in Persia. From that point the present volume recounts his experiences and adventures. His observations throw new light and add fresh information to our store of knowledge concerning many of the places he visited. In a Persian town, he says: "The entire village, as usual, assemble to see me dispose of the eatables so generously provided; and later in the evening there is another highly expectant assembly waiting around out of curiosity to see what sort of a figure a *Frenghi* cuts at his evening devotions. Poor, benighted followers of the False Prophet, how little they comprehend us Christians."

Again, speaking of insular influences, he says: "More and more fantastic grow the costumes of the people, as one gets, so to speak, out of civilization, and off the beaten roads. The ends of the turbans here are often seen gathered into a sort of bunch or tuft on the top; the ends are fringed or tipped with gold; and when gathered in this manner create a fanciful crested appearance, and impart a sort of cock-a-doodle-doo aspect to the wearer." A traveler in Brazil says: "If it be objected that there is too much about religion in this work, all the author has to say in reply is, that he did not go out of his way to observe what he relates." Of Mr. Stevens it may be said, he tells us a great deal about Mohammedanism in its practical working as it is to-day. At the time of its rise, Christianity was corrupted by heresies, and debilitated by dissensions. Mohammedanism improved the opportunity to fill a void, to impress and win to its standard races and tribes for whom it seemed almost naturally suited. "My kingdom is not of this world," said the Divine Founder of Christianity. "If my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight." Mohammed's was a kingdom of this world, and terrible were the swords with which it was maintained and extended. The state of things—the morals, the financial condition, the life of the peoples where it has dominated and flourished for centuries—are all graphically set before us in the fascinating pages of Mr. Stevens' book. It is something wonderful to read of the extent to which ophthalmia in its varying forms prevails, there being scarcely a person throughout Persia who is not afflicted more or less with it. His descriptions of India and Japan are extremely interesting. His minute details of life, as he saw it upon the wing, make the reader feel as if he too were journeying through those strange and far-off lands.

He writes of "a Hindoo temple, whence at sunset issue the sweetest chimes imaginable from a peal of silver toned bells. My charpoy (couch) is placed on the porch facing the east;

and soon the rotund face of the rising moon flouts above the trees, and the silvery tinkle of the bells is followed by a chorus of jackals paying their noisy compliment to its loveliness." In China the author was exposed to the greatest perils—indeed, narrowly escaped with his life. Of this unknown and primitive land he says: "The villagers in the upper districts of Quangtung are peculiarly wanting in facial attractiveness. In some of the villages on the upper Pi-Kiang the entire population, from puling infants to decrepit old stagers, whose hoary cues are real pigtailed in respect to size, are hideously ugly. They seem to be simple, primitive people, bent on satisfying their curiosity, but in the pursuit of this, they are, if anything, somewhat more considerate than the Persians. Mothers hurry home and fetch their babies to see the Faukwae, pointing me out to their notice, very like pointing out a chimpanzee in the zoölogical gardens. In these village inns, the spirit of democracy embraces all living things."

In speaking of the building of the Taj Mahal in Agra in India, he appears to have made a slight mistake in the time occupied in building "this sublimest object in the world of architecture." But despite a few slips of the pen, Mr. Stevens has certainly produced a volume above the average of ordinary books of travel, and one which, whether read for pleasure or for information, will well repay perusal.

THE PURITAN AGE AND RULE In the colony of the Massachusetts Bay, 1629-1685. By GEORGE E. ELLIS. 8vo., pp. 576. Boston, 1888: Houghton, Mifflin & Co.

The aim of the author of this volume, the learned president of the Massachusetts Historical Society, has been to show with more fullness and method than has been done heretofore, the motives of estrangement and grievance which prompted the exile of the Puritans to Massachusetts, and the grounds on which they proceeded to exercise their severe and arbitrary rule in this country. He has written from the historic standpoint, without criticism or apology for the acts of the Puritan rulers, although one cannot well read his terse and graphic paragraphs without a painful sense of their mistaken notions in regard to civil authority, and intense sympathy for them as they groped their way in the darkness and were themselves governed by the peculiar delusions of the age. We are told with much force in the preface: "It may be affirmed that proportionally more pages have been written and put in print concerning the early history of Massachusetts—including the commonwealth, the municipalities which constitute it, the incidents and events, the men and the institutions identified with it—than those concerning any other like portion of the earth's territory." At

the same time one writer has followed another with such surprising fidelity, that fresh studies are always welcome. Dr. Ellis has been an earnest student of the local history of Massachusetts for a long series of years, and in reading backward through many books he has traced and discovered many of the original and primary sources of information concerning the founders and early legislators of the commonwealth—such as their own autograph letters, private journals, and public records—and no eminent scholar of the present generation is better able to discuss the theme. These Puritans attempted a wholly novel scheme and experiment in civil government. They were loftily sincere of purpose, and exhibited some of the highest qualities of character—self-consecration, fortitude, constancy—and various forms of sacrifice. Dr. Ellis observes that "the experiment was in a continuous line with others which preceded and have followed it—alike ideal and practical, in the development of social, civil, and industrial schemes for human progress. It was entitled in that series of experiments to have had its trial. Begun by one generation it was continued into another. It was clung to tenaciously—we may even say defiantly."

Four episodes under the administration of these Puritan rulers are ably rehearsed in these pages. The stern and tragic period under special review covers half a century. The points emphasized are the relations of the Puritans as nonconformists to the Church of England at the period of its reformation and reconstruction in the transition from Papacy to Protestantism; the peculiar estimate of and way of using the Bible, characteristic of the Puritans under the critical circumstances of the time which had substituted the Book for the authority of the Papal and the Prelatical church; their finding in that Book the pattern and basis for a wholly novel form of government in civil and religious affairs, with an equally novel condition of citizenship; their attempt at legislation and administration on theocratic principles; and the discomfiture of their scheme as involving injustice, oppression and intolerance. Civil government on Massachusetts soil began indeed with the very utmost stretch of restraint upon every exercise of personal liberty. Dr. Ellis says: "There was no incident, circumstance, or experience of the life of an individual, personal, domestic, social, or civil, still less in anything that concerned religion, in which he was free from direct or indirect interposition of public authority. The missionary Quakers were regarded by the rulers as tramps or vagabonds. This class the Puritans argued, had no right to complain of the laws, because they were free to find release from them by going elsewhere." But the Puritan scheme, or experiment, proved impracticable, and finally came to an end.



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Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1887	129,927	\$393,809,302 83	Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1888...	140,943	\$427,623,933 51
Risks Assumed.....	22,305	69,457,468 37	Risks Terminated.....	11,389	25,687,738 74
	152,232	\$463,266,771 25		152,232	\$463,266,771 25

Dr.		Revenue Account.		Cr.	
To Balance from last account ...	\$104,719,734 81	By Endowments, Purchased Insurances, Dividends, Annuities and Death Claims.	14,128,423 60		
" Premiums.....	17,110,901 62	" Commissions, Commutations, Taxes and all other Expenses	3,640,514 49		
" Interest, Rents and Premium on Securities Sold.....	6,009,020 84	" Balance to new account.	110,061,718 68		
	\$127,839,656 77		\$127,839,656 77		

Dr.		Balance Sheet.		Cr.	
To Reserve for Policies in force and for risks terminated . .	\$112,430,096 00	By Bonds Secured by Mortgages on Real Estate	\$49,615,268 06		
" Premiums received in advance	82,314 38	" United States and other Bonds.	43,439,877 81		
" Surplus at four per cent.....	6,294,441 52	" Real Estate and Loans on Collaterals.....	90,159,173 37		
		" Cash in Banks and Trust Companies at interest	2,619,363 66		
		" Interest accrued, Premiums deferred and in transit and Sundries.....	2,973,169 08		
	\$118,806,851 88		\$118,806,851 88		

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.
A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.
 From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884	\$34,681,430	\$351,740,245	\$4,743,771
1885	46,507,139	384,981,441	5,012,634
1886	56,832,719	393,602,303	5,643,509
1887	69,457,463	427,623,933	6,294,442

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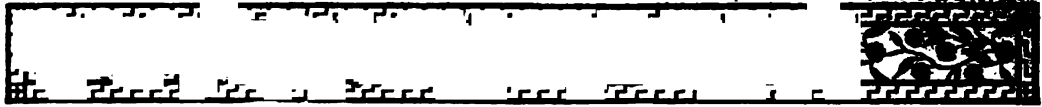
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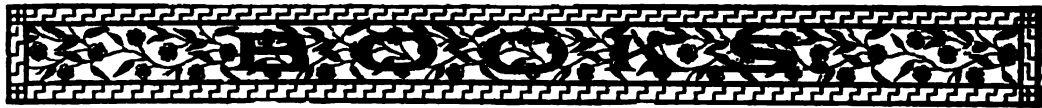
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George Washington

From the original painting by Rembrandt Peale, never before engraved.

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MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. XX

DECEMBER, 1888

No. 6

THE INAUGURATION OF WASHINGTON, 1789 *

IT is now almost a hundred years since New York—a city which attends so strictly to business as to leave reminiscence almost wholly to her neighbors—was the scene of the most sublime ceremonial in human history, an affair which up to that time had no parallel on this continent, and one which thrilled the whole civilized world.

The inauguration of Washington in 1789, the centennial anniversary of which is about to be celebrated in our great money centre, Wall street, and the ushering of a new nation into existence to take its permanent place in the great family of nations, were one and the same event. As our first President, standing grave and tranquil on the balcony of Federal Hall surrounded by a notable group of American heroes, took the impressive oath of office, action was given to the intricate machinery of a new form of government capable of developing the resources and insuring the prosperity, power, and permanence of an immense people. The life current of liberty in that supreme moment leaped into a perpetual flow.

The story of the founding of colonies in America, their coming of age, and battles for independence, is irresistibly fascinating. But it has been told so often and so well during the last thirteen years of centennial uprising—by sections, in detail, as a whole, and with countless variations—that its wonderful and significant sequel only will concern us in this paper.

Turning the leaf backward to the beginning of April, 1789, we find the city of New York—which was then bold enough to hope that through the aid of a kind Providence it might, some happy day in the far-away future, reach Canal street—in the attitude of hilarious anticipation. An electrical current seemed to have passed through every department of business, and every project prospered. Fresh paint, and rents, advanced with unusual celerity. A notable French writer says it then cost more to live in New

* Paper written by special request, and read by the author before the New York Historical Society at the opening meeting of the season, October 2, 1888.

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York than in France, as the price of board was from four to six dollars a week. The old Congress had been holding its sessions in Wall street during the four preceding years. Now all eyes were turned towards the coming of new legislators and the consummation of Union. The doctrine of state rights fell suddenly into disrepute, and the public mind wondered at its own obstinacy in contending for thirteen independent sovereignties—which would have been eternally counteracting each other.

The new Congress under the Constitution was to have assembled on the 4th of March, but the delegates came slowly. On the 25th of that month Fisher Ames, who had arrived some days before, wrote to George R. Minot, of Boston :

" We have 26 representatives ; and as 30 are necessary to make a quorum, we are still in a state of inaction. . . . I am inclined to believe that the languor of the old Confederation is transfused into the members of the new Congress. This city has not caught the spirit, or rather the want of spirit, I am vexing myself to express to you. Their hall will cost £20,000, York money. They are preparing fireworks, and a splendid barge for the President, which last will cost £200 to £300. We lose £1,000 a day revenue. We lose credit, spirit, everything. The public will forget the government before it is born. The resurrection of the infant will come before its birth. Happily the federal interest is strong in Congress. The old Congress still continues to meet, and it seems to be doubtful whether the old government is dead, or the new one alive. God deliver us speedily from this puzzling state, or prepare my will, if it subsists much longer, for I am in a fever to think of it."

It was not until Wednesday, April 1, that enough members of the House had appeared for a quorum, and the most of these had been obliged to make the journey from distant states on horseback or in springless stages, for it was too early in the season to drag their own chariots over the primitive roads, rendered nearly impassable by the March storms, and it was not every congressman who had a chariot of his own. They came into the city weary and worn, rejoicing to reach a haven where they could unpack their crumpled velvets and satins, burnish their shoe-buckles, and submit their heads to the barber for style and powder. It is instructive to observe the picturesque costumes in which the wise men of that day advocated "republican simplicity." Even those who were the most pronounced in their censure of aristocratic influences looked sharply after the starch in their ruffles, and the status of their hair-dresser. Alexander White, one of the representatives from Virginia, who had distinguished himself for eloquence and patriotism in the old Congress, and now at the age of forty, was one of the most promising characters in the new body, wrote on the 1st of April, concerning the situation, naming the candi-

dates for the speaker's chair, a letter which through the courtesy of Dr. Thomas Addis Emmet, who possesses the original, we are able to give in facsimile.

Fansh

New York 1st April 1789

Why the gentlemen by whom the enclosed was intended to go, did not call, I cannot conceive, but so it is. We have not had a sufficient number of Representatives to form a House till last evening and as the Senate still want one it is a doubt whether we shall proceed to do anything but adjourn: the Post will go before that point is determined: is the reason of my writing so circumstantially. In order to expedite business when the return of the Electors are opened we have agreed that Mr Charles Thompson shall be charged with the dispatches to the President — The candidates for the Chair of the House of Delegates, are Fred^d. A. Muhlenberg of Pennsylvania. Elias Boudinot of New Jersey and J. Trumbull of Connecticut. I am with real regard

Fansh

*Your most ob^d. serv^t
M^{rs} White*

[FAC-SIMILE OF ORIGINAL IN POSSESSION OF DR. THOMAS ADDIS EMMET.]

On the 4th of April, Fisher Ames wrote again to Mr. Minot:

"The House is composed of sober, solid, old-charter folks, as we often say. At least, I am sure that there are many such. They have been in government before, and they are not disposed to embarrass business, nor are they, for most part, men of intrigue. . . . It will be quite a republican assembly. It looks like one. Many who expected a Roman senate, when the doors shall be opened, will be disappointed. Admiration will lose its feast . . . The Senate will be a very respectable body. Heaven knows when they will act. Report is (and has been so these three weeks) that several senators are just at hand. P. S.—Sunday, April 5th, Mr. R. H. Lee is arrived, and so the Senate has a quorum."

The two Houses organized April 6, in the chambers prepared for them in the new Federal Hall in Wall street. This was the old historic City Hall, which had been the seat of legislative affairs in New York for nearly a century, remodeled and complimented with a new name. The first business of Congress was to open and count the votes for President.

Dear Sir

New York 8th April 789

The enclosed is from your Friends General Armstrong and I suppose contains all the current news. On Monday the votes were counted for the President & Vice President General Washington unanimously elected 69 - Adams 34 - John Jay 9, A. H. Hanson 6 - John Rutledge 6 - John Hancock 4 - George Clinton 3 - Samuel Huntington 2 - John Milton 2 - James Armstrong 1 - Ben. Lincoln 1 - Edward Telfair 1 - Charles Thompson set out early yesterday morning with the dispatches to General Washington, and Mr. Bourn set out in a Packet Boat with a fair wind and a ~~brisk~~ brisk gale for Boston about one o'clock the same day with the dispatches to Mr. Adams - We expect the arrival of both these gentlemen, and to see our Government completely organized in a fortnight - We this day go into a Committee of the Whole House in the Hall of the Union - when the important business of the day is to be taken up - Present my Complts to your Lady and believe me most respectfully yours
 Geo. White

It was found, as expected, that Washington had received every one. John Adams received the majority for Vice-President.

The next business was to send Charles Thomson to Mount Vernon on horseback to communicate the official information to the President-elect, and he started on his journey early the next morning. Charles



Charles Thomson

SECRETARY OF CONGRESS FROM 1774 TO 1783.

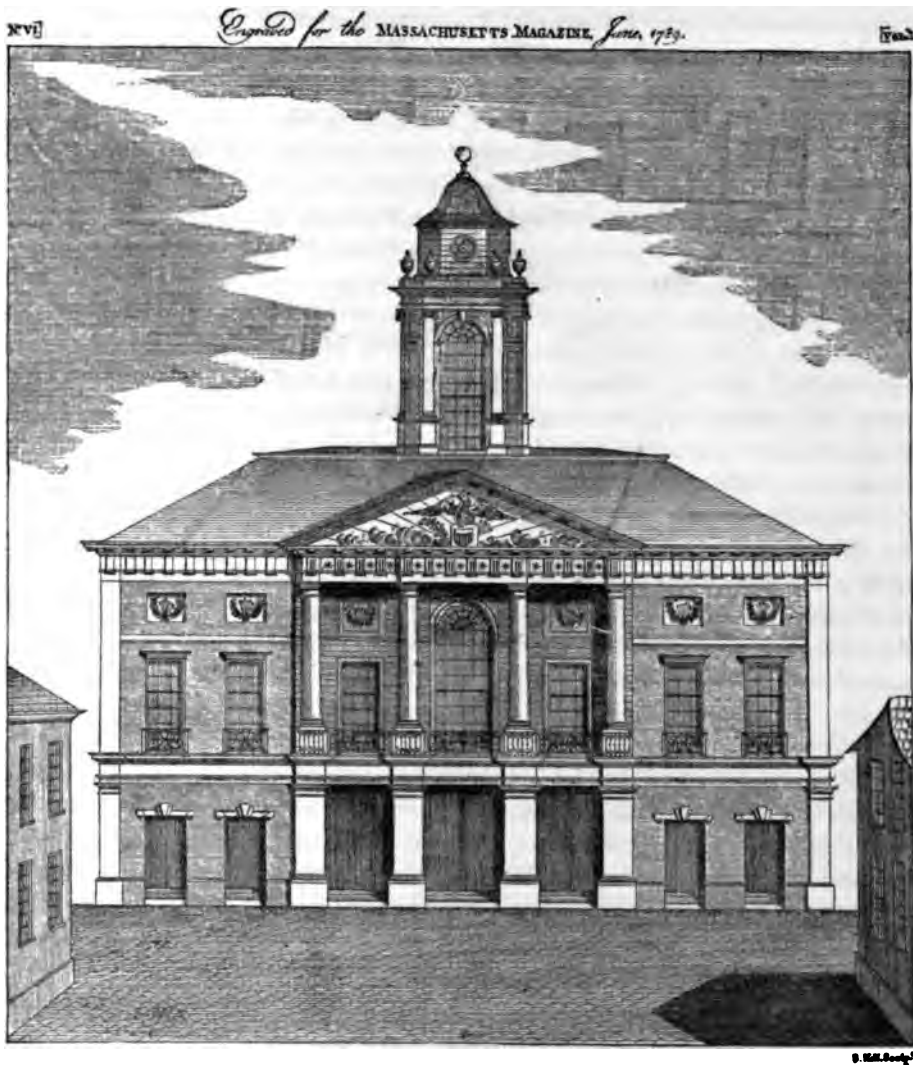
Thomson had been since 1774, fifteen years, the sole secretary of Congress, rendering services of priceless value to the country. He was of Irish birth, with a fine classical education, considerable literary talent, and at this time was sixty years of age. His wife was Hannah Harrison, a sister of President William Henry Harrison's father; and their daughter, Ann Thomson, became the wife of Vice-President Elbridge Gerry. The

official messenger to John Adams was Sylvanus Bourne, who at six o'clock on the 7th of April sailed in a packet boat, "with a fair wind," for Boston, by way of Long Island Sound. The letter of Alexander White, dated 8th April (in fac-simile), relates to these movements.

In the mean time all eyes were turned towards the stately edifice in Wall street—then the fashionable promenade of the city—which henceforward became the Mecca of every citizen, visitor, and stranger, who trod the soil of Manhattan Island. Throngs of ladies and gentlemen, dressed in all the brilliant colors and gorgeous costumes of the period, jostled each other every pleasant afternoon, and surveyed, with curious interest, the massive pillars supporting the four Doric columns and a pediment, the ingenious device by which the cornice was arranged to admit thirteen stars in the metopes, the American eagle and other insignia in the pediment, the tablets over each window with their sculptured thirteen arrows entwined with olive branches—all of which combined to give the imposing structure the effect of having been set apart for national purposes.

Few persons except the members of the new national legislature were as yet permitted to enter its portals. The finishing processes had only just been concluded. The vestibule was floored with marble, and lighted from a richly ornamented dome. The chamber for the representatives was of octangular shape, sixty-one feet long and fifty-eight broad, four of its sides rounded in the manner of niches, and its arched ceiling forty-six feet high in the centre. Its windows were large, and beneath each one was a commodious fireplace, the only heating apparatus it possessed for the winter season. There were two galleries, a speaker's platform, and a separate chair and desk for each member. The chairs were covered with light blue damask, and the windows were curtained with the same material. The floor was handsomely carpeted.

The senate chamber was smaller, and elaborately decorated. In the centre of an arched ceiling of light blue was a sun and thirteen stars; its fireplaces were of highly polished variegated American marble, and its window curtains and chair coverings of light crimson damask. The President's chair was elevated three feet above the floor, under a crimson canopy, and the carpet, in excellent taste, harmonized with its gay coloring. This hall opened upon a balcony twelve feet deep, which was guarded by an iron railing. The portion of that railing between the two central pillars, before which Washington stood at the supreme moment of his inauguration, is now in the museum of the New York Historical Society, and its centre-piece of thirteen arrows invests it with curious interest. The balcony overlooked both Wall and Broad streets, and on the memor-



THE FEDERAL HALL IN WALL STREET, IN 1789.

able day of Washington's inauguration it was adorned with a canopy and curtains of red, interstreaked with white.

There were numerous other rooms in the building, for various uses—a library, lobbies, and committee rooms above, and guard-rooms below; but the legislative halls were the centre of attraction.

Here were assembled the men of parliamentary talent and social ac-

complishment, for which the first American Congress under the Constitution has ever since been justly famous. They were nearly, if not quite all, fresh from some public service, local or general; they were astute, self-reliant, influential, opinionated, and conscientiously and vigorously prepared for whatever serious work might come before them. While Washington, summoned to the seat of government by Secretary Thomson, approaches New York from Virginia, in his private carriage, let us spend a few moments these statesmen, who were present to welcome him, bringing each one before us for cordial greeting.

Beginning with the senate, we find two from Massachusetts, Tristram Dalton and Caleb Strong, both of whom were Harvard graduates. Dalton had studied law for pleasure, but being cumbered with a large fortune never had practiced at the bar; he had, however, served many years in the Massachusetts legislature, and now at the age of forty-six, was widely known as a highly cultivated Christian gentleman, and one greatly beloved for his philanthropic tendencies. Caleb Strong was forty-four, a tall, angular, dark-complexioned man, with a large head, hair slightly powdered and resting loosely over a high intellectual forehead, with blue eyes of singular sweetness and beauty of expression.* He was profoundly learned in all the varied features of law, inflexible in his adherence to principle, and more inattentive to personal elegance of dress than any member of the senate. He is best remembered, perhaps, for his high-handed action twenty-five years later, when as governor of Massachusetts, during the war of 1812, he denied the right of the President, on constitutional grounds, to make requisition on the state for the troops.

There were also two senators from Connecticut, William Samuel Johnson and Oliver Ellsworth, the former nearly a score of years older than the latter. Johnson, a Yale graduate, and one of the most accomplished scholars in law, science, and literature, of his time, was now, at the ripe age of sixty-one the popular president of Columbia College. He had served in the old Congress, and in the convention that framed the Constitution.† Oliver Ellsworth, subsequently chief justice of the United States, was then forty-three, but marvelously rich in experience for one of his years. His education had been completed at the College of New Jersey, after two years at Yale, and he had won distinction as a lawyer, in state legislation, in the old Congress and as one of the framers of the Constitution.‡

* This Magazine in April, 1885 [XIII. 335], published an excellent portrait of Caleb Strong.

† This Magazine in April, 1885 [XIII. 336], published the portrait of William Samuel Johnson.

‡ This Magazine in April, 1885 [XIII. 339], published the portrait of Oliver Ellsworth.

The only senator from Virginia was Richard H. Lee, the same who made the motion in the Continental Congress of 1776, "that these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all practical connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." It is said that his speech on introducing this bold measure was one of the most brilliant displays of eloquence ever heard. He signed the Declaration of Independence, also the "Articles of Confederation," but he opposed the Constitution, believing it would tend to destroy the independence of the state governments. His age at this time was fifty-six.

But one senator had, as yet, arrived from South Carolina, Ralph Izard, whose grandfather had been one of the founders of that state. Educated at the university of Cambridge, Ralph Izard had imbibed foreign tastes, which his liberal fortune had enabled him to gratify. He had resided many years in Europe, at one time serving Congress as an ambassador to the court of the grand duke of Tuscany. He had also, at a great crisis in the destiny of America, pledged his large estate for the purchase of ships of war. His wife, whom he married in 1767, was the beautiful and accomplished daughter of Peter De Lancey, of New York, whose ancestry reached backward among the distinguished families to the very beginnings of settlement on Manhattan Island. Her sister, Mrs. John Watts, resided in Broadway, near the Bowling Green, and during the first session of this first Congress entertained Senator Izard and his family in her spacious home. Izard was forty-seven years of age, a brilliant orator, and a cultured polished gentleman of the old school.

Pennsylvania's senators were William Maclay and Robert Morris. The great financier was one year younger than the President-elect—fifty-five. He was an active man—alive in every fibre—large and florid, bright-eyed and pleasant-faced, with a touch of magnetism about him that was very effective. He spoke with ease, and whether on the platform or in private conversation captivated his audience with a rich fund of political and general information. He signed the Declaration, he helped to frame the Constitution, and much more; but for the magic of his genius in invention, our independence, so dearly bought, might never have been maintained.*

Maryland sent Charles Carroll and John Henry. Carroll was fifty-two, refined, scholarly, and a model of dignified deportment. His education had been perfected in the best institutions of learning in Europe, and he, too, was one of the immortal signers of the Declaration. When the Rev-

* This Magazine, in April, 1885 [XIII. 315], published a portrait of Robert Morris.

olution broke out he was considered the richest man in the colonies. He lived to see forty years of progress under the Constitution, and at the age of ninety laid the corner stone of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad.* John Henry was a graduate of Princeton, had served in the old Congress, and was subsequently governor of Maryland.

Delaware sent Richard Bassett and George Read. Richard Bassett was a lawyer of fine standing, who had been in the old Congress, and in the convention that framed the Constitution, and subsequently was governor of Delaware. His daughter married James A. Bayard, and was the mother of our present Secretary of State. George Read was a tall, slight, graceful man of fifty-six, with a finely shaped head, refined features, and dark-brown lustrous eyes. He was distinguished for having signed all three of the great state papers on which our history is based—the original petition to the king from the Congress of 1774, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution—and he helped to conduct public affairs in his own state for thirty-five consecutive years.†

New Jersey's two senators were Dr. Jonathan Elmer and William Patterson. Dr. Elmer was a practicing physician of distinction, who, after graduating with honors from the university of Pennsylvania, devoted himself to study and became renowned for his learning. He was forty-four, the same age as William Patterson, who was graduated from Princeton, became a lawyer, and commenced his public career in the convention that framed the first constitution for New Jersey, in 1776. After filling many positions of trust he, in 1791, became governor of New Jersey, and in 1794 was appointed by Washington one of the justices of the supreme court of the United States.

From New Hampshire we find but one senator, John Langdon, subsequently three times governor of that state, and one of the framers of the Constitution—a severely practical republican, of sterling good sense, social habits, and pleasing address. It was he who furnished means to equip Stark's militia for the battle of Bennington, pledging his plate among other personal valuables for the purpose. His descendants intermarried with the Astor family of New York. His colleague was Paine Wingate, a graduate of Harvard, who studied divinity, and married a sister of Timothy Pickering. He was a man of talent and extensive knowledge, one who commanded universal confidence. Georgia had two senators present, James Gunn, who continued in the senate for twelve years, and William Few, who married one of the daughters of Commodore James Nicholson,

* This Magazine, in July, 1884 [XII. 15], published a portrait of Charles Carroll.

† This Magazine, in April, 1885 [XIII. 313], published a superb steel portrait of George Read.

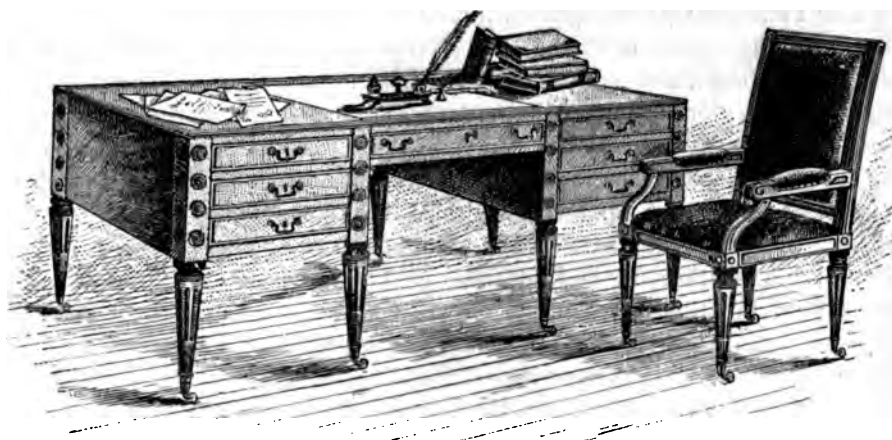


TABLE AND CHAIR USED BY THE FIRST CONGRESS UNDER THE CONSTITUTION.

[In possession of the New York Historical Society.]

a sister of Mrs. Albert Gallatin, and became a permanent resident and at one time mayor of New York city. The secretary of the senate was Samuel A. Otis, of Boston, brother of the celebrated James Otis, a Harvard graduate, who had seen public life in all its various phases. He married the only daughter of Harrison Gray, receiver-general of Massachusetts.

In the House were men of similar prominence from the several states. James Madison and Fisher Ames were the leading party antagonists. Both were orators of marked ability, but in different ways. Madison was the better logician, Ames possessed the greater imagination. Madison was profoundly versed in domestic concerns, financial and political economy. Ames reasoned from principles of general policy and constitutional and international jurisprudence. Madison was the older by six years—Ames was thirty-two. With Madison, from Virginia, came the well-known John Page, afterwards governor; Theodoric Bland, great-grandson of Pocahontas, who was a poet and a scholar as well as a firm patriot; Richard Bland Lee, one of those who subsequently voted for locating the seat of government on the Potomac; Isaac Coles, who was re-elected for six years; Alexander White, a racy writer and a brilliant orator, in his fifty-first year, whose letters have already been quoted; Samuel Griffin; Andrew Moore, who served ten years; and Josiah Parker. From South Carolina were Thomas T. Tucker, Daniel Huger, and Judge Edanus Burke. From Maryland Daniel Carroll, Benjamin Contee, George Gale, William Smith, Michael Stone, and Joshua Seney.

The Pennsylvania delegation included George Clymer,* then a man of fifty, who had signed both the Declaration and the Constitution—a highly educated, refined, and conscientious student, but a very diffident speaker, of fair complexion, ardent attachments, and gentle manners—whose opinions when expressed were always treated with respect, and who was the delight of the social circle; Thomas Fitzsimmons, president of the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, and also one of the framers of the Constitution; Frederick Augustus Muhlenberg, soon to be chosen speaker of the House; his brother, Peter Muhlenberg; Daniel Heister; Thomas Scott, and Henry Wynkoop, a member of the Continental Congress, 1779–1783, who was noted for his large and commanding figure. There was as yet no attendance from Delaware or North Carolina. From Georgia came James Jackson and Abraham Baldwin, the latter a young Connecticut lawyer of thirty-four, who removed to Georgia, at the request of General Greene, about 1784. He was a graduate of Yale, and one of the best classical and mathematical scholars of the age. In the Georgia legislature he originated the plan of the state university, drew up the charter by which it was endowed, and was subsequently its president for some years.† New Hampshire sent Nicholas Gilman, a boyish-looking but very talented young man of twenty-six, who had served in the old Congress and helped to frame the Constitution.‡

The quartet from New Jersey included Elias Boudinot, the distinguished philanthropist; Lambert Cadwallader, James Schureman, and Thomas Sinickson, all strong men, morally as well as politically.

Connecticut was represented by a notable delegation: Roger Sherman, Jonathan Trumbull, Jonathan Sturges, Benjamin Huntington, and Jeremiah Wadsworth. Roger Sherman was sixty-seven, the oldest member of the House, and no one had had a broader experience in legislation. He was sent to the first Continental Congress in 1774, and to every subsequent Congress to the end of his life. He was the only American statesman who attached his name to the entire *four* great state papers which gave birth and power to a mighty empire.§ Trumbull was the son of the great war governor of that name, was forty-nine years of age, had been active and influential in state legislation, a paymaster in the army, and secretary and aid to Washington and a member of his household at one time for three years. He was subsequently speaker of the House, a senator, and governor of Connecticut.

* This Magazine, in April, 1885 [XIII. 319], published a portrait of George Clymer.

† This Magazine, in April, 1885 [XIII. 331], published a portrait of Abraham Baldwin.

‡ This Magazine, in April, 1885 [XIII. 334], published a portrait of Nicholas Gilman.

§ This Magazine, in April, 1885 [XIII. 337], published the portrait of Roger Sherman.

Massachusetts was not behind Connecticut in the quality of her delegation. Fisher Ames, Elbridge Gerry, George Thacher, George Leonard, Jonathan Grant, Benjamin Goodhue, and George Partridge were present. Elbridge Gerry, as all remember, was one of the signers of the Declaration, and he was in the convention that framed the Constitution, but refused to affix his name to the instrument. He was a small, slight, urbane man of forty-four, a master in all questions of commerce and of finance, but decidedly anti-Federal.* He claimed, however, to be neutral and impartial between the two parties, which course was criticised and denounced by Thacher, who was a celebrated wit, and who made his sensitive colleague the perpetual victim of daring humor and biting sarcasm.

The New York representatives were all men of mark.† Egbert Benson, the eminent jurist, who had been conspicuous in furthering the measures which resulted in the establishment of a general government, was one of the leaders among them, and his colleagues were William Floyd, who signed the Declaration, John Lawrence, a man of fine address and great personal popularity, John Hathorn, subsequently a senator and Presidential elector, and Judge Peter Sylvester, who had been in the provincial Congress. It must have been a source of keen regret to such of the members of this Congress as were unable, for one cause or another, to reach their posts of duty prior to the great occasion.

On the 13th of April, as recorded in the journals of Congress, Egbert Benson, from New York, Peter Muhlenberg, from Pennsylvania, and Samuel Griffin, from Virginia, were appointed a committee on the reception of the President.

On the 15th, the following resolutions were adopted :

"That Mr. Osgood, the proprietor of the house lately occupied by the President of Congress, be requested to put the same, and the furniture therein, in proper condition for the residence and use of the President of the United States, and otherwise, at the expense of the United States, to provide for his temporary accommodation.

That 3 members of the Senate [Richard Henry Lee, Ralph Izard, Tristram Dalton,] and 5 from the house [Elias Boudinot, Theodoric Bland, Thomas T. Tucker, Egbert Benson, John Lawrence,] be appointed to attend the President from New Jersey, and conduct him without form to the house in New York lately occupied by the President of Congress."

This house stood in what is now Franklin Square, corner of Cherry street, near the present publishing house of Harper & Brothers. But a hundred years ago it was esteemed so far out into the country that many objections were raised to its being used as a Presidential residence.‡ It

* This Magazine, in November, 1884 [XII. 389], published a portrait of Elbridge Gerry.

† This Magazine, in September, 1886 [XVI. 213], published a portrait of Egbert Benson.

‡ The picture of this house may be found in this Magazine [XVII. 363], May, 1887.

was a charming place in summer, overlooking the bay and Long Island, with bits of East River peeping through the foliage of its gardens, while towards the west and northwest the stretches of landscape were varied with sunny slopes, circles of small hills and beautiful valleys. This house had been previously occupied by the president of Congress, its owner, Samuel Osgood, one of the commissioners of the treasury—subsequently postmaster-general—having vacated it temporarily for the benefit of the government.

The "Washington chair" which graces the platform of the audience-room of the New York Historical Society, and is occupied by its president on public occasions, was made from the wood of this house. It was a gift to the society, in 1857, from Mr. Benjamin R. Winthrop, of New York. A bust of Washington, in a wreath of laurel, forms the centre ornament of the upper part of the chair. The front of the seat bears the escutcheon and arms of the United States, while the arms of the city and state of New York are carved in relief on medallions. The legend is inscribed on a silver plate, inserted in the back of the chair.

On one of these early days in April, John Armstrong wrote from New York to General Gates: "All the world here are busy in collecting flowers and sweets of every kind to amuse and delight the President in his approach and on his arrival. Even Roger Sherman has set his head at work to devise some style of address more novel and dignified than 'Excellency.' Yet in the midst of this admiration there are skeptics who doubt its propriety, and wits who amuse themselves at its extravagance." How the chief magistrate of the new America *should* be addressed was indeed a conundrum! The question was no sooner propounded than it was discussed everywhere, on the street, in business and in social circles, in the halls of legislation, and in the newspapers. It enlivened a dinner party one day in Philadelphia, at which were present James Madison, John Page, Richard Henry Lee, and other distinguished characters. Chief Justice McKean, the master of the feast, maintained with much warmth that the President *must have* a title, and that he had examined all the titles of the princes of Europe to find one that had not been appropriated. Madison held quite an opposite opinion, and argued that no title except that of "President" would be necessary. Congress took the matter up, but a joint committee from the two houses were unable to agree. Thus the problem was left unsolved until the pleasure of Washington himself should become known.

Meanwhile the chieftain's journey towards New York from Virginia was like one continuous triumphal procession. Cities, towns, and villages

vied with each other in doing him honor. Men, women, and children of all ages, classes, and conditions gathered by the roadside, and often stood in waiting for many hours to see him as he passed by. Their love was manifested in countless impulsive ways—sometimes by shouts, and then again by tears. Old men, who had left their plows in the field and tramped over the hills and through the valleys from distant settlements, broke down when he appeared and sobbed like children. Mothers brought their infant babes from afar, and held them high above their own heads, so that they might say in after life that they had actually seen the great Washington with their little eyes! The sick and the aged were tenderly carried to windows and doors, that they too might behold the “savior of their country.” The excitement and the sentiment spread like a contagion. Soldiers were paraded in the towns through which he was to pass with as much apparent promptitude as if railroads and the telegraph had already been invented. Guns were fired, triumphal arches were erected, not infrequently stretched from tree to tree in rural districts, and



THE WASHINGTON CHAIR.

flowers were strewn in the roads over which his carriage was to pass. It was the general outburst of the warmest and most devoted attachment of a loyal people. At Gray's Ferry, across the Schuylkill, the President-elect was escorted through long avenues of laurels, transplanted from the forests for the occasion, bridged overhead with arches of laurel branches. As he

passed under the last arch a beautiful civic crown of laurel was ingeniously dropped upon his head from above, greatly to his surprise, and the most deafening shouts arose from the immense multitude. At Trenton a magnificent triumphal arch had been erected, and above it the date of his victory at Trenton in gold lettering, around which flowers were gracefully entwined; and, as he passed under this, thirteen lovely young girls in white stepped in ahead, and marched before him singing an appropriate ode, while at the same time they scattered flowers in his pathway in great profusion from baskets which they carried on their arms. It was a lovely, graceful tribute, and Washington was very much touched by it.

During these same long-to-be-remembered days John Adams, the Vice-President-elect, was approaching New York from New England. "On Monday, the 20th of April," says one of the writers of the day, "amidst the acclamations of all ranks of citizens, His Excellency, John Adams, Esq., Vice-President of the United States, arrived in New York. The cavalcade which escorted His Excellency into the city was numerous and truly respectable. From the Connecticut line to Kingsbridge he was attended by the light horse of West Chester County, under the command of Major Pintard. At Kingsbridge he was met by General Malcom with the officers of his brigade, and the city troop of horse, commanded by Captain Stakes; also by officers of distinction, many members of Congress, and a large number of citizens in carriages and on horseback. His Excellency alighted at the home of the Honorable John Jay, in Broadway, where the committee of both houses of Congress, appointed for that purpose, attended to congratulate His Excellency on his arrival."

It will be observed that the custom of addressing a man in high office as "His Excellency," had not yet been abolished, as the title is used four times in this one paragraph. But the next day, when a committee from the senate, consisting of Caleb Strong and Ralph Izard, conducted Mr. Adams to the senate chamber, he was received by John Langdon, the president *pro tem.*, with graceful courtesy, and introduced to the chair and the senate simply as "Vice-President of the United States of America."

New York was astir early on the morning of Wednesday, April 23, and the booming of cannon and the ringing of bells proclaimed the glad tidings that Washington was in Elizabethtown. Business was entirely suspended, and the excitement was intense. At Elizabethtown Point the President-elect was received, as previously arranged, by the committee from Congress, of which Elias Boudinot was chairman, and by the heads of the departments under the confederation—who continued to act until

the new government should be organized—John Jay, Secretary of Foreign Affairs, General Knox, Secretary of War, Robert R. Livingston, chancellor of the state of New York, Samuel Osgood, Arthur Lee, and Walter Livingston, commissioners of the treasury, Ebenezer Hazard, postmaster-general—and by the mayor and recorder of the city. An extraordinary barge, constructed for the specific purpose, was in waiting for its distinguished passenger, manned by thirteen masters of vessels in white uniforms, and commanded by Commodore James Nicholson. In this Washington was conveyed to the Capital. As it moved slowly from the Jersey shore other barges fancifully decorated fell into line. The glittering procession glided through the narrow strait between New Jersey and Staten Island, when, as if by magic, dozens of boats, gay with flags and streamers, dropped into its wake; and as it was passing Bedlow's Island a sloop under full sail came alongside the President's barge, upon which were twenty-five ladies and gentlemen singing an ode composed for the occasion to the stirring music of "God Save the King." Another and a smaller vessel was presently on the other side of the barge, distributing sheets of a second ode, written to welcome the great chief to the seat of government, and which a group of a dozen gentlemen commenced singing with great effect. Every vessel was in holiday attire; the Spanish ship of war, *Galveston*, just as the barge came abreast of her, displayed, instantaneously, every flag and signal known among nations. All the vessels saluted the barge as it passed, and bands of music on every side, and perpetual huzzas filled the air, while over the whole exhilarating scene the sunshine fell from cloudless heavens.

Governor George Clinton, of New York, received the President-elect at the ferry stairs, which were carpeted and the rails hung with crimson, and as Washington's tall figure was seen ascending them, and his foot touched the shore of the flourishing city which his own valor and military skill had recovered from a powerful enemy, popular enthusiasm reached its climax. The wildest and the most prolonged cheers rent the air. Men shouted until they lost their voices. The crowds were so densely packed that it required a large force of city officers to make a passage for Washington and his party. Colonel Morgan Lewis, aided by Majors Morton and Van Horne, led the way, and the various regiments were followed by the officers of the militia, two and two, the committee of Congress, the President-elect with Governor Clinton, the heads of the Departments, the mayor and aldermen of the city, the clergy, the foreign ministers, and an immense concourse of citizens. Every house on the route was decorated with banners, garlands of flowers, and evergreens. Every window, to the

highest story, was filled with fair women and brave men. Every inanimate object seemed alive with the waving of handkerchiefs and hats. Flowers fell in the streets, apparently from the skies, like snow-flakes in a blizzard. In every possible form of unique device and ingenious ornamentation the the name of WASHINGTON was suspended from roof to roof, and upon fanciful arches constructed for the occasion. The multitude cheered and shouted, and the bells and the guns caught up the echoes, and with ceaseless clamor and deafening din proclaimed the universal rapture.

Upon reaching the Franklin House, Washington despite the fatigue of his journey, expressed his willingness to receive such gentlemen as had expressed a desire to show their respect in the most affectionate manner. He stood in the great drawing-room of his new home and was welcomed and congratulated by foreign ministers, political characters, public bodies, military celebrities, and many private citizens of distinction. "And then," wrote Elias Boudinot, "we dined with his Excellency Governor Clinton, who had provided an elegant dinner for us. Thus ended our commission." In the evening the entire city was brilliantly illuminated.

The six days between Washington's arrival and his inauguration were devoted to the perfection of arrangements for the imposing ceremonies of his inauguration. We find in the journal of the House the following entries:

"April 24. The committee reported that they had attended the President from Elizabethtown yesterday to this city, where they arrived at 3 o'clock, P.M., and conducted him to the house appointed for his residence.

April 25. The house appointed Mr. Egbert Benson, Mr. Fisher Ames and Mr. Charles Carroll a committee to act with the senate committee on the inauguration."

In the journal of the Senate it is recorded:

"Senate, April 23, 1789. A committee appointed of three members (Mr. Richard Henry Lee, Mr. Ralph Izard and Mr. Tristram Dalton) to consider the time, place and manner in which, and the person by whom, the oath presented by the Constitution shall be administered to the President, and to confer with a committee of the House of Representatives.

Saturday, April 25. The committee report that the President hath been pleased to signify to them, that any time or place which both houses may think proper to appoint, and any manner which shall appear most eligible to them, will be convenient and acceptable to him, that requisite preparations cannot probably be made before Thursday next (April 30), that the President be on that day formally received by both houses in the Senate Chamber, that the Representatives' Chamber being capable of receiving the greater number of persons, that, therefore, the President do take the oath in that place, and in the presence of both houses.

That, after the formal reception of the President in the Senate Chamber, he be attended by both houses to the Representatives' Chamber, and that the oath be administered by the Chancellor of the state of New York. That a committee of both houses be appointed to take order for conducting the business. Mr. Lee, Mr. Izard and Mr. Dalton were appointed such committee on behalf of the senate.

The Right Rev. Samuel Provoost was elected chaplain to Congress.

Monday, April 27. The committee reported that it appears to them more eligible that the oath should be administered to the President in the outer gallery adjoining the Senate Chamber than in the Representatives' Chamber. *Approved.*

Resolved, That after the oath shall have been administered to the President, he, attended by the Vice-President, and the members of the Senate and House of Representatives, proceed to St. Paul's Chapel to hear divine service, to be performed by the chaplain of Congress already appointed."

Meanwhile the city opened its doors for the entertainment of guests from every part of the Union. The crush was bewildering. New York had never before housed and sheltered a gathering of such magnitude. And thousands were neither housed nor sheltered, content to camp in vacant lots, on the curb stones, or in the fields above the city. Miss Bertha Ingersoll wrote to Miss McKean, of Philadelphia, "We shall remain here if we have to sleep in tents, as many will have to do. Mr. Williamson had promised to engage us rooms at Fraunces' Tavern, but that was jammed long ago, as was every other decent public house; and now while we are waiting at Mrs. Vandervoort's in Maiden Lane, until after dinner, two of our beaux are running about town, determined to obtain the best places for us to stay at which can be opened for love, money, or the most persuasive speeches." Another young lady, from Boston, wrote a graphic description of a series of accidents on her journey from that city to New York, with her picturesque adventures in finding accommodations in the metropolis, and added: "but I have seen him! and though I had been entirely ignorant that he was arrived in the city, I should have known at a glance that it was General Washington; I never saw a human being that looked so grand and noble as he does. I could fall down on my knees before him and bless him for all the good he has done for this country."

This feeling seemed to be universal. Everybody struggled for a glimpse of the great general. The aged declared their readiness to die if they could but once behold his face. The young were intoxicated with infatuation.

On the 29th the committee reported their scheme for the conduct of the inaugural ceremonies on the 30th, which proving satisfactory, a few copies were printed on foolscap sheets for the convenience of those par-

ticipating. One of these has been preserved and is now the property of the New York Historical Society, through whose courtesy it is given verbatim to our readers as an illustration of the significance with which details were regarded at that period.

"April 29th, 1789. The committees of both houses of Congress, appointed to take order for conducting the ceremonial of the formal reception, &c., of the President of the United States, on Thursday next, have agreed to the following order thereon, viz. :

That General Webb, Colonel Smith, Lieutenant Colonel Fish, Lieut. Col. Franks, Major L'Enfant, Major Bleecker, and Mr. John R. Livingston, be requested to serve as assistants on the occasion.

That a chair be placed in the Senate Chamber for the President of the United States. That a chair be placed in the Senate Chamber for the Vice-President, to the right of the President's chair; and that the Senators take their seats on that side of the chamber on which the Vice-President's chair shall be placed. That a chair be placed in the Senate Chamber for the Speaker of the House of Representatives, to the left of the President's chair—and that the Representatives take their seats on that side of the chamber on which the Speaker's chair shall be placed.

That seats be provided in the Senate Chamber sufficient to accommodate the late president of Congress, the governor of the Western territory, the five persons being the heads of three great departments, the Minister Plenipotentiary of France, the Encargado de negocios of Spain, the chaplains of Congress, the persons in the suite of the President, and also to accommodate the following Public Officers of the State, viz. : The Governor, the Lieutenant-Governor, the Chancellor, the Chief Justice, and other judges of the Supreme Court, and the Mayor of the city. That one of the assistants wait on these gentlemen, and inform them that seats are provided for their accommodation, and also to signify to them that no precedence of seats is intended, and that no salutation is expected from them on their entrance into, or their departure from, the Senate Chamber.

That the members of both houses assemble in their respective Chambers precisely at twelve o'clock, and that the representatives preceded by the Speaker, and attended by their clerk, and other officers, proceed to the Senate Chamber, there to be received by the Vice-President and the senators rising.

That the Committees attend the President from his residence to the Senate Chamber, and that he be there received by the Vice-President, the senators and representatives rising, and be by the Vice-President conducted to his chair.

That after the President shall be seated in his chair, and the Vice-President, senators and representatives shall be again seated, the Vice-President shall announce to the President, that the members of both houses will attend him to be present at his taking the Oath of Office required by the Constitution. To the end that the Oath of Office may be administered to the President in the most public manner, and that the greatest number of the people of the United States, and without distinction, may be witnesses to the solemnity, that therefore the Oath be administered in the outer gallery adjoining to the Senate Chamber.

That when the President shall proceed to the gallery to take the Oath, he be attended by the Vice-President, and be followed by the Chancellor of the State, and pass through the middle door, that the Senators pass through the door on the right, and the Represen-

tatives, preceded by the Speaker, pass through the door on the left, and such of the persons who shall have been admitted into the Senate Chamber, and may be desirous to go into the gallery, are then also to pass through the door on the right. That when the President shall have taken the Oath, and returned into the Senate Chamber, attended by the Vice-President, and shall be seated in his chair, that the Senators and the Representatives also return into the Senate Chamber, and that the Vice-President and they resume their respective seats.

Both houses having resolved to accompany the President after he shall have taken the Oath, to St. Paul's Chapel, to hear divine service, to be performed by the chaplain of Congress, that the following order of procession be observed, viz. The door-keeper and messenger of the House of Representatives. The clerk of the House. The Representatives. The Speaker. The President, with the Vice-President at his left hand. The Senators. The Secretary of the Senate. The door-keeper, and messenger of the Senate.

That a pew be reserved for the President—Vice-President—Speaker of the House of Representatives, and the Committees; and that pews be also reserved sufficient for the reception of the Senators and Representatives

That after divine service shall be performed, the President be received at the door of the Church, by the Committees, and by them attended in carriages to his residence.

That it be intrusted to the assistants to take proper precautions for keeping the avenues to the Hall open, and that for that purpose, they wait on his Excellency the Governor of this State, and in the name of the Committees request his aid, by an order of recommendation to the Civil Officers, or militia of the city, to attend and serve on the occasion, as he shall judge most proper."

A national salute ushered in the morning of April 30. At nine o'clock the bells pealed merrily from every steeple in the city—then softened suddenly, and in slow measured tones summoned the people to the churches, showing how general was the religious sense of the importance of the occasion. From one of the newspapers of the day we clip the following paragraph:

"April 30. We have had this day one of those impressive sights which dignify and adorn human nature. At nine o'clock all the churches in the city were opened, and the people in prodigious numbers thronged these sacred temples—and with one voice put up their prayers to Almighty God for the safety of the President."

At the close of these solemn exercises, just as the people were leaving the churches, the procession formed, the military marching from their respective quarters with inspiring music and unfurled banners to Franklin Square, where they halted in front of the Presidential mansion. One of the newspapers records:

"About twelve o'clock the procession moved from the house of the President, in Cherry street, through Queen, Great Dock and Broad streets to the Federal State House in Wall street in the following order:

Col. MORGAN LEWIS,
 Attended by two officers.
 Capt. STAKES,
 With the Troop of Horse.
 Artillery.
 Maj. VAN HORNE.
 Grenadiers, under Capt. HARSIN."

These, in imitation of the guard of the great Frederick, were composed of the tallest and finest-looking young men of New York, and they were dressed in blue coats with red facings and gold lace embroideries, cocked hats with white feathers, and white waistcoats and breeches, and black spatterdashes buttoned close from the shoe to the knee.

"German Grenadiers, very gayly attired, under Capt. SCRIBA.
 Major BICKER.
 The Infantry of the Brigade.
 Major CHRYSLIE.
 Sheriff.
 Committee of the Senate.

Civil Officers.	{	Assistants.	{	President-elect, In a chariot drawn by four horses. His Suite.	}	Assistants.	}	Civil Officers.

Committee of the Representatives.
 Hon. Mr. JAY, Secretary of Foreign Affairs.
 Gen. KNOX, Secretary of War.
 Chancellor LIVINGSTON.
 Several gentlemen of distinction."

When within a proper distance of the Federal Hall the troops formed a line on both sides of the way, and having alighted, Washington passed through and was conducted to the senate chamber in the ceremonious manner described in the programme.

Vice-President Adams said, "Sir, the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States are ready to attend you to take the oath required by the Constitution, which will be administered by the chancellor of the state of New York."

"I am ready to proceed," was Washington's reply.

The Vice-President then conducted Washington to the balcony, the gentlemen accompanying in the order prescribed. From this point, Broad and Wall streets, in each direction, was a compact mass of upturned faces, as silent as if every living form which composed the vast assemblage had been

a statue carved in stone. The windows and house tops as far as the eye could reach were also crowded with people. They saw Washington's commanding figure appear in the centre of a group of statesmen between the two pillars, clad in a complete suit of elegant broadcloth of American manufacture, with white silk stockings, also a native production, plain silver buckles in his shoes, his head uncovered, and his powdered hair gathered and tied in the prevailing fashion of the day. He stepped upon a stone, slightly elevated above those about him. On one side of him was Chancellor Livingston, nearly as tall as himself, on the other Vice-President Adams, more showily dressed than either, and like Washington entirely in American fabrics. Samuel A. Otis, the secretary of the senate,



CENTRAL SECTION OF THE HISTORIC RAILING.

[From the original in possession of the New York Historical Society.]

stood partially between Washington and the chancellor, holding an open Bible upon a rich crimson cushion, upon which Washington rested his hand. In the rear, conspicuous among those who were dear and familiar to the people, stood Secretary John Jay, who had done so much towards bringing about this grand result, a tall slight man whose face and attitude expressed the calm serenity and refined power of the highest type of character; the brave General Knox, who so well understood the man whom the country delighted to honor; Baron Steuben, Alexander Hamilton, Governor St. Clair of the Northwest Territory, Roger Sherman, and all that army of Congressional celebrities heretofore mentioned. A gesture of the chancellor arrested the close attention of the vast assemblage as he pronounced slowly and distinctly the words of the oath. Then the Bible

was raised, and as the President bowed to kiss the sacred volume he said audibly, "I swear," adding with fervor, his eyes closed, that his whole soul might be absorbed in the supplication, "SO HELP ME GOD."

"It is done," said the chancellor; then turning to the multitude, he waved his hand, crying in a loud voice,

"Long live George Washington, President of the United States."

Silence was at an end. A flag was instantly displayed on the cupola of Federal Hall, and all the bells in the city broke forth in one tumultuous clamor. Shouts and acclamations burst from the waiting thousands, and repeated again and again like the cuckoo song, were answered and re-answered by cannon from every point of the compass upon both land and upon water, until it seemed as if the city would be jarred from its actual foundations.

Even now at the end of a century, who among us, however prosaic, can be brought into a close review of this creative epoch in the history of our nation and of the nations of the world without a draught from the same ecstatic fountain of emotion?

Washington with his attendants returned to the senate chamber, where after Congress and the other dignitaries present were seated, he delivered a short inaugural address. After this the new President, accompanied by both houses of Congress and the heads of the Departments, and many other distinguished characters, proceeded on foot to St. Paul's Chapel in Broadway, where divine service was performed by Bishop Provost, at the conclusion of which the President was escorted to his own house.

Fisher Ames, in writing to Mr. Minot in Boston a few days afterward, said:

"I was present in the pew with the President, and must assure you that, after making all deductions for the delusion of one's fancy in regard to characters, I still think of him with more veneration than for any other person. Time has made havoc upon his face. That, and many other circumstances not to be reasoned about, conspire to keep up the awe which I brought with me. He addressed the two houses in the senate chamber; it was a very touching scene, and quite of the solemn kind; his aspect grave, almost to sadness; his modesty, actually shaking; his voice deep, a little tremulous, and so low as to call for close attention; added to the series of objects presented to the mind, and overwhelming it, produced emotions of the most affecting kind upon the members. I, Pilgrimage, sat entranced. It seemed to me an allegory in which virtue was personified, and addressing those whom she would make her votaries. Her power over the heart was never greater, and the illustration of her doctrine by her own example was never more perfect."

In the evening the city was illuminated with unparalleled splendor. Every public building was in a blaze of light. The front of the little

theatre in John street was filled with transparencies, one of which represented Fame like an angel, descending from Heaven to crown Washington with the emblems of immortality. At the Bowling Green was an enormous transparency, with Washington's portrait in the centre, under a figure of "Fortitude," and the two branches of the new government represented upon his right and left, under the forms of JUSTICE and WISDOM. All the private residences of the city were brilliantly lighted, but none more effectively than those of the French and Spanish ministers, who seemed to have tried to rival each other. They both lived in Broadway, near the Bowling Green. The doors and windows of the French minister's mansion



STATUE OF WASHINGTON IN WALL STREET.
[Erected by the New York Chamber of Commerce, 1883.]

were bordered with lamps, which shone upon numerous paintings suggestive of the past, the present, and the future of American history—from the brush of his artist sister. The principal transparency in front of the Spanish minister's house contained figures of the Graces artistically executed amid a pleasing variety of emblems; and in the windows were moving pictures so skillfully devised as to present the illusion of a living panorama in a little spot of fairyland. One of the ships at anchor off

the Battery is said to have resembled a pyramid of stars. The display of fire-works, under the direction of Colonel Bauman, was the finest this country had ever yet seen. President Washington drove from his residence in Franklin Square to that of Chancellor Livingston in the lower part of Broadway, from whose windows he had a full view of the cheering spectacle.

Henceforward Washington was the observed of all observers. He was fifty-seven at this important epoch in his career, with a character so well rounded, firm and true, kindly and sweet, kingly and grand, as to remain through all subsequent history unshaken as the air when a boy wings his arrow into it. His wonderful figure was neither unreal nor marble. He stood six feet three inches in his slippers, was splendidly proportioned, evenly developed, and straight as an arrow. He had a long muscular arm and probably the largest hands of any man in New York. His uniform gravity and his marvelous will-power seem to have most attracted the attention of the world, which were indeed but the index to a manly self-poise founded upon the most perfect self-control. His enthusiastic welcome to the Presidential chair, by the people of all classes without any division of interest, reads in this age like a poem; yet he was able to meet it with unruffled composure. He had come to the front when there was an ocean of problems to solve—of forms and ceremonies to be adjusted. But industry was one of his cardinal virtues, and he did not seek to be afflicted with waste moments. His personal influence tied as with a knot of steel the conflicting forces together. He was dignified even to a lofty reserve, while at the same time his irresistible magnetism disproves the notion that he was cold and unsympathetic. His breeding was that of a gentleman, he was fond of society, conversed well, enjoyed humor in a quiet way, and was sensitive to the beauty and open to the appeal of a good story.

If there is any one locality in this country more than another where the memory of Washington should be cherished, and his glorious deeds honored, it is New York City, the scene of his severest trials, and of his most brilliant triumphs.

The 50th anniversary of his inauguration was celebrated by the New York Historical Society, April 30, 1839—the accomplished John Quincy Adams, ex-President of the United States, delivering an able and eloquent address on the occasion. In 1880, the Chamber of Commerce of New York initiated a movement to erect a colossal figure in bronze of Washington on the steps of the sub-treasury building in Wall street, which stands upon the exact site of old Federal Hall, and Hon. S. B. Chittenden,

member of Congress, secured the necessary legislation to authorize its erection and subsequent care by the United States. The necessary money was soon raised, and the work was executed by the eminent sculptor, John Q. A. Ward. Under date of November 1, 1883, the following petition was addressed :

" To the Honorable the Mayor and Board of Aldermen of the City of New York :

The Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York respectfully represents that, pursuant to an Act of Congress, the Chamber is now erecting, on the steps of the Sub-Treasury, Wall street, corner of Nassau, a statue of WASHINGTON, to commemorate his taking the oath at that place, April 30, 1789, as the first President of the United States of America. That the Chamber is informed that the balcony and the stone upon which he stood, on that occasion, are now in Bellevue Hospital, where they have been carefully preserved. This balcony and stone, your memorialists are further informed, are the property of the City of New York ; they therefore respectfully represent to your honorable body the peculiar propriety of incorporating these interesting relics in the monument, and pray that your honorable body will direct the delivery of the same to Mr. Richard M. Hunt, the architect, in order for their safe transfer. In their new position they will be an additional reminder to countless numbers of the great historical event, which they have already commemorated, for centuries to come."

The response was in the affirmative, and the statue was therefore placed upon the identical stone upon which Washington stood when he took the solemn oath of office, " a stone which will remain in the eyes of all men, an imperishable memorial of the scene." The time chosen for the unveiling of this statue, and its presentation to the national government, was the 25th of November, 1883, the one hundredth anniversary of Washington's triumphal entrance into New York City, after its long occupation by hostile forces. The ceremonies took place in the midst of a drenching rain. George W. Lane, president of the Chamber of Commerce, introduced Rev. Dr. R. S. Storrs who offered an appropriate prayer. Royal Phelps, in behalf of the committee of the Chamber of Commerce, reported the complete fulfillment of its duties respecting the work ; then Governor Cleveland of New York unveiled the statue, and President Arthur accepted it in behalf of the government of the United States. An eloquent address was then delivered by George William Curtis, and the benediction was pronounced by Right Reverend Henry C. Potter, Bishop of New York.

The movement to celebrate the one hundredth anniversary of Washington's Inauguration, on April 30, 1889, which emanated from a resolution adopted by the New York Historical Society some four years since, has already assumed vast proportions. The strength of such historic bodies as the Chamber of Commerce, the Society of the Cincinnati, the Sons

of the Revolution, and the New York Historical Society, is already united in a grand committee of citizens, thoroughly alive to the magnitude and importance of the celebration in prospect. The precise spot, the point of national interest on this approaching anniversary, is appropriately owned and occupied by the national government. Its location in the throbbing heart of the great city, the financial nerve-centre of a continent, is in itself significant, for America offers no place more becoming for these august ceremonies, or more conspicuously, honorably, or intimately identified with the history of American liberty.

In the language of George William Curtis, "The task upon which Washington entered here was infinitely greater than that which he undertook, when, fourteen years before, he drew his sword under the elm at Cambridge as commander-in-chief of the American army. To lead a people in revolution wisely and successfully, without ambition and without a crime, demands, indeed, lofty genius and unbending virtue. But to build their state—amid the angry conflict of passion and prejudice and unreasonable apprehension, the incredulity of many, and the grave doubt of all, to organize for them and peacefully to inaugurate a complete and satisfactory government—is the greatest service that a man can render to mankind. This also is the glory of Washington. His countrymen are charged with fond idolatry of his memory, and his greatness is pleasantly depreciated as a mythologic exaggeration. But no church ever canonized a saint more worthily than he is canonized by the national affection, and to no ancient hero, benefactor, or lawgiver, were divine honors ever so justly decreed as to Washington the homage of the world."

The music of Centennial bells has been ringing in our ears from all parts of the country for nearly a decade and a half. New York now has the opportunity of ringing her own bells, in honor of the most majestic, far-reaching, and interesting event that ever was celebrated on this or any other continent, and we trust the music will be melody indeed.

Martha J Lamb



HOLIDAYS OF THE FRENCH CANADIANS

One cannot mingle in French-Canadian society, either in circles which maintain the elegances of the old *régime*, or among the peasantry, without being impressed with the continual manifestation of that gay disposition—proof against the sharpest trials of fortune—which they inherit from their Gallic ancestors. Buoyancy of spirits forms an important element of their character, and has helped to sustain them under the hardships and toils of the wilderness, as well as amid the rigors and trials of their early history in *La Nouvelle France*. This felicitous temperament displays itself on all occasions, whether jovial or trying; and its influence in giving a refinement and final polish to their manners, as well as in sweetening the general current of their experiences, cannot be overestimated. They have certainly proved themselves worthy of the title of the children of gay France, and under circumstances which would have put the fortitude of their relatives in the old country (*la mère patrie*) to the severest strain. Whether on a toilsome march into the wilderness for the rude objects of the chase, facing the most repellent labors, or engaged in more perilous enterprises of war with the Indians or English colonists, their cheerfulness and lightheartedness was ever apparent. On the expeditions of the *voyageurs* and *coureurs de bois*, by many a broad river broken with fierce rapids, on the lake beset with storms as violent as ocean tempests, on the remote inland waters of the continent, or tramping over the snow-covered wilderness on snow-shoes, and drawing heavily laden toboggans, the same disposition, sunny and full of cheer, sustained them throughout their arduous course. At home, within the circle of the more peaceful village life, this spirit blossoms out in social games and pastimes, which serve to vary the monotony of the long winter nights, or give additional zest to the enjoyment of summer days. Pleasure parties at the picturesque waterfalls, fruit-gatherings in the autumn, sugar-making in the bracing spring air, with “bees” for united labor, house-raising, the clearing of land, flax-dressing and sheep-shearing, all furnish abundant occasion for the display of this cheerful temperament, which gives wings to toil, and induces, through the rendering of mutual assistance, a wide-reaching friendliness full of comfort and joy.

Their love of singing is also a national characteristic. They rarely meet in groups for work or sport without chanting some well-known songs of the

country, with charming refrain, in which every one joins. And some of those songs are indeed delightful, such as: "*Derrière chez nous ya t'un étang*," and "*Lui ya longtemps que je t'aime*," etc.

Above all occasions of pleasure, for both young and old, are the great religious and national festivals—Christmas, New Year's Day, Twelfth Day, and Saint John the Baptist's Day—into the celebration and enjoyment of which the race enters with all its enthusiasm and fervor.

Christmas (*le jour de Noël*) is looked forward to with peculiar delight, and no pains spared to honor it. It is observed as a holiday apart from sacred character as a *fête d'obligation*. No matter how cold or stormy the night preceding, the custom is to close the houses and repair to the churches and take part in the imposing service, known as midnight mass (*la messe de minuit*). At this time the people are moved to great fervor in their anxiety to fittingly commemorate the birth of Christ. Among the scenes pertaining to this night were formerly the little gleams of light, to be seen at intervals for miles in the lonely country districts, or throughout towns and cities, at a time when gas-lighting was unknown, indicating the progress of pious worshipers through deep snowy roads towards that grand centre of desire, the church, at whose portals the lanterns were extinguished, to be relighted after mass. If the distance were very great, they traveled in *carrioles* or *berlines*, also bearing lanterns.

The church itself presents on such nights an attractive and imposing appearance. Lighted candles and lamps arranged in a manner not only to illuminate the building, but to enhance the effect of its decorations and to arouse feelings appropriate to the hour, shine everywhere throughout the edifice. The principal object of interest is the wax figure of the infant Jesus, beside the altar, upon which all the religious art available is expended to produce the highest effect; and upon the radiant countenance brilliant lights are concentrated, to kindle the devotional sentiment of the worshipers. Artificial bouquets of varied colors, the handiwork of the daughters of the most prominent citizens, occupy conspicuous places on the altar; and the altar-cloth, which is a piece of elaborate workmanship, is also, usually, from the hands of some fair parishioner. When the service is ended the worshipers return home to partake of a collation (*réveillon*), which is generally of bountiful character. The interest of the children is aroused long before the celebration, by the promise of attending the midnight mass as a reward for good behavior, and, as an after consideration of no small moment, a share in *le réveillon*.

Of late years this service is less in vogue than formerly, many parishes dispensing with it altogether, owing to the advantage taken of the absence

of the farmers (*habitans*) by thieves, whose facilities for marauding are not a little augmented by the fact that in retired parishes the doors and windows are never fastened. And in the cities it also has been generally discontinued on account of the deeds of the riotous element on such occasions.

Many traditions and superstitions regarding supernatural events on the night preceding Christmas continue current from the foundation of the colony among the peasant class. The old French emigrants brought these from Normandy and Brittany as a part of their mental outfit, planting them in Canadian soil, which has proved every way propitious to their vigorous growth and extensive spread. Two centuries have failed to materially change their form and color, while making considerable additions to their number, amid the novel and startling conditions of the New World. But this is the history of the ignorant of every nation. Among the mysterious phenomena characterizing these sacred festivals in the popular imagination, the following are typical specimens :

On Christmas eve the entire animal creation is gifted with the faculty of speech, which is used in criticising the conduct of the human race towards it, giving praise or blame, as deserved ; resolutions are made among them to perform grudgingly or inefficiently such work as is required by unreasonable masters, and, on the other hand, to give to those kind and gentle, fidelity and devotion. It is a no less common belief that the lucky person born on Christmas will never know want. In the remote districts young girls who are eager to learn their matrimonial prospects betake themselves on Christmas eve, at midnight, to the hen-coop, and strike the door three times, when, if the cock crow, it foretells their early marriage ; but, if the response come from a disturbed hen, the bridal is to be indefinitely postponed. The pangs of disappointment or the ecstasies of delight which have followed this experiment would fill volumes.

Another superstition is, if a young girl enter a barn at midnight with a ball of wool in her hand, throws it up in the air, and suddenly turns around, placing both hands behind her, and the wool should fall into them again, then the image of her future husband will instantly appear to her. If the trial be a failure, there is much unhappiness for the rest of the year. There are, however, but few young girls, whatever their desire, who have the courage to take a midnight and midwinter stroll to a barn, even sustained by the hope of a lover's vision ; but there are a few heroic instances credibly current among the people, and the writer has been gravely assured of the complete success of several such trials.


At the same time of the year and hour of the night, the spirits of the dead are believed to visit the churches, ascend the aisles to the altar, and

deposit an offering; the person doomed to die first will be warned by the presence of his image in the procession. There are many other traditions, but lack of space prevents their being recorded here.

From time immemorial the French-Canadian race has taken advantage of the midwinter season, when the exacting labors of field, bush and barn have ceased to weary the honest *habitant*, to dispense with toil, and speed the enjoyments of life, with all the resources at command, either in his own home, or at the festive hearth of his neighbor. This season is made merry with songs, dances, games and stories, and forms memorable milestones in the path of life, lightening the arduous routine of the peasant's daily duties during the rigorous Canadian winter.

The most notable holiday of the year is New Year's day (*le Jour de l'An*), rendered specially attractive by tradition and the recollection of ancient customs, many of which are intertwined with religious and domestic observances. Free rein is given to the spirits of the people as the last night of the old year wears on, its successor being as joyously hailed as though it were the advent of a valued friend. Then comes one of the most characteristic and notable features of Canadian life. Those polite and cordial visits, beginning early in the morning of the first, and lasting some days of the new year. In the olden times, it was quite a picturesque sight to see, on a New Year's morning, some of the citizens of Quebec paying their calls carrying their hats under their arms, indifferent to a temperature of 20° below zero, with the *queues* of their wigs blown to and fro by the wintry winds.

The formula of good wishes for the New Year is, usually: "*On vous la souhaite bonne et heureuse, avec le Paradis à la fin de vos jours.*" (We wish you a prosperous and a happy New Year, and may you see Heaven after your death.) Refreshments are liberally served, often quite beyond the peasant's means. Such hospitality is not to be refused, and one must partake freely, in compliment to his successive hosts. The result is often a personal discomfort which furnishes frequent illustrations of that "killing with kindness," that has passed into a proverb. The greatest courtesy is manifested on either side, the marked friendliness often effacing the result of previous coldness or differences during the preceding year, stimulating mutual regard, and promoting even the interests of business, so largely dependent upon such feeling in a limited community. In the evening, every device which ingenious good nature can suggest is employed to beguile the hours. It is no marvel, therefore, that, after the adieus are spoken, *le jour de l'An* is esteemed the brightest spot in the year's picture, by both old and young. In a sense, also, it is regarded as marking a step towards spring,



with the increase, however slight, in the length of the days, when more visiting, the *sine quâ non* of their social enjoyment, can be done.

The visit of *Santa Claus*, with his bounties, for the youth of these Canadian homes, is an event of such interest, that around it are gathered hosts of traditions and delightful memories. His visit takes place New Year's eve, and he is known as St. Nicholas. His good will is confidently predicted in the event of filial obedience, while, on the other hand, his ill-will is foretold to wayward children, implying the omission of all his favors. As an illustration of the latter, and the reasoning of the youthful mind, may be related that on one occasion a juvenile offender who had hung up his stocking in the hope that the saint would have forgotten his small sins, found, to his grief, in the morning, only a few sweatmeats and some potatoes. The poor little fellow was mournful enough for the forenoon, but at dinner he suddenly brightened up and remarked to his mother that perhaps it would be well for the family if he were wicked all the year round, for then St. Nicholas might leave potatoes enough for the whole year.

A festive ceremony is observed on Twelfth Night (*le jour des Rois*). In town and country it is usual for young and old to assemble in the evening and perform the operation of cutting the Twelfth cake (*tirer le gâteau*). The party gather about a large table and watch the cutting with great interest, the young people especially being eager to see who will be the fortunate recipient of the slice in which the pea or bean is imbedded. The lucky ones promptly announce their discovery; every sort of jest and compliment is exchanged. The possessor of the bean is crowned queen, and of the pea, king, and they are treated for the remainder of the evening with the homage due to such exalted personages.

Easter Day (*le jour de Pâques*) is a religious festival of marked importance. After Lent, with its many abnegations, the advent of Easter is hailed with joy. The people often remain up until midnight to break their long fast with cheer. L'Abbé Casgrain, a distinguished antiquarian, describes an Easter dinner in the early days of the colony, as follows: (Translation.) "Imagine," says the Abbé, "thirty or forty good eaters of those times at table. There was little ceremony, but everything was offered in the heartiest manner, and each took the place he could find. Chairs were not in common use; on each side of the table were blocks of wood, on which boards were placed, and trunks here and there were used as seats, the guests not thus accommodated standing. On the table were leaden or common delf dishes, and if there were enough for all, it was an indication of wealth on the part of the host. The few forks were reserved for the women, and each provided his own knife. The clothing of the

men consisted of gray homespun trousers of country cloth (*étouffe du pays*), and a pair of beef moccasins (*bottes sauvages*); the *bonnets bleus*, generally worn out-of-doors, were laid aside for the nonce. Their toilette was completed by a dicky. If the latter were omitted by any one, he was not entitled to partake of pie, a favorite dish of the *habitants*. The costumes of the women consisted of a blue skirt with white stripes, and a flowered India shawl and a white cap for gala days. The preparations for this festival were something formidable, if one may judge from the following, which recalls the feast of Gargantua: In the first place, there was prepared a stew or *ragout* of pork, beef and mutton, in a thirty or forty-gallon boiler; minced pies (*tourtières et pâtés*), pork chops, prepared in a variety of ways; quarters of veal and mutton, fowl and game. Besides the viands, there were pastries of different kinds, cooked in lard or porpoise oil, and cakes now known as *croquignoles* (doughnuts). All these were simultaneously placed on the table, and each helped himself as he pleased. Those who had no plate took a piece of pastry from a *pâté* and used it as a dish. Politeness required that each should see that his neighbor lacked nothing. When it was noticed that the supply of food was becoming short before any one, he was told, 'Brother, you excite pity,' and his wants were immediately supplied. While the eatables were being partaken of, the host went round the table and poured out liquor to each in a cup or pewter goblet. The utmost gayety and cordiality prevailed. Hunting and fishing exploits were recounted, and the feast ended with songs, the choruses of which were joined in by the whole company."

According to popular tradition, on Easter morning, at an early hour, the sun may be seen to perform three somersaults in honor of the great Christian event then commemorated; and on Ascension Day, persons free from mortal sin (*en état de grâce*) may behold three suns at sunrise.

From the earliest days of the colony the French regarded St. Joseph as their patron saint, and they observed his natal anniversary, the 20th of March, with religious and appropriate ceremonies. As time wore on, however, the preference of the people appeared to incline towards St. John the Baptist, as the special patron saint of the colony. The day was generally distinguished by religious and other observances, and entertainments followed in the evening, given by the leading citizens with lavish hospitality. Some of the oldest inhabitants of the Quebec of to-day recall the grand feasts on those occasions by an eminent old philanthropist, J. F. Perault, who died generally venerated and respected in 1844, at the ripe age of ninety-one. On St. Joseph's day, all the resources of his hospitable mansion, *Asyle Champêtre*, and of the culinary art of his *chef* were

employed in producing, among other things, a monstrous pie, called in French, *pâté*. It was composed of the following substantial elements: One turkey, three pigeons, three partridges, two chickens, one dozen of snow-birds, and the tenderest and most succulent portion of two hares, the whole sandwiched between slices of pork and ham, and intermingled with highly seasoned meats finely minced. One of the difficulties of the cook would be to construct such a colossal framework of pastry as would retain its shape and withstand the weight and pressure of the mass of meats enclosed. This vast gastronomical *chef-d'œuvre*, of course, would stand as the *pièce de résistance*, in the centre of the table, and the other dishes comprising the remainder of the *menu* were placed at different portions of the board, before the guests sat down. An easy and friendly species of *etiquette* prevailed, each guest helping his neighbor to what he desired, being assisted in return, while the host dispensed to all a portion of the *pâté*, which formed the chief object of attraction. It was usual before dinner to whet the appetites of the ladies by a sip of cordial or *liqueur*, and that of the gentlemen by a glass of absinthe *frappé*, or Jamaica rum. As with us now, soup was served first, and fish was seldom partaken of; there were no *entrées* and few vegetables; but the more substantial meats were always on the table and in abundance. The desserts generally comprised fruits in season, the usual made-up dishes of to-day, and such foreign favorites as still retain their place at our tables. The beverages were claret, ale, cognac and sherry; the cognac was taken before the fruit and the sherry afterwards. To read of such *menus* makes the mortal of this latter half of the nineteenth century sigh for the appetite and vigorous health of his ancestors.

Another custom sometimes observed in villages of the district of Quebec is the erection of what is called *un mai*, a sort of may-pole, in honor of some notable or popular seigneur, or the election of the mayor of the parish. On the morning of the day when the compliment is to be paid, generally in the month of May, the recipient suddenly finds his house surrounded by a merry throng of the peasantry, bearing with them a tree with the branches lopped off, and only the top remaining. Attached to the top is sometimes a weather-vane, painted red and green. All the crowd engage in digging a hole in front of the house, and then plant the pole. The moment it is raised, they fire salutes in honor of the event. Formerly some nimble boy would climb the pole and entwine the vane with ribbons or evergreens, shouting, "*Vive le Roi; Vive le Seigneur*," and the crowd would take up the cry and repeat it with lusty good-will. A grand feast was then given by the *Seigneur*, while frequent salutes

were fired by both the Seigneur's family and the peasantry, to emphasize the important festivity, and all good feeling and joy prevailed.

But the grand national holiday of the French Canadians is St. Jean Baptiste's, the 24th of June. It is observed with imposing religious ceremonies, processions of trade, benevolent, religious, and other societies, headed by bands of music, with flags and banners exhibiting national and religious emblems and patriotic mottoes, and allegorical cars of most fanciful designs. In the city of Quebec, for instance, one important feature of the procession is the Carillon flag, the old military banner which waved within the ramparts of Ticonderoga, when the English sought in vain to capture it in the time of Montcalm, by whom it was heroically defended, to the glory of himself and his French troops.

This historic emblem and patriotic relic is usually borne by the most respected man in the community, however unmartial his character or appearance. It is always an object of admiring attention, and the bearer also. In the procession there is a representation of St. Jean Baptiste, in the person of a handsome boy of ten or twelve, fancifully arrayed in a fur robe, with a profusion of long, curling hair falling over his shoulders. He reclines in an elegant carriage, decked with maple boughs, a lamb at his feet. The youthful Baptiste carries a shepherd's crook, the whole figure and surroundings making a most effective and beautiful representation of this holy messenger.

All who take part in the procession exhaust their ingenuity, if not their resources, to make a striking display in costumes and accessories, with ribbons, rosettes, flowers and maple leaves in lavish abundance. The whole city or village assumes a gala aspect, the streets being lined with young maples or evergreens, and often spanned with decorated arches, while flags float from roof and windows, and in all directions the booming of guns is heard. The evening is devoted to social festivities, with patriotic addresses and music, "The day, and all who honor it," being a toast received with wild enthusiasm. The memory of brilliant events and heroic episodes in Canadian history is cherished, the sacrifices of the pious and the patriotic being recalled with ardor. Indeed, they enter into this celebration with zeal and pride. It forms the most joyous festival during the summer months, its attractions being enhanced by the perfect days of June.

Prosper Bender

BOSTON, November 1, 1888.



FRANCIS MARION'S GRAVE

It is a fact greatly to be deplored and which, as has been remarked, is "a sad commentary on the gratitude of a people," that the momentous events of the late civil war, the effects of which were felt so long and so grievously in the South, have almost eliminated from the Southern mind the memory of the men of 1776, and their gallant deeds.

In a true and commendable spirit of gratitude to those who, as a celebrated historian and diplomat has said, "true to the instincts of their birth and faithful to the teachings of their fathers," laid down their lives for the cause they believed to be just and holy, all over the South have been reared marble tributes and massive memorials to perpetuate the memory of the heroes of the Lost Cause. But among all these monuments, few can be found which are dedicated to the first heroes of our country; to the men of 1776 who left hamlet and hall, or who, releasing the horses from the plow, rode away to check the advance of the invader, without even returning for a moment to the family fireside to embrace for perhaps the last time their little ones, or to imprint, maybe, the last kiss upon the lips of an anxious wife.

A striking illustration of this seeming neglect is the condition of the grave of Francis Marion, the famous Swamp Fox of the Revolution. When this celebrated soldier died, his remains were interred in a burying-ground on Belle Isle plantation, St. Stephen's Parish, Berkeley county, South Carolina. Over his grave some years afterwards, was placed a simple marble slab—a "frail memorial, with shapeless sculpture decked," which barely recorded in few words the dates of the birth and demise of the illustrious warrior who lay beneath.

As years went by the once flourishing old plantation became neglected, and finally deserted, and the burying-ground soon fell into disuse and decay. The old slab, however, still remained, although stained by the weather, and marked by time, until about three years ago, when during one of the fierce equinoctial storms which often sweep the Carolina coast in the fall of the year, a giant sugar-berry tree was blown across the grave of the old soldier, and that of Mrs. Marion, which lay next to his, and the slab over the general's grave was completely shattered. There was considerable interest expressed at the time, and a country paper with more spirit of regard for the old hero's memory than dollars or influence, pro-

posed to raise a fund with which to replace the slab, and to put the two graves in good condition. A few trifling subscriptions were sent in, but interest languished, and no definite movement has ever been made toward the consummation of this most laudable object.

The negroes, the only present occupants of Belle Isle plantation, have cut up the sugar-berry tree for firewood, and have carried away the fragments of the shattered slab, which are now doing service as oven-backs in the numerous cabins along the country side.

Unless something is done very soon to reclaim the graves of the famous old Revolutionary hero and his wife from the decay and ruin into which they are rapidly falling, it will not be long before they will be in the same condition as the grave of the old patriot, William Moultrie, who died in 1805 full of years and honors, and was buried at "Windsor" plantation, in St. James, Goose creek, Berkeley county, South Carolina. No tomb was placed over his grave, and his family and admirers continued putting it off year after year, until, in 1852, when a party of gentlemen visited the old burying-ground to locate the grave for the purpose of erecting a shaft over it, to their mortification, and the mortification of all persons who value the memory of the heroes of '76, it was found impossible to identify it among the many brush-grown mounds in the decayed enclosure.

In speaking of Marion, it might be of interest to many to know that in Rocky Bluff Swamp, in Sumter county, South Carolina, there is a low island—now altogether inaccessible, unless one is willing to gain it on foot, cutting his way through the dense canebrakes which surround it with an axe—upon which can still be seen the ruins of one of Marion's old places of rendezvous. The spot where the shanties for the protection of the soldiers were erected is marked by the remains of mud chimneys, and the old forge where the horses were shod is almost intact. The old-fashioned anvil was in its place until a few years ago, when a country blacksmith penetrated the swamp and brought it away, and it is now doing good service in these piping times of peace, as it did under the hammer of some stalwart old soldier-smith an hundred years ago, when every ring of the horseshoe caused the rude patriots to start for fear it would guide the enemy to their hiding-place.

Shirley Carter Houghson.

CHARLESTON, S. C.

THE FRENCH COLONY OF SAN DOMINGO

ITS RISE AND FALL

San Domingo, in natural advantages, is unsurpassed. Three mountain ranges, of moderate elevation, traversing its entire length, are a guarantee for attractive scenery and well-watered land. The heat is tempered by the trade winds. The climate is salubrious, save along the coast. Splendid flowering plants adorn the plains. Majestic forests of pine, mahogany of the finest kind, the most valuable dye and cabinet woods clothe the mountain sides. The soil is one of exceeding fertility, the low-lying districts yielding in profusion the best varieties of tropical growths, while the productions of temperate regions thrive on the elevated slopes. In short, it is excelled by no other portion of the world. In its day it was called "The Garden of the West Indies," "The Queen of the Antilles;" and it was the boast of Columbus, when its native richness and beauty burst upon him, that he had found the original seat of Paradise.

Columbus discovered this turtle-shaped island December 6, 1492, and at Isabella, on the northern coast, established the first Spanish colony. The city of San Domingo was founded, 1496, by the brother of the renowned admiral. For half a century these settlements received marked attention from the mother country, and rose to great prosperity. But, as other parts of America were discovered, the inhabitants were drawn off; and the indigenes having been exterminated by excessive work and general ill-usage, the island, for a period, declined.

In 1789 its sovereignty was divided between France and Spain. The French colony occupied the western portion of the island, an irregular north-and-south line separating it from Spanish territory. The area of this colony was ten thousand square miles, or one-third of the whole, being somewhat larger than the state of Vermont. It embraced three provinces, northern, southern, and western, presided over by a governor-general. Cape François, in the northern province, was the metropolis, and the Paris of the Western World. At the above date French San Domingo had reached a remarkable state of prosperity and splendor.

The utmost effort had been made to stimulate and improve agriculture, and on every hand the teeming colony smiled with successful industry. Spread over it were a thousand sugar plantations, and three thousand of coffee, not to mention the cultivation of indigo, cacao, cotton, etc., and

the splendid tropical fruits yielded to trivial care. The narrow but rich plain of *Cul de Sac* itself contained one hundred and fifty sugar plantations, while the rising slopes, up to the Spanish lines, were clothed with coffee farms, that appeared from the hill-crests as so many thickets. In 1789 the colony laded, for France alone, four hundred vessels. It supplied Europe with half of its sugar. Its exports were valued at \$28,000,000. Numerous roads, spacious and most beautifully kept, intersected the country in all directions. The planters lived in jovial splendor, in the loveliest homes in the world. From 1750 to 1789 (the beginning of revolutionary activity) the growth of the colony was marvelous, at the latter date reaching a height superior to all other colonial possessions.

The inhabitants were whites, mulattoes or people of color, and negro slaves. The rise of each is written in dark lines.

In 1630 a small body of French and English, who had established themselves on St. Christopher, one of the windward islands, were ruthlessly driven out by the Spaniards. The greater part found refuge in Tortuga, a small island near the northwest coast of San Domingo, where they increased rapidly, and as buccaneers, became the terror of the neighboring seas. Upon the commerce of the Spaniards, their special enemies, they took the amplest revenge. Predatory excursions soon gave them a footing on the western coast of San Domingo. Eventually, the English buccaneers settled in Jamaica. The French section continued to gain ground in San Domingo, where gradually they left off piracy, and became planters. The French government now began to extend its care. Governors were appointed. The planters were increased by emigrants from the mother country. Wives were sent out. Negro slaves were taken in raids upon Spanish territory. An incursion to Jamaica in 1694 secured two thousand, and a notable impulse was given to the cultivation of sugar. The colony, in 1697, had greatly developed in numbers and importance, and the Spaniards, unable to cope with France, by the treaty of Ryswick formally ceded to the latter country the western portion of the island.

In 1789 the whites were known as Europeans and as creoles, between whom great jealousies existed. The former, generally, were public functionaries, military men, or merchants—lived chiefly in the towns—assumed an air of superiority, and exercised much petty tyranny.

The creoles or planters considered themselves the heirs of the soil—were excessively imperious and voluptuous, impatient of restraint, jealous of wealth and honor, unbounded in self-indulgence, yet hospitable and charitable. They commonly lived on the estates they cultivated, and resented disdainfully the assumed superiority of the European.

Of the mulattoes many were cultivated men, opulent and large slave-owners. Their characters often commanded respect, yet meanness of birth could not be forgotten. The whites looked down upon them contemptuously, and their condition, on the whole, was truly degraded. They were exposed to perpetual insult and humiliation—were governed by a set of local laws applicable only to themselves—on attaining their majority they were compelled to serve three years in a kind of militia, to keep runaway slaves in check—were subject to a "corvee" for the maintenance of the roads—excluded from public employments and the liberal professions—and not allowed to bear the names of their white fathers. Many had been highly educated in France, and possessed large estates, and the deprivation of political and personal rights was borne with a gathering and ominous sense of resentment.

The circumstances connected with the introduction of the negro slaves, to replace the exterminated indigenes, opens the blackest page in Spanish history.

These indigenes—as they appeared to Columbus, before they had been broken and debased by the Spaniard's cruelty—were an interesting race. Reliable accounts represent them as being of lighter color than the inhabitants of the neighboring islands, and generally superior—singular in feature, but not disagreeable—in aspect timid and gentle, in person not tall, but well-shaped and active, and weak in body, incapable of much labor, short lived, and extremely frugal. They were guileless in their manners, possessed fair apprehensions, were remarkably obedient to their rulers, humble, patient, submissive, with a love for quietude, and dislike for disputes. They exercised a simple agriculture and had made some progress in the arts of ornament and of utility, displaying ingenuity in working beaten gold, and in the manufacture of a plain cotton cloth and earthen pitchers. In a word, they occupied a middle state between savage life and polished society—an unoffending, peaceable and amiable race. Their character was in keeping with the native fauna of the island, which contained no beast of prey, and no wild animal larger than a hare.

The bold bearing of the Spaniards, their great size and strength, and splendid aspect in shining armor and on caparisoned horses, produced in the minds of the simple islanders a reverential awe. They regarded them as having descended from the heavens, and gave them the honor due to superior beings. But the Spaniards were ravening wolves; and under a course of most merciless treatment the history of the indigenes is pitiful, till it ends with their extinction fifty years on.

Pioneer colonists are commonly reckless adventurers, without money

or character. On his second voyage, to colonize Hispaniola, Columbus, good and great as he was, committed the profound mistake of taking with him, for want of better material to complete his number, a lot of convicted criminals, who, let loose among the natives, made themselves free with their wives and property, and turned the colony into a hell.

The outrages became unbearable, even to this submissive people, and an unsuccessful attempt at resistance was followed by the imposition of a yearly tribute. In lieu of tribute, a slavery presently succeeded unequaled for cruelty and destructiveness. Unprotected by the stronger physiques which the ordinary environments of an underling race are naturally fitted to secure, they fell an easy prey to the pitiless Spaniards, who exhausted against the defenseless creatures every advantage their manifold superiorities conferred.

Under Governor-General Bobadilla they were divided into classes, and distributed, like cattle, among the Spaniards, by fifties and hundreds. The attempt of his successor, Ovando, to modify these distributions into *hirings*, whereby, for a certain sum and for a specified time, the Indians were compelled to work for the Spaniards, only deepened their oppression. Payment was made a plea for multiplied exactions. The character of the pitiless slavery advanced under Albuquerque and others, and the death of Isabella removed all check upon its rigors. The serious efforts of this amiable and illustrious princess in behalf of the political as well as the religious interest of the indigenes had been frustrated by the cruelty of the Spaniards, and the incapacity of the priests. Their merciless treatment had been studiously concealed from her. It remained unknown till she lay upon her dying bed, and deeply distressed the last hours of the pious sovereign.

Spanish cruelty had its root in avarice.

*Quid non mortalia pectora cogis
Auri sacra fames?*

This grew so intense that the Indians came to believe that gold was the Spaniards' real God. Neglecting agriculture, they drove the natives to the mines, and there imposed tasks upon this feeble-bodied people that would have been excessive for a far hardier race. They were worked till they spat blood, and the milk dried up in the breasts of nursing women.

Resistance offered at the outset proved utterly futile. On the *Vega Real* an army of a hundred thousand was dreadfully routed by a Spanish force but two hundred strong.

Resorting now to starvation against their enemies—whom they had

observed, in contrast with their own frugal ways, as being immense eaters—they pulled up their edible roots, suspended agriculture, and fled to the mountains. The device recoiled against themselves. A third of the population perished; and the limestone caverns near the mountain summits still abound with the bones of the wretched fugitives who preferred death by starving to the intolerable tyranny of the Spaniards.

Henceforth they hopelessly submitted, and sank into a sluggish, dazed condition, with a perfect hatred towards their oppressors and everything pertaining to them. Those about to die and exhorted to baptism, refused the rite with expressions of abhorrence for the Christian's heaven, on being told that *Spanish* souls had gone thither.

The Indians worked only under the spur of blows and ill-usage. No indignity, no wrong, no treachery was spared them. They almost lost the semblance of human beings; and to such intellectual blights some of the newly arrived priests hesitated to administer the sacraments. The Spaniards spurned those whom their oppression had driven towards idiocy, and treated them as an inferior species of animal. Instances are mentioned (in a neighboring colony) of Indian infants having been fed to hounds, and of a princess bartered for a cheese.

Multitudes perished in the four chief mines—multitudes disappeared from suicide, famine, fatigue, and superinduced disease. Laborers became scarce, and, to supply the want, the Spaniards visited one of the Bahamas, and, representing to the islanders that the spirits of their departed friends and ancestors were living happily in Hispaniola, entrapped, within a few years, forty thousand, and sent them to the mines. To close the dreadful recital: the Spaniards worked these mines so actively, that, at the end of fifty years, there remained not one hundred natives out of the one-and-a-half million who happily inhabited the island upon its discovery by Columbus. It is a horrible story—a foul blot upon Spain; and through these dreadful wrongs, the wrath of God seems to have withered, even to this day, the Spanish settled portions of the New World.

The inhuman treatment of the indigenes raised up advocates. The most notable was Las Casas. He thought it less cruel to work negroes. They had far greater powers of endurance, one negro being considered the equal of five Indians. To mitigate, therefore, the sufferings of the latter, as well as to sustain the colony now languishing for labor, the Emperor Charles V. adopted Las Casas' suggestion, and granted to one of his Flemish favorites a patent for the yearly importation of four thousand. This privilege, sold to Genoese merchants, became the foundation of a regular trade for supplying the colony—a trade that continued to increase through-

out the whole archipelago, where the negroes multiplied with prodigious rapidity. It has been noticed as a remarkable historical fact, that the humane efforts of this noble-hearted priest should be so closely associated with the establishment in America of the African slave trade.

In 1789 the colony contained 450,000 slaves—the mulattoes and free blacks being 24,000—the whites, 40,000.

At this date it had reached a height of prosperity without parallel in the history of colonial possessions. Many of the proprietors, enormously rich (hence the phrase, *as rich as a creole*), lived half the year in Paris in the most sumptuous style, attended, as a special act of legislation allowed, by retinues of slaves—passing the winters in their beautiful West India homes. Others resided permanently in France, and spent all their revenues abroad; yet, so vast were the capabilities of the island, that, under a careful system of tillage which “wrested from a fertile soil the most immense wealth,” riches multiplied as if by magic. The private luxury and public grandeur of the colony astonished the traveler, and its accumulation of wealth was a constant source of surprise to the mother country.

Unhappily, dissoluteness had advanced with equal strides, and the outward splendor rested on frail virtuous supports. Morally, the mulattoes appear to have been the superior class. The planters and negroes were alike depraved. The former were sybarites. Opulent and dissipated, they had reached a state of sentiment and manners the most vitiated, and the slaves had caught the infection. If the master was proud and voluptuous, the slave was vicious and often riotous, and the punishment frequently cruel and unnatural.

Society, moreover, was throughout in a condition of antagonisms, the creole slave regarding with scorn the newly imported African, the free mulatto, the creole slave; while the whites looked down with contempt upon all, and were themselves divided by the wretched jealousies between planters and functionaries. It was an atmosphere of suspicion and ill-will, in which an evil construction was given to everything. No determinate principles guided the superior classes. Each passing event became a new occasion for discontent. In a society so circumstanced the revolutionary spirit agitating the mother country found ready entrance, and the dissolution of social order was apparently threatened.

In the discussions in France (1787-88) that preceded the meeting of the States-General, each race became profoundly interested. The doctrine of “liberty, equality, and fraternity” was warmly indorsed by the whites—yet for themselves alone. The mulattoes saw the opportunity for realizing political and social rights. The slave, too, became an inter-

ested listener, and began to feel the stirring of new aspirations. The latter, at the outset, remained quiet, though, as Rainsford observes, the efforts in their behalf by Lafayette, Mirabeau, and the Abbé Gregoire made their condition a prominent topic of conversation and regret in half the towns of Europe.

The mulattoes, however, promptly insisted upon political equality; and at once arose between them and the whites a bitter struggle, which the vacillating course of home legislation—now favoring one party, now the other—prolonged and greatly intensified. It was a most deplorable state of affairs, and tore the colony dreadfully. Both sides were in arms, and not infrequently in bloody encounters. There were collisions, and then settlements towards repose; then fresh aggravations and impending conflict, followed by recedings from the verge of war.

Finally, May 15, 1791, the national assembly passed a decree—warmly supported by Lafayette, Condorcet, Gregoire, and other leaders—granting to the “people of color” full political rights. The tidings reached San Domingo in June, and fell like a thunderbolt from a clear sky. It at once consolidated all parties among the whites against the mother country. The colonists had been dividing against themselves, as the sentiment of the national assembly developed towards the enfranchisement of the colored races, some advocating one course—others, another. But race feeling is deeper than political feeling; and the whites, in the presence of the enforced equality of the “bastard and scorned” mulatto, by a natural *esprit de corps*, became consolidated. The worst, too, was feared from the decree’s effect upon the slaves, who had already grown noticeably deliberative and restless. In a frenzy of rage they determined to reject the civic oath. They forced the governor to suspend the operation of the decree, till they could appeal to France. In the northern provincial assembly a motion was made to raise the British flag.

The mulattoes, alarmed, yet exasperated to the last degree, gathered in armed bodies. The sentiment prevailed that one or the other party must be exterminated. War seemed inevitable—when the blacks (August 5), rising in vast numbers, suddenly appeared upon the scene, and within four days laid one-third of the northern province in utter ruin.

The whites, in consternation, now promptly granted civil rights to the mulattoes, and these (generally slaveholders), turning against the blacks with all the zeal that the powerful interests of property inspire, peace appeared not improbable—when the fatal legislation of the national assembly reached its climax. For, moved by the remonstrances of the planters’ agents, who raised the cry that the colony was about to be lost, and igno-

rant of the black rising and the accord between whites and mulattoes, the assembly (September 24) repealed the decree of May 15. The mulattoes could not be persuaded that the planters had not instigated the repeal—lost all confidence in the whites—threw themselves into the negro camp—and a furious and fatal war ensued.

Thus perished—amid unparalleled scenes of uproar, butchery, and beastly outrage—this splendid colony, founded in the cruelties of the Spaniard and the buccaneer. It was a day of blood for blood—of vengeance for those wretched indigenes whose merciless slavery these blacks had been imported to bear.

E. W. Gilliam

PHILADELPHIA, PA

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

While viewing the engrossed copy of the Declaration of American Independence on July 4, 1876, at old Independence Hall, Philadelphia, two strangers drew near, and the following conversation took place: Said Mr. A——, in substance, "Well, I suppose that is the original, world-renowned document, and those the signatures that were written upon it by the unparalleled heroes themselves, in this very room, just one hundred years ago to-day."

"Yes," said Mr. B——, hesitatingly, "in the main, you may be right; but, for your statement to be critically correct, I think it will need some modifications."

With manifest surprise Mr. A—— replied, "I cannot conceive in what particulars. I have always understood the facts as I have stated, indeed the whole scene of the signing was indelibly impressed on my mind when a child, by Trumbull's excellent painting of it—the original of which I suppose is now in the Capitol, at Washington."

Said Mr. B——. "If you care to listen, it will please me to state some of the reasons why I made the remark which surprises you, for I have been something of a student in history."

"Most assuredly. I shall be delighted," replied Mr. A——, "especially after having seen this paper myself, to learn what there is to learn about its history; it is a most important document, which brought into existence one of the most glorious and important nations of the world, and which lies at the foundation of all our free and happy republican institutions."

Mr. B—— then went on to say: "In the first place, you assume that the fifty-six signers, as they are called (Mr. Blaine says there were fifty-five) were all present in this very hall, one hundred years ago, whereas the truth is, some of them were not even members of the Continental Congress at that time."

"You surprise me, sir," said Mr. A——. "Be pleased to name those who were not members at the time."

"Well, sir, to begin with, Charles Carroll was elected a delegate from Maryland on that very fourth day of July, 1776; but he did not take his seat until the 18th day of the same month," replied Mr. B——. "Dr. Matthew Thornton was chosen a delegate from New Hampshire, September 12, 1776, but he did not take his seat until the 4th of November

following, four months after July 4, and, of course, neither he nor Charles Carroll signed it until after they had taken their seats. Thornton was the last who signed it, and Dr. Josiah Bartlett from the same colony was the first—his name being the first called at the time of the signing. Dr. Benjamin Rush, George Clymer, James Smith, George Taylor, and George Ross, were elected delegates from Pennsylvania on the 20th day of July, 1776, and took their seats shortly after; so they were not present on the 4th.

“You also assume that none other than the fifty-six were then present, whereas Thomas McKean, of Delaware, states, in a letter to Mr. Dallas, of Pennsylvania, under date of September 26, 1796, that he himself was present in Congress, July Fourth, when the final vote was taken on the declaration, and that he personally knew that Henry Wisner, a delegate from New York, was then present, and approved of the declaration, and yet Wisner’s name is not among the signers, as you perceive.”

“This is all news to me!” exclaimed Mr. A—. “You assume,” continued Mr. B—, “that the vote on the Fourth approving of the declaration was unanimous, that all present voted for it. But it is certain that John Dickinson, a delegate from Pennsylvania, not only voted against it, but delivered a powerful speech in opposition to it, contending that a compromise with England was desirable and still practicable, and he doubted the policy of the declaration at that particular period, without some preliminary trials of our strength, and before the terms of the confederation had been settled, and foreign assistance made certain. Charley Humphreys and Thomas Willing from Pennsylvania, and George Read from Delaware, likewise voted against the declaration. Besides, although the delegates from New York were present, they all refrained from voting on that Fourth of July, claiming that they were restricted from doing so by that colony.

“Another important error is, that you assume that the declaration was generally signed July 4, 1776, whereas it was generally signed August 2, of that year. No one signed it on the 4th except John Hancock, the president, as every act is signed by the presiding officer that is passed by a deliberative body, simply to attest its passage. Charles Thomson the Secretary, though not a delegate, also attested it.

“For a clear understanding of this whole subject, we need to recall the fact that after the Declaration was passed, and it appeared a bare majority of the delegates of each colony except New York (and they were personally favorable), was in favor of it, it was thought best to adjourn immediately, and return to their respective colonies, and report the state of affairs

to their constituents, hoping that the colonies which had restricted their delegates, among which were New York and Maryland, might be induced to withdraw their restrictions; and that the colonies whose delegates were divided, as Pennsylvania and Delaware, might be led to return such only as favored the declaration. This was done; and Congress, reassembling on the 15th of July, it was found that all present were favorable. On the 19th, Congress resolved that the declaration, which had been made on the 4th, should be engrossed on parchment, and be signed by every member present. It was so produced and signed on August 2. This is the engrossed copy that is before us, and not the original (the latter cannot now be found). On this we do not find the names of Robert R. Livingston, Dickinson, Wisner, Humphreys, and Willing, they not having returned after the recess.

"The fact is, the signing by all the members was not thought of on the 4th; but was a very happy after-thought. By the resolution it was entitled 'The Unanimous Declaration of the Thirteen United States of America in Congress Assembled.' The expression, 'The United States of America' was then and there originated and first employed. On the 4th only twelve colonies, and not thirteen, actually voted, as New York had no vote on that day. But her restrictions from voting for independence were recalled on the 9th of July, and on the 15th her delegates gave in their adhesion, and signed the Declaration August 2."

"But how came this colony," asked Mr. A—, "to pass such restrictions? Was she less liberty-loving than the other colonies?"

"Perhaps not," said Mr. B—, "but her situation was most unfortunate—much worse than any other. Her population, which was not then very large, was mainly confined to the city, Long Island, and along the Hudson. For the number of her inhabitants she had many rich men, for those times, and they had much at stake. The British army and navy had possession of the city and the control of the harbor and of the Hudson, and managed all the social, commercial, financial and legal interests of the entire colony. Many of the people were driven from their homes and robbed of their property, and their lives, liberty, and safety, were constantly jeopardized. In reviewing the history of the four 'signers' from New York—Francis Lewis, Lewis Morris, Philip Livingston, and William Floyd—we may learn how all, especially the wealthy, were situated.

"Doubtless you recollect that the beautiful and fertile manor of Morrisania, belonging to Lewis Morris, consisting of a thousand acres, mostly covered with very fine timber, which, from its proximity to the city, was of incalculable value, was destroyed, his house very greatly injured, his

fences ruined, his stock driven away, and his family obliged to live in a state of exile.

"Francis Lewis, in 1775, removed his family and effects to his country seat on Long Island, and in the autumn of that year his house was plundered by the British, and his library and valuable papers of every description were destroyed; his wife fell into their power, and was detained a prisoner for several months, without even the comfort of a bed to lie upon, or a change of clothes.

"William Floyd's family, while he was at Philadelphia, attending upon Congress, were obliged to flee for safety to Connecticut. His house was occupied by a company of horsemen, which made it a place of rendezvous during the remainder of the war. Thus, for nearly seven years, he and his family were refugees from their habitation; nor did he, during this long period, derive any benefit from his landed estate.

"Lastly, Philip Livingston's family fled to Kingston to escape the British army; and here they were compelled to remain while he was at Philadelphia, sick and deprived of the consolations of home, though for a few last days of his illness, he was attended by his son Henry, who was at that time a member of General Washington's family."

"I am truly surprised at the wealth you say the New York signers had," said Mr. A—, "and which they risked when they 'pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor,' by signing the declaration."

"In fact," replied Mr. B—, "there was no poor man among the noble fifty-six, except Samuel Adams, and he had once been very well off. The signers were generally wealthy. The delegates had to advance money for their own necessary expenses, and labor without immediate pay for their services, and therefore none but the rich could accept such offices, however worthy they might otherwise be. It is related of Charles Carroll, the richest man in the colonies, that when he had signed the declaration, some one exclaimed, 'There go a few million.'

"Further, the truth is that the great question of the entire independence of the colonies from the mother country, although favored by a few of the ablest and boldest of our statesmen, had not been seriously agitated among the masses of the people until the winter of 1775-76, and they were not yet prepared to take this most important step. Several of the colonies had instructed their delegates to join in all measures that might be agreed to in Congress for the advancement of the interests, safety, and dignity of the colonies; but others had directed theirs to refrain from voting for independence. John Dickinson and George Read represented the sentiments of this latter class, although personally, they were no less patriotic

than the other delegates. This was shown by Mr. Dickinson, when a few days after the Fourth, he marched with the American army to face the enemy. He accompanied his regiment to Elizabethtown in July to repel the invading British, and remained there until the end of his term of service."

"In examining these names, I do not find that of Robert R. Livingston of New York," inquired Mr. A——. "I remember that he was appointed on the committee to prepare a declaration, and must, therefore, have been supposed to be favorable to the measure. Why does not his name appear?"

"He was necessarily absent from Philadelphia for several days before the Fourth," said Mr. B——, "and, as before remarked, he did not return to Congress until after the recess. The case of Richard Henry Lee, also, looks a little odd, until explained. On the seventh of June he brought the great question before the house by submitting the resolution, 'That these colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown; and that all connection between them and the state of Great Britain is and ought to be totally dissolved.' Now, according to parliamentary usage, he should have been chosen chairman of the committee, and have reported the declaration when drafted. But neither he nor Mr. Jefferson, who penned the document, was its chairman, as would have seemed appropriate; but, it was reported by Benjamin Harrison. The fact was, that on the 10th of June Lee received sudden intelligence of the dangerous illness of his wife, and he left at once for home, and did not return until some time in August.

By the way, several anecdotes are related of this Benjamin Harrison while in Congress. In May, 1775, he and John Hancock were both named for president of Congress, in place of Peyton Randolph. Harrison at once yielded to Hancock, but, seeing him modestly hesitating to take the chair, and being a portly man (almost one-fourth of a ton), of gigantic strength, with characteristic good nature and playfulness, he seized Mr. Hancock in his athletic arms as though he were a child, and bore him to the seat of honor; then, turning around with his honest, beaming face, he said to his amused associates, 'Gentlemen, we will show mother Britain how little we care for her, by making a Massachusetts man president, whom she has excluded from pardon by a public proclamation.' Another anecdote is related of Harrison, how, at the signing he said to Elbridge Gerry, who was a small slight man, 'When the hanging-time comes, I shall have the advantage of you; I am so heavy, it will be over with me in a minute, but you will be kicking in the air half-an-hour after I am gone.' At the same time,

one of the members remarked, 'We must all hang together in this business.' 'Yes,' replied Dr. Franklin quickly, 'We must all hang together, or most assuredly we shall all hang separately.' "

Mr. A—— said, "I am obliged for this important and interesting information; and in looking back to my first statement, I find there is but very little of it left unmodified." •

Mr. B——, responding courteously, remarked, "I think, to sum up, it is really true, sir;

I. That the original draft by Mr. Jefferson was not signed by any one on the fourth of July, 1776, except John Hancock, president, and Charles Thomson, secretary. II. That the engrossed copy of the declaration which had been made July fourth, was generally signed August second. III. That the vote approving of the declaration was not unanimous on July Fourth, but was spoken and voted against. IV. That one at least, who was present July Fourth, and approved of the declaration, is not enrolled among the signers. V. That at least one-eighth of the signers were not members of the Congress on July Fourth. VI. That the signing by the delegates unanimously was a happy after-thought, for the inspiriting and encouraging of the people to maintain that declaration for which each and all the delegates, had voluntarily pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honors."

M. M. Baldwin

GROTON, N. Y.

WASHINGTON PORTRAITS, BY REMBRANDT PEALE

PRESIDENT WASHINGTON AND MARTHA WASHINGTON

For the first time in the history of this magazine, now closing its twentieth volume, the current number opens with a pair of frontispieces of great rarity and beauty. These portraits of our first President and Mrs. Washington, never before published, have been engraved expressly for this periodical from the original paintings by Rembrandt Peale.* As examples of art, of great merit, they are worthy of careful study, while as a notable addition to the already famous gallery of Washington portraiture of this magazine, they are beyond price. They were painted by Rembrandt Peale, in 1853, for a New York lady, Mrs. Campbell, and are now the property of a New York lady, Miss Caroline Phelps Stokes of Madison square. The following letter in the well known handwriting of the eminent artist, which has been carefully preserved, explains itself.

“ 502 Vine street above Broad
Philadelphia Nov 28, 1853

Mrs Campbell

D'r Madame

As our friend Mrs Cooper did not send me *your address*, I enclose this to her care for your early reception, in order to have your answer and advise how to direct the box containing your Washingtons, which I am desirous of sending this week. You will therefore oblige me with a note to say whether the box shall be directed to your house, or to the framemaker's, you may have employed to make the frames. In either case please send the exact directions by Thursday's mail.

I have felt sorry that the long continued cloudy and damp weather retarded the final finishing of your pictures until now—but hope they will be none the less welcome. You are the first lady in America to possess the portrait of Mrs Washington, which I am happy to say pleases all who have seen it.

As Mrs Peale and I propose visiting New York next week, to finish our examination of the Crystal Palace, you need not send me your check for the payment, which I can more conveniently receive at Mrs Cooper's. . . .

I remain

Respectfully yours

Rembrandt Peale.”

* The paintings from which our frontispieces this month have been engraved are in the possession of Miss Caroline Phelps Stokes of New York city.

Washington's portrait in this instance was the mature result of Rembrandt Peale's long continued efforts, based upon his early studies from life, to produce a likeness worthy of his distinguished subject. Born in 1788, young Peale was from infancy the watchful companion of his father's artistic labors, and when eight years of age could draw with the precision of many artists of twenty-five. He was seventeen when he first obtained a sitting from Washington, and commenced the portrait that was the ruling ambition of his life to perfect. This was in 1795, the same year that Stuart painted his first portrait of our first President. One of his brothers said, "Rembrandt was crazy on the subject of Washington; he dreamed over, and talked about his picture in his sleep." Rembrandt Peale has left many interesting items on record concerning his work. He writes on one occasion :

"Washington gave me three sittings. At the first and second, my father's painting and mine advance well together ; being at my right hand *his* was a little less full than *mine*. In the third sitting, perceiving that he was beginning to repaint the forehead, and proceed downwards, as was his custom, I feared he would have too little time to study the mouth and lower part of the face ; and therefore I began at the chin, and proceeded upward. The result of this decision was, that there was something in the upper part of my father's study that I preferred, and something in the lower portion of mine which better satisfied me. At subsequent periods I made several studies to combine them. To profit more fully by the occasion, my uncle, James Peale, during the second and third sittings, painted on my left hand a miniature on ivory ; and for a time my elder brother stood beyond my uncle, to make a profile sketch. . . . Seeing my father, my uncle James, my brother Raphael, and myself all at work, Washington exclaimed, 'Why, gentlemen, I am being *Pealed* all around.'

Rembrandt Peale was a remarkably industrious artist. He painted his last bust-portrait in 1859, for the father of John A. McAllister, of Philadelphia. On the panel of the frame, he inserted a few descriptive words under his own signature, dated June, 1859, from which the following is quoted : "Washington sat expressly to me in September, 1795—my father at my request making a study of him at the same time. . . . I was born the 22d of February, 1788, consequently, I had entered the eighty-second year of my age when I made this, my 75th copy, for John McAllister, Jr., of Philadelphia."

In a letter written by Rembrandt Peale to a gentleman in Philadelphia, in 1854, in reference to his early painting of Washington, he says :

"When Washington sat to me, in 1795, the latter part of September, he came to my room at 7 o'clock, each time as he entered, in the act of putting his watch into his fob, thus giving me an example of punctuality which I have since enforced on all my sitters."

My father, an old acquaintance, kept him in conversation, which enabled me to study his countenance. It was a period of some anxiety with him, as he was hesitating whether or not to sign Jay's treaty with England; and, further, he was doubtless disturbed by the publication of forged letters, which it was asserted were taken on the person of a runaway servant. No one ventured to speak with him on the subject, and he would not condescend, unasked, to deny them. My uncle, James Peale, a zealous politician, at the second sitting he gave me, bluntly addressed him: 'General, did you write those letters?' To which he replied, 'I never lost any letters. No servant of mine ever ran away from me.' He then talked at ease on other subjects, but my uncle went out, telling his answer to everybody he knew, and in two hours all Philadelphia was relieved of the scandal.

Before the invention of porcelain teeth on gold plates it was the practice of the dentists to fashion them from blocks of sea-horse ivory. One of these sets was made by the elder Gardette for Washington, but it was fortunate that he sat to me without them, as they were just finished and were clumsy and uncomfortable and distended his mouth so that he finally rejected them, and it was equally unfortunate for Stuart that his portrait represented him as he appeared for a short time with them, looking, as Judge Washington informed me, as if rinsing his mouth with water, and, as Stuart himself informed me, preventing him from holding any conversation (though ignorant of the cause), so essential to the production of an animated likeness. I had another advantage. By sitting so early as seven in the morning I had his hair before it was curled and powdered by the barber, after which hour Mr. Stuart's portrait was painted.

I painted this first portrait with but little reference to any pecuniary compensation, but for my own heart's satisfaction, to take with me to Europe, proudly to be valued as the Father of my Country and the revered of all nations. I never offered it to Congress, but the Senate flattered me into their acquisition of it by a unanimous vote, supported by Henry Clay, who declared that if he could have his will, 'Not only every room in the Capitol, but every house in the United States, should have the portrait of Washington in it.'"

The appropriation for the purchase of this portrait was \$2,000, thus we can judge somewhat of the esteem in which it was held at the time. The difference between the two pictures by Peale and Stuart may be accounted for perhaps by the conditions under which they were sketched. Stuart's seems the portrait of a man of seventy, while Peale's looks hardly fifty. Stuart's was the President on duty in the afternoon, with his ivory teeth and his powder and curls; Peale's was the man at seven in the morning, without anything artificial about him. Peale says that during his sittings Washington often laughed heartily, and more than once remarked "that the painters had him in charge."

The portrait of Mrs. Washington is supposed to be a study rather than a mere copy, although not from life. It is an exquisite picture, rich in color, with brow, eyes and mouth full of character. The following year Rembrandt Peale painted another portrait of Mrs. Washington, of which he writes to ex-Senator William H. Platt, May 16, 1854:

"DEAR SIR—By Adams' Express to-day I send you the portrait of Mrs. Washington, which I hope will answer your expectation, as the worthy companion of the General. I have written on the back of it that it is copied from an original portrait painted by my father in the year 1795. I know it to be a good likeness, because she called to see how I came on with his portrait. I hope it may not be long without a frame. Respectfully yours,
REMBRANDT PEALE."

On the 16th of June, 1857, Rembrandt Peale read a paper on "Washington and His Portraits" before the New York Historical Society, Hon. Luther Bradish presiding. At the close of the reading Peale exhibited various portraits of Washington and one of Mrs. Washington painted by himself, these illustrations peculiarly lighted by a gas jet he carried with him, so that they were seen to great advantage. One of the newspapers of the day said, "The venerable Rembrandt Peale held the unflagging attention of the large audience for nearly two hours. To us, however, the most interesting feature of the occasion was the reader himself. . . . The halo of Washington's personality seemed also to reflect upon the artist, investing him with a peculiar attractiveness. . . . Our faculties were absorbed in contemplation of the man as a kind of historical picture in himself—an illuminated illustration of a hallowed past. The facilities offered Mr. Peale and to the public were of the most liberal description, and are worthy of commendation."

Rembrandt Peale was long the only living artist who ever saw Washington. He had known him personally for thirteen years prior to 1799. He remembered his traits, and the differing expressions of his never-to-be-forgotten features, and he always worked with Houdon's bust before him. His portraits obtained great popularity, yet curiously enough, with the exception of his own lithographs, but three engravers have hitherto attempted to reproduce any of his paintings. R. Metzgeroth made a small print of his equestrian portrait, entitled "Washington Before Yorktown." Mr. A. B. Walter executed a mezzotinto royal folio of the "*Pater Patriæ*," and H. B. Hall made three plates of the bust portrait—in 1859 for Irving's work; in 1865 for Hough's "Washingtonia," and a third for Tuckerman's "Character and Portraits of Washington." To these may now be added the beautiful prints of a pair of his portraits hitherto unknown to the public—which grace the opening pages of this Christmas number of the magazine.

A TRIP FROM NEW YORK TO NIAGARA IN 1829

UNPUBLISHED DIARY OF COLONEL WILLIAM STONE

[Continued from Page 399.]

We drove on to the Falls in a light open wagon, drawn by a pair of Canadian ponies. The sun was sinking in the west as we ascended the heights, tingeing with golden hues the top of the noble column of granite reared to the memory of Brock, the British commander, who fell in the battle to which I have just made reference. . . . Night shut in upon us before we passed the seat of Sir Periquin Maitland, late governor of the province, which is said to be very attractive; and the hazy atmosphere deprived us of the pleasure of even a moonlight view of the grounds. The premises are now for sale. Sir Periquin expended £5,000 in beautifying these grounds, and I am assured that they could now be purchased for £2,000. During the last miles of our ride we passed over the ground memorable as the scene of the bloody battle of Bridgewater, as it is called in our annals—in the British accounts it is called the battle of Lundy's Lane. It was here that Brown and Scott, and the troops and commanders on both sides, covered themselves with renown; for never was a battle more fiercely and obstinately contested, and both armies claimed a brilliant victory.


The moon shone out, though rather obscurely, as we reached Forsyth's hotel near the Falls, for some time previously to which our ears had been filled with the heavy sound of the rush of mighty waters. Without looking at the river, however, we took supper, and retiring to our apartments found they overlooked the far-famed cataract. I repressed my curiosity, and did not lift a curtain, being resolved not to dissolve the charm of a first look upon the glorious whole. But the roar of the tumbling torrent long banished sleep from my pillow; and when all was quiet and still in the house, I could distinctly feel that the earth and the building trembled. And when fitful slumbers stole over me, it was only to dream of whirlpools, crags, and cataracts.

Tuesday, October 6. Breakfast at eight, and after surveying the rapids from the veranda of the pavilion, we descended the high and steep bank to the Table Rock, from which the best view of the great cataract on both sides of Goat Island is obtained, unless it be from below. It

was fortunate for us, perhaps, that while surveying the rapids from the piazza of the pavilion the heavy and dense clouds of vapor, which arose from the cauldron into which the torrent pours, effectively obscured the broken view of the main fall, which otherwise would have been presented from that situation. Meantime the rapids themselves where the torrent rushes impetuously onward, leaping in foaming billows from rock to rock for a distance of more than a mile, during which it descends more than one hundred and forty feet, afforded a prospect sufficiently interesting to render the senses keenly alive to the more sublime and glorious spectacle that was to come. Arrived at Table Rock, we were struck silent and breathless for some moments with wonder and dread and admiration of this stupendous monument of Almighty power, and it seemed indeed (to borrow the metaphor of my lamented friend Brainard) as though "God poured the waters from his hollow hand!" And the evident ravages which the heavy and resistless torrent has made in the crumbling rocks, at once illustrate the fitness of this other figure of the same beautiful bard when he speaks of these waters as "Notching centuries in the eternal rocks."

It is not my design in this loose diary to attempt a description of this mighty cataract. Such an effort must be a work of thought and labor. No just picture can be elaborated at a sitting. Persons unaccustomed to measuring heights and distances by the eye are often disappointed in its apparent height at the first view. And doubtless there are many whose feelings and perceptions are no more awakened by the prospect, than were those of the tailor, whose notions of the sublime were indicated by the significant exclamation, "Oh, what a fine place to sponge a coat!"

But to one who has an eye to the glorious works of the Creator, as manifested in this beautiful world, who has a heart to feel his power and his goodness, and perceptions to admire and appreciate the vastness and magnificence of the scene, I can think of no other spectacle in nature more calculated to thrill the soul and call all the faculties into delightful action than this wonderful cataract. . . . I had conceived a very correct idea of its position, form and extent, but I had no adequate notion of the sensations an actual view would produce. . . . By the estimate of scientific men it is computed that the depth of water where it breaks over the verge is fifteen feet. The action of such a prodigious column of water must of course have worn for itself a cauldron of amazing depth—but how deep, it will forever baffle the power and the skill of man to determine. The color of the descending torrents for several rods across the channel is of a rich emerald green; but the sheet is soon lost in the thick volumes of



spray which are continually rolling up from the chasm into which it is impetuously plunged. These ceaseless clouds of spray, white, and in the glaring sunbeams glittering as liquid silver, ascending in heavy masses continually, now rolling up to a majestic height, and then borne along like a billowy cloud, now curling and wreathing around in every beautiful and fantastic form among the rocks below, or floating gracefully among the contending currents of air, form one of the most striking beauties of the spectacle. These appearances are always changing, so that the view of the Falls can never be precisely alike at any two visits, or for even a single instant of time. Hence no painter will ever succeed in giving a perfect or satisfactory representation. Another beautiful and terrific feature is the foaming whiteness of the waters as they boil in ceaseless agitation from the bottom of the basin into which they are precipitated with such force and velocity. The whole body of water, over an area of several acres, seems beaten into a perfect foam, whirling about with appalling fury, until, removed from the immediate vicinity of the cataract, it assumes its natural color and is hurried off in many eddying and contending currents in the direction of Ontario. The sensation is sufficiently overpowering as the scene is beheld from above: but from the foot of the spiral staircase, at the base of the Table Rock, it becomes intensely and awfully sublime. He who can unmoved look from the dread gulf, with its giddy whirlpools, to the overhanging rocks and rushing waters above, must be made of sterner stuff than I.

I spent the greater part of three days in viewing this wonderful curiosity from different points of observation, above and below, on both sides of the river, upon Goat Island, and at its base, and from the Terrapin rocks on the northern side of the island; and each moment so occupied was of still more thrilling interest—of more special wonder—of higher and more elevated enjoyment.

It was during my visit that the landlords on both sides of the river furnished a variety of shows in attempting to add such interest to the natural glories of the place as it was supposed would collect a multitude of people on both shores, and thus give some additional business in the way of their vocation. Several rocks were blasted off at various points where they overhung the gulf. But it was a sorry affair. The gunpowder explosions, in comparison with the roar of the waters, might be likened to the report of many pop-guns mingling with the thunders of Jove—the trembling fragments like pebbles cast into the valley from the brow of Olympus—the smoke like a cap-full of fog beside the volumes rolling up from the crater of Vesuvius. Indeed the whole affair was as contemptible

as it would be to attempt to add to the majesty of the cataract the pouring of a bucket of water at its side through a tea-kettle. Several thousands of people, however, collected on both sides, many of whom probably had never before curiosity enough to see the falls themselves—if even they saw them now. The descent and wreck of a vessel among the rapids was, however, an interesting sight. I had the pleasure to-day of forming some acquaintance with a Canadian gentleman by the name of Stuart, now engaged in the practice of law at Niagara. He is a great-grandson of Sir William Johnson, and is a gentleman of intelligence and genteel address. He was an officer in the late war in the Canadian service, and was engaged in all the active engagements along this frontier. He communicated many curious and interesting facts and anecdotes to me touching the events of that unprofitable contest.

Wednesday, October 7. Spent the day in studying the cataract. . . . It is surprising how near to the falls themselves the adventurous watermen will ply their boats upon the surface of these angry whirlpools, and with perfect safety. In the afternoon the celebrated Sam Patch, of jumping notoriety, leapt from a ladder one hundred and ten feet high into the deep, at the end of Goat Island, and picked himself safely up.

Thursday, October 8. A clear sky and warm sun rendered it an inviting day for a drive and we availed ourselves of it to visit what is called the "whirlpool," at the distance of five miles below the falls. This is a very wild and romantic spot, and second only in interest to the cataract itself. The whirlpool is formed by the full torrent of the river rushing through a narrow pass, into a bay or cove, bounded by high precipitous rocks, and after whirling round in the basin escapes through another narrow pass. It is altogether a scene of peculiar grandeur. The ride through Lundy's Lane to and from this rarely visited spot was delightful. We returned to the pavilion to dinner, and in the afternoon took the stage for Buffalo, part of which ride was by moonlight.

Friday, October 9. After breakfast this morning, we ascended to the cupola of our excellent hotel, and had a fine view of the village, the foot of Lake Erie, and of the surrounding country. In the course of the forenoon we likewise walked pretty extensively over the town.

Buffalo is a very large village, regularly laid out, and handsomely built, and appears like a place of some commercial importance. The harbor is an artificial one. It is computed that there are upwards of one hundred vessels engaged in the commerce of this lake, and this number will be increased from year to year, as the rich territory bordering on the lakes becomes peopled. The United States Bank has recently decided in favor of

locating a branch of that institution at Buffalo in preference to Utica or Rochester, over which the inhabitants are much elated, as hitherto they have been quite unfortunate in their banking undertakings. Buffalo is the third town of Erie county. There is a seminary for the education of young ladies at this place, and also an academy in which a military feature is incorporated. The examinations were in progress, and Mr. McKay politely invited me to attend. I was glad to find that the military instruction is only intended, however, to relieve the other and principal studies, so far as exercise is necessary. Rathburn's hotel is evidently the best ordered, the best arranged, the neatest and best kept, of any public house or hotel I have been in since leaving New York. It deserves to be mentioned as a model, and the landlady ought to establish a seminary for teaching new beginners in this important branch of the science of political economy.

At half-past two P.M., we left our elegant quarters, with much regret, and took the canal packet-boat for Rochester. The afternoon was uncommonly fine, and the sail along the margin of the river through Black Rock very pleasant. In passing Grand Island we were shown the site of the famous city of Arrarat, founded by Mordecai, "the governor and judge of Israel." Like Thebes and Palmyra, Troy and Babylon, however, those mighty monuments of human glory and power, not a vestige of this ancient capital now remains. Its palaces have disappeared, its towers and battlements have tumbled into ruins; tall trees choke up its beautiful streets and avenues, and even the corner-stone, once consecrated by a great mogul, now lies in the cellar of a distinguished Gentile in Black Rock. Historians have neglected to notice this great city and its illustrious founder. At the distance of thirteen miles from Buffalo, the canal leaves the margin of the Niagara, and ascends for eight or ten miles in the bed of a deep, sluggish stream, the lands on both sides low, marshy and unhealthy. This was mostly passed in the evening, and a beautiful evening it was. Leaving the river-bed, the canal now entered the deep cutting of the mountain ridge. The evening was so beautiful and the scenery so interesting, that we enjoyed both upon the deck of the slow-sailing vessel, until we had passed across the mountain and descended to the plain toward the east.

Saturday, October 10. Arrived at Rochester at half past twelve o'clock, P.M., and took lodgings at the Rochester House, where I was exceedingly gratified to fall into the company of my old and valued friend Simeon Ford, and his family, formerly of Herkimer county. Mr. Ford is a lawyer of eminence and character.

Sunday, October 11. Rain in the morning and a cloudy unpleasant day.

Attended church with Mr. H. Ely, with whom we dined. The preacher was an able and eloquent young man. His subject in the morning was the duty of the Christian world to diffuse the gospel among the heathen. In the afternoon he preached upon the means of regeneration, and the freeness of the gospel to all mankind. Our personal intercourse with the preacher at the house of Mr. Ely was of the most agreeable description.

Monday, October 12. Spent the morning in a lounge at the Athenæum, and went through the spacious flouring mills of General Beach. It is the largest establishment of the kind in the United States. It is not so compactly built, however, as the new mill of Mr. Ely. An immense business is transacted here in the flour manufacture. Mr. Ely's mills grind from twelve to fifteen bushels per hour, and the flour is cooled and packed as fast as it is made. The mills of General Beach produce an average of five hundred barrels per day. These though the largest are by no means the only ones. There are a large number here. Visited this morning in company with Mr. Johnson and Dr. Ward the new Episcopal church in St. Paul street, called also St. Paul's. It is a noble Gothic structure of stone, but not yet completed. The cost is estimated at \$16,000. In New York it would have cost \$60,000. Mrs. Stone and myself dined at Mr. Ely's with some other guests. In the afternoon Mr. Ely politely took us to drive to the falls of the Genessee river at Carthage, and also to those just below the city of Rochester. The former cataract is the most imposing, though the actual plunge of the water is not so great as the fall above, which is ninety-six feet, perpendicular descent. The bed of the river is much broader here than at Carthage. Rochester must always be a place of extensive business as long as wheat grows and water runs. The village was commenced in 1812, when Colonel Rochester and two friends from Maryland, perceiving the natural advantages of the place, purchased 100 acres of land at \$17 an acre, and began building a town which is already a city in size and opulence.

Tuesday, October 13. Left Rochester in a coach for Canandagua. Passed on the way the pleasant village of Pittsford, built principally of brick. We arrived at Canandagua to dine. The weather being fine, I chartered a horse and gig, and took Mrs. Stone out for a drive about the village and suburbs.

[*To be continued.*]

THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY

ORIGIN OF THE EPITHET

Editor of Magazine of American History

In the *Magazine of American History* [VI., 142], it is shown that in 1776, when hostilities were already in progress against the American colonies, the above epithet was applied to George III. in London, in a legend surrounding his vignette. That, however, was the year after news had reached London of the application of the epithet to Peyton Randolph, first president of the Continental Congress.

In the *Gentleman's Magazine* [XLV., 345], July, 1775, a careful account of the troubles between Lord Dunmore and the citizens of Williamsburg, Virginia, contains the following interesting passage. The italicised words are in the original, where they seem equivalent to quotation marks. "In consequence of the first proclamation [that is of Lord Dunmore, summoning the Burgesses] the General Assembly being met, it was judged expedient to require the attendance of their speaker, the Hon. Peyton Randolph, Esq., who, being one of the delegation to the Continental Congress, had previously repaired to Philadelphia. But it being suspected that *the malevolent dæmons from whom the evils in America had originated* had combined in treachery to *ensnare his Honour's life and safety*, a troop of the Williamsburg Volunteers met him at Ruffin's Ferry and escorted him to town, where he was met by the whole body, and complimented the next day by a congratulatory address, in which they intreat him in a particular manner to be attentive to his safety, and at the same time tender their services, to be exerted at the expense of everything dear to freemen, in defence of his person and constitutional liberty. They conclude with praying Heaven to lengthen the life of *the Father of their Country*."

Yours truly,

MONCURE D. CONWAY

MINOR TOPICS
THE ANGLO-AMERICANS

Editor of Magazine of American History :

A few days ago, while drinking afternoon tea with Mr. and Mrs. Bennoch, who were Mr. Nathaniel Hawthorne's oldest friends in England, my hostess spoke most glowingly of their mutual friend, Mr. Martin F. Tupper's—whom Mr. Hawthorne visited while in England—great admiration and friendship for the American people. This feeling has a most satisfactory foundation in that Mr. Tupper owed his success here to the reaction of a first great success in America, for it was to an immense sale of the "Proverbial Philosophy" there, which culminated in his deriving fifteen hundred pounds a year for twelve years from that book alone, that he enjoyed his distinction here. In our tea talk, my friends told me that there were at the time of the American Revolution relatives of the Tupperes residing in Massachusetts, and at the battle of Bunker Hill two Major Tupperes fought facing each other. One was Major John Tupper, who commanded the marines after the death of Pitcairn, and, as is recorded at the Horse Guards in London, gained for their corps the crown and laurel; the other was Major Tupper, a descendant of one of the Pilgrim Fathers, who was in Washington's army. It seems, according to the family account, that when after the battle some courtesy was generously proffered by the "Rebel" Major Tupper, the "Royalist Tupper" indignantly refused it.

Still more recently we were all visiting Mrs. Clayton Adams, Mr. Tupper's daughter Mary, at their picturesque home at Enhurst, near Guildford Surrey, and she showed me among her father's autograph treasures, a signed pass made out for George Washington, and what even more interested me, Abraham Lincoln's visiting card on the back of which was written :

"Allow Mrs. McClelland, the bearer, to see her son John McClelland, prisoner of war, on his way South.
A. Lincoln.

March 13th, 1865.

Mr. Martin F. Tupper, whose many volumes of poems contain frequent generous references to America, is now eighty years old and in failing health.

I hope another bit of treasure-trove I exhumed from a second-hand bookshop last week may prove worth your reading. On an odd leaf loose from an old book on the county of Northumberland, among its "eminent persons" it paid a high tribute to one Reverend George Walker F.R.S., who was born at Newcastle-on-Tyne about 1734. He was the author of a petition to the English people for recognizing the American Independence. Of this petition, Edwin Burke "declared that he would rather have been the author of that piece than of all his own compositions."

KATHERINE ARMSTRONG

BEDFORD PARK, CHISWICK, MIDDLESEX, ENGLAND.

HENRY WINKLEY'S BENEFACTIONS

The greater portion of Henry Winkley's life was spent in New York and Philadelphia, and he was constantly contrasting the different parts of our country. He was a great believer in New England. He thought no section had impressed itself upon the rest for the good of the whole as had New England. He attributed this largely to the proper religious training of her children and to the love of education instilled. He believed that religion and education were the basis of the strong New England character which has had such a wonderful influence upon the country. He had no faith in any education which was purely intellectual. He used to say to me that men can get along without education, but not without character. He had no faith in the moral training of young men except it was based upon the Bible. He wanted men so trained, that wherever their lives may be spent, they might be a power for good. The great trouble, he used to say, is that our young men adopt the life of the communities in which they chance to live. It is a great deal easier to drift with the community, than to stand up for what one thinks is right. The desire for wealth has so pervaded the youth of to-day that in the pursuit of it they forget every principle. He desired that there should be men who believed that there was something in this world besides material prosperity, or even education.

Mr. Winkley believed that the New England institutions—the academy, the college and the theological seminary—held the key to this problem. If these did their work well, their influence would reach down to the very lowest stratum of society. He gave his wealth to help these institutions. Philips Academy, Exeter, received \$30,000; Philips Academy, Andover, \$30,000; Dartmouth College, \$80,000; Amherst College, \$80,000; Bowdoin College, \$70,000; Williams College, \$50,000; Andover Theological Seminary, \$45,000; Yale Theological Seminary, \$50,000; Bangor Theological Seminary, \$30,000. The only condition attached to these gifts is that only the interest shall be spent. Thus the interest on nearly half a million of dollars is available for the cause of education. Who can tell or measure the amount of good that it will do? His money went to institutions which have had a history, and their alumni have been men whom Mr. Winkley admired. A Christian gentleman, in the best sense of the word, was his ideal. He was not a narrow man. In fact, he was not a member of a church, but the early training of his youth made these principles a part of him.

He used to tell with much pleasure that when he had decided to give Dartmouth College something, he simply sent his check for sixty thousand dollars, with a short note. President Bartlett, receiving the letter without previous correspondence, thought possibly some student was imposing upon him, and, before subjecting himself to ridicule, took the precaution to write one of the alumni in Philadelphia, inquiring who Mr. Winkley was. Word soon came back that no such person as Henry Winkley lived in Philadelphia, and that evidently some one was imposing upon him. President Bartlett dropped the matter until another letter came asking

if the check was received. The President then put the check in the bank, and what was his amazement and joy to receive word that it was good !

The question is often asked, Will New England continue to exert the same influence in the future as in the past ? Are not the old farms where most of the great men were reared given up or abandoned ? Has not a new people, largely foreign, and in a marked contrast to the old Puritan, come in ? Will this new element be assimilated with the old ? These questions can all be satisfactorily answered, provided the educational institutions do their duty.

In the disposition of his wealth Mr. Winkley has shown great wisdom, and every New England man for all time will feel grateful for his life.

GEORGE A. PLIMPTON, in *The Christian Union*

A BOOK REVIEW IN 1758

A Catalogue of the Royal and Noble Authors of England, with Lists of their Works, In 2 Vols duodecimo. Dodsley.

There never was a time in which anecdotes, especially literary anecdotes, were read with greater eagerness than they are now. Such reading suits extremely well with the spirit of indolent curiosity and learned loitering, which is so much the character of these times. The present work is certainly one of the best of that kind. By confining himself to these noble and royal personages who have applied their leisure to literature, he has certainly not given us the account of those authors whose works are the most valuable. But the large share which many of them have had in the transactions of public life, affords a greater variety of materials for agreeable biography, than could be expected from the lives of far better authors of lower rank. Very few writers, however, could have had the happy secret of making out of so dry a matter so agreeable an entertainment ; and of uniting so much laborious industry in the compiling, with so much wit and spirit in the execution. It were to be wished that the author had indulged himself less in points and turns.

Some of the most remarkable lives may thus serve to mark the most striking æras in literature.—*Annual Register*, LONDON, ENGLAND, 1758.

WASHINGTONIANA

EXTRACTS FROM THE CONTEMPORARY NEWSPAPERS AND OTHER ACCOUNTS OF
THE INAUGURATION OF OUR FIRST PRESIDENT IN 1789

From the Massachusetts Centinel, May 6, 1789.

New York May 1. Yesterday the great and illustrious WASHINGTON, the favourite son of liberty, and deliverer of his country, entered upon the execution of the office of First Magistrate of the United States of America ; to which important

station he had been unanimously called by the united voice of the people. The ceremony which took place on this occasion was truly grand and pleasing, and every heart seemed anxious to testify the joy it felt on so memorable an event. His Excellency was escorted from his house, by a troop of Light Dragoons, and the Legion under the command of Col. LEWIS, attended by a Committee of the Senate and House of Representatives, to Federal Hall, where he was formally received by both Houses of Congress, assembled in the Senate Chamber; after which he was conducted to the gallery in front of the Hall, accompanied by all the Members, when the oath prescribed by the Constitution was administered to him by the Chancellor of this State, who then said—

“Long live GEORGE WASHINGTON,

President of the United States;” which was answered by an immense concourse of Citizens, assembled on the occasion, by the loudest plaudit and acclamation, that love and veneration ever inspired. His Excellency then made a speech to both Houses, and then proceeded, attended by Congress, to St. Paul’s Church, where Divine Service was performed by the Right Rev. SAMUEL PROVOST, after which his Excellency was conducted in form to his own house. In the evening a most magnificent and brilliant display of Fire-Works was exhibited at the Fort, under the direction of Col. BEUMAN. The houses of the French and Spanish Ministers were illuminated in a superb and elegant manner; a number of beautiful transparent paintings were exhibited, which did infinite credit to the parties concerned in the design and execution.

April 30. We have had this day one of those impressive sights which dignify and adorn human nature. At 9 o’clock, all the churches were opened—and the people, in prodigious numbers, thronged these sacred temples—and, with one voice, put up their prayers to Almighty God for the safety of the President.

At 12 the procession moved to the Federal State House, where in the gallery fronting Broad-Street, in the presence of an immense concourse, his Excellency took the oath, the book being placed on a velvet cushion. The Chancellor then proclaimed him President—and in a moment the air trembled with the shouts of the citizens, and the roar of artillery. His Excellency, with that greatness of soul—that dignity and calmness, which are his characteristics—then bowed to his “fellow-citizens”—who again huzzaed.

Major L’Enfant was a native of France, he was employed to rebuild after a design of his own, the old New York City Hall in Wall St. fronting Broad Street; making therefrom the Federal Hall of that day (1789). The new building was for the accommodation of Congress; and in the balcony, upon which the Senate Chamber opened, the first President of the United States was inaugurated. A ceremony which I witnessed, and which for its simplicity, the persons concerned in it, the

effect produced upon my country and the world, in giving stability to the Federal Constitution, by calling Washington to administer its blessings, remains on my mind unrivalled by any scene witnessed, through a long life, either in Europe or America.—*History of the Arts of Design in America*, by William Dunlap, I., 338.

Dunlap's School History of New York, Vol. II., 263. In 1789, I saw Washington divested of the garb of war, place his hand on the Bible, and swear to support that Constitution under which I have since lived happily half a century. Between the pillars of the Old City Hall, in Wall Street, as altered for the reception of the Federal Congress, in view of thousands who filled Broad Street as far as the eye could extend its view, and every avenue within sight of the building, the man of the people's choice was announced to them, as the first President of the United States of America.

Abstract of account in *N. Y. Packet*.

New York, May 1, 1789. Yesterday at two o'clock was solemnly inaugurated into office, our Illustrious President.

The ceremony was begun by the following procession from the Federal State House to the President's house, viz :

Troop of Horse,
Assistants
Committee of Representatives
Committee of Senate
Gentlemen to be admitted in the Senate Chamber
Gentlemen in coaches
Citizens on foot

On their arrival, the President joined the procession in his carriage and four, and the whole moved through the principal streets to the State House in the following order

Troop of Horse
Infantry
Sheriff on horseback
Committee of Representatives
Committee of Senate
Assistants { President and } Assistants
 { President's Suite }
Gentlemen to be admitted in the Senate Chamber.
Gentlemen in coaches
Citizens on foot.

When the van reached the State House, the troops opening their ranks formed an avenue, through which, after alighting, the President advancing to the door,

was conducted to the Senate Chamber, where he was received by both branches of Congress, and by them accompanied to the balcony or outer gallery in front of the State House, which was decorated with a canopy and curtains of red interstreaked with white for the solemn occasion. In this public manner the oath of office required by the Constitution, was administered by the Chancellor of this State, and the illustrious Washington thereupon declared by the said Chancellor, PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, amidst the repeated huzzas and acclamations of a numerous and crowded audience.

After the inauguration, the President returning to the Senate Chamber delivered a speech to both Houses of Congress.

[Here follows the Speech.]

After this the President, accompanied by both Houses of Congress, proceeded on foot to St. Paul's Church (where divine service was performed by the Right Rev. Dr. Provoost, suitable to the immediate occasion) in the following order, viz.:

Troop of Horse
 Infantry
 Door Keeper and Messenger of Representatives
 Clerk.
 Representatives
 Speaker
 President and Vice-President
 President's Suite
 Senators
 Secretary
 Door Keeper and Messenger of the Senate
 Gentlemen admitted into the Senate Chamber
 Sheriff
 Citizens.

Constables, Marshalls &c on each side of the Members of Congress at proper distances, from the front of the Representatives to the rear of the Senators.

In the evening fireworks were displayed under the direction of Col. Bauman—The brilliancy and excellency of them does honor to the projector.

The houses of their Excellencies the French and Spanish Ambassadors were most elegantly illuminated on this auspicious occasion.

Extract of a letter from a gentleman in New York to his friend in Philadelphia, dated May 1, 1789:

Yesterday the great Patriot Washington took a solemn charge of the liberties of America. The magnificence and splendor of the procession, from his house to the federal building, commanded the admiration of every beholder. But above

all, the solemnity which appeared while he took the oath of office, was truly affecting. The silent joy which every rank of spectators exhibited in their countenances, bespoke the sincere wishes of their hearts. I could have wished you to have been a spectator.

The fireworks exhibited in the evening were truly brilliant ; and the illuminations and transparent paintings of the Spanish and French Ambassadors, surpassed even conception itself.—*Pa. Packet, May 7, 1789.*

New York, May 2, 1789. We feel satisfaction in adding to the account given in yesterday's paper of the inauguration of the President,—that his Excellency on that great day, was dressed in a complete suit of elegant broad cloth of the manufacture of his country.—*Pa. Packet, May 6, 1789.*

From the *Gazette of the United States* :

THE PRESIDENT, accompanied by His Excellency the Vice-President, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, and both Houses of Congress, went to St. Paul's Chapel, where divine service was performed, by the Right Rev. Dr. Provost, Bishop of the Episcopal Church in this State, and Chaplain to the Senate.

The religious solemnity being ended, the President was escorted to his residence.

EVENING CELEBRATION.

The transparent paintings exhibited in various parts of the city, on Thursday evening, were equal at least, to anything of the kind ever before seen in America.

That displayed before the Fort at the bottom of Broad-way, did great honor to its inventors and executors, for the ingenuity of the design, and goodness of the workmanship ; it was finely lighted and advantageously situated : The virtues, FORTITUDE*, JUSTICE†, and Wisdom‡ were judiciously applied ; of the first, all America has had the fullest evidence ; and with respect to the two others, who does not entertain the most pleasing anticipations.

His Excellency DON GARDQUI's residence next caught the eye—and fixed it in pleasing contemplation : The *Tout-en-semble* here, formed a most brilliant front ; the figures well fancied. THE GRACES, suggested the best ideas ; and the pleasing variety of *emblems, flowers, shrubbery, arches, &c.* and above all the MOVING PICTURES, that figured in the windows, or as it were in the *back ground*, created by fixing the transparencies between the windows, afforded a new—an animated, and enchanting spectacle.

* The PRESIDENT.

† The SENATE.

‡ The REPRESENTATIVES of the United States.

The residence of his Excellency, COUNT MEUSTIER, was illuminated in a stile of novel elegance ; the splendid bordering of lamps round the windows, doors, &c. with the fancy pieces in each window ; and above all the large designs in front, the allusions, of which we cannot at present particularly describe, did great honor to the taste and sentiment of the inventor.

The above two instances of attention to honor this great and important occasion, so highly interesting to our "dear country," evince the friendship, the delicacy and politeness of our illustrious allies.

The portrait of "THE FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY" exhibited in Broad-Street, was extremely well executed, and had a fine effect.

There was an excellent Transparency, also shown at the Theatre, and at the corner, near the Fly-Market : In short, emulation and ingenuity were alive ; but perhaps were in no instance exhibited to greater advantage than in the display of Fire Works, which, from one novelty to another, continued for two hours, to surprise, by variety, taste, and brilliancy.

The illumination of the Federal State House, was among the most agreeable of the exhibitions of the evening ; and the ship Carolina formed a beautiful pyramid of Stars : The evening was fine—the company innumerable—every one appeared to enjoy the scene, and no accident casts the smallest cloud upon the retrospect.

May 1.

Yesterday morning THE PRESIDENT received the compliments of His Excellency the Vice President, His Excellency the Governor of this State, the principal Officers of the different Departments ; the foreign Ministers ; and a great number of other persons of distinction.

We are informed, that the President has assigned every Tuesday and Friday, between the hours of two and three, for receiving visits ; and that visits of compliment on other days, and particularly on Sundays, will not be agreeable to him.

It seems to be a prevailing opinion, that so much of THE PRESIDENT'S time will be engaged by the various and important business, imposed upon him by the Constitution, that he will find himself constrained to omit returning visits, or accepting invitations to Entertainments.

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS

THE PURCHASE OF THE *TRENT*

An unpublished letter, written in 1861, by S. R. Mallory, Secretary of the Confederate Navy.

[The original of the following letter is in my possession, and its authenticity beyond question. Its contents will prove, in some important respects, a revelation to the reading public.—EDITOR.]

Confederate States.

Navy Department.

Richmond. Va. Sept 19. 1861.

Captain D. N. Ingraham

Charleston. S. C.

Dear Sir

Your letter of the 17th ins't has just been received.

If the vessel is in good condition to make the run to England, her machinery sound and in good working order, and she can be made ready immediately for the voyage, you will purchase her upon the terms proposed, the government paying \$100,000, to the Charleston owners and holding itself responsible to the alien enemy owners in such manner as it may determine,

The duty required of her, as you are aware, demands every precaution against failure, and every preparation for a successful trip must be made immediately, the vessel to sail on the 25 or 26 instant, at furthest.

Her former Captain knowing the ship and her trim may be engaged as an acting master at \$1200, if you deem it best. It would be well also to carry out three or four pilots familiar with the Carolina and Georgia coasts, as two of them might be wanted by vessels expected from Europe.

Lieutenant Pegram is ordered to report to you for the command, and other officers are also detailed. You will ship her usual crew of seamen, coal heavers, and firemen, and it would be well to engage her former engineers. A cabin cook and steward, with proper assistants including a stewardess, will be required, as the cabin passengers will number fourteen ladies and gentlemen with six attendants, stores and provisions for whom will also be laid in. These and all other necessary arrangements are all confided to you, and the importance of keeping the whole subject as private as possible is evident.

Lieutenant Pegram will perform such duties as may be required of him as Paymaster, the department having no officer of that grade to detail for the service.

You will advise the department immediately upon receipt of this letter at the earliest day at which the vessel can be ready for sea.

The speed of the vessel is represented to be twelve miles an hour, and you will report the best information you can obtain as to this point, as her alleged speed furnishes the principal reason for purchasing her, and the commissioners would not be permitted to go to sea in a vessel which any ship of the enemy could overhaul.

If she can carry two guns without impairing her speed, and you can readily place them on her, you will exercise your judgment as to the mounting them on her. A signal gun she should have.

Lieutenant Pegram will join you, and aid in these details. You can determine a private signal for her—something that may be distinctly seen, and which we may recognize on her return voyage.

You will advise me by mail at once. I do not rely upon the telegraph

I am respectfully

Your Ob't Servant

S. R. Mallory

Secretary of the Navy.

VIRGINIA STATE NAVY

From the Autograph Collection of W. Hudson Stephens, Louville, New York.

[The following letter from Richard Henry Lee, in 1782, is sent to the Magazine in response to the query [xix., 346], and will be read with interest.—EDITOR.]

Chantilly Sept^r 7th 1782.

Sir.

I have not until now found an opportunity of answering the letter that you honored me with on the 8th of August, or I should sooner have done so. The 51 bad arms mentioned in my return, the people are willing to get repaired as quickly as possible at their own Expence, and are therefore unwilling to part with them. I am this day informed that 1200 cartridges are landed at Leeds for the use of this Country— M^r Diche ? * says that 1500 were intended but that those sent from Richmond did not hold out— If you have, or can make an acquaintance with the Commissioners for the defence of the Bay & its dependencies, you will really do a very useful thing to the public if you can apply some stimulus to them, that our trade and shores may not continue Exposed to insult and injury from a few most infamous and ill conducted Pirates in barges & whale boats who plunder both by land & water in the Very bowels of the State to its great dishonor & misfortune, I have the honor to be with very great Esteem & regard Sir your most obedient and very humble Servant

Richard Henry Lee

* It is as near Diche ? as am able to make out.—W. H. S.

TWO UNPUBLISHED WASHINGTON LETTERS

From the Collection of Walter L. Sawyer, Minneapolis, Minnesota

Smiths Tavern in the
Clove June 11th 1779

Sir

Notwithstanding I sent you some Dragoons for the purpose of transmitting intelligence, I could wish you from the roughness of the Country to select 2 or 3 active footmen for the same purpose—these you will exempt from all other duty, & keep in the utmost readiness for this business—If anything extraordinary should happen during your command at the forest, it may be well to communicate it, both by a horse and footman, when the most expeditious way will be discovered, & may be used on other similar occasions.

I am Sir y. mo. Obet. Servant

G Washington

To Col. Otho Williams
at the Furnace of Dean

*Washington to the Governor of Maryland*New York Aug. 30th 1789.

Sir

I have the honor to transmit to your Excellency a Resolution of Congress for carrying into effect a Survey directed to be made by an Act of the late Congress and requesting the President of the United States to appoint a proper person to compleat the same.

Also the duplicate of an Act relative to Negotiations and Treaties with the Indian Tribes.

I have the honor to be With due consideration .

Your Excellencys Mo^t Obtand Mo^t Hum^b Sev^t

G. Washington

To His Excellency
John E. Howard

NOTES

- **MR. CHASE AND MR. LINCOLN**—The tribute paid to Mr. Chase by McCulloch in his "Men and Measures of Half a Century," is of peculiar interest. "He was clear-headed, self-possessed, self-confident, patriotic, hopeful, bold, and he succeeded when trained financiers, who, all equally conservative and cautious, would have failed. . . . If I were asked to designate the man whose services, next to Mr. Lincoln's were of the greatest value to the country from March, 1861, to July, 1864, I should unhesitatingly name Salmon P. Chase. That Mr. Chase made some mistakes, is admitted by his warmest friends—if he had not, he would have been more than mortal. He was called upon to perform duties of the highest importance to his country—duties to which he was entirely unaccustomed, and for the performance of which he had no opportunity for preparation. His work was gigantic, and even the most critical were compelled to acknowledge that on the whole it was done well. Two mistakes he admitted—one, consenting that the United States notes should be made a legal tender; the other, in advising the repeal of the clause in the first Legal Tender Act which made the notes convertible into bonds. His friends were forced to admit that he made two mistakes of a different character—one in permitting his name to be used as a candidate for the Presidency while he was a member of Mr. Lincoln's Cabinet; the other, in resigning when his services as Secretary of the Treasury were greatly needed. It may be proper for me to remark here that the personal relations between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Chase were never cordial. They were about as unlike in appearance, in education, in manners, in taste, and in temperament as two eminent men could be. Mr. Chase had received a classical education, and until he entered the political field and became the leader of the Anti-Slavery party of Ohio, he had been a student of general literature; in appearance he was impressive, in manner stately, in taste refined, in temperament cold. Although the larger part of his early life was passed in the West, he was not "Westernized." He cracked no jokes, and he had no aptitude for story-telling. He did not and could not appreciate these qualities which brought Mr. Lincoln so close to the hearts of the people. Self-reliant, rapid in conclusions, and prompt in action, he would not, had he been President in the spring of 1861, have waited for South Carolina to strike the first blow; it was, therefore, fortunate that he was not in Mr. Lincoln's place."
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- TARIFF LITERATURE**—The collection of tariff literature on the shelves of the Wisconsin Historical Society's library is by all means the largest in the West. It embraces both foreign and American publications, on both sides of the great question; and no important book or pamphlet on the subject, issued during this year or the last ten, is missing. Secretary Thwaites has also been particularly successful in gathering the general literature of the present campaign—Republican, Democratic and Prohibition; this will be neatly bound in volumes, indexed and catalogued, for future reference. The campaign of 1888 has been

one prolific in literary efforts, and in future years this great mass of books, pamphlets and leaflets will be studied with profit by historians and politicians. The secretary made this invaluable collection before the election. These ephemeral political publications, so full of suggestions and striking lessons for future students of our economic history, are scarce within another fortnight, and rarities at the close of the year; it is astonishing how quickly such editions are lost sight of after the date of issue. This collection is one of the many evidences that the Wisconsin Historical Library is being kept well abreast of the times.

THE BOY GOVERNOR—Mr. James K. Hosmer, in his new book on the "Life

of Young Sir Henry Vane," gives some picturesque glimpses of "Young Harry," as he was called, who reached Boston in the ship *Abigail* October 6, 1635, and was at the time only twenty-three years of age. "The new governor was hailed by the colony with more ceremony and rejoicing than had ever yet been shown on a similar occasion, and the ship in the harbor signalized his election with a 'volley of great shot.' The young man, no doubt remembering the state he had so often witnessed at the pompous European courts, assumed a circumstance that had not before been seen. Four sergeants, with halberds, steel caps on their heads, bandoliers, and small arms, marched before him whenever he went to the general court or to church."

QUERIES

FRENCH AND MARTIN—*Editor Magazine of American History*: I should like to inquire if any of your readers can furnish me materials for a biographical sketch of Gen. Benjamin French, who was a Canadian officer in the French and Indian War of 1756-1763, or of Gen. Joseph Martin, of Virginia, who served during the same war in the British army.

STEPHEN B. WEEKS.

JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY.

LYNDE AND WILLOUGHBY—Information not already in print is desired from the descendants of Judge Simon Lynde of Boston, and of Deputy Governor Francis Willoughby of Charlestown, Massachusetts, in regard to their ancestry and descendants, their family history, traditions, relics, etc.

JONATHAN WILLOUGHBY, eldest son

of Deputy Governor Francis Willoughby, was born about 1635, in England. He preached in Wethersfield, Connecticut, from September, 1664 to May, 1666, and afterward for a short time in Haddam, Connecticut. He had a daughter Mary, born May 8, 1664. Who was his wife, whose name was Grissel? Had he other children, and if so, what is known of them? Can other information be obtained about him? Is there now living any descendant of Deputy Governor Willoughby in the male line?

MRS. ELIZABETH WILLOUGHBY, widow of Col. William Willoughby a commissioner of the Royal Navy, left a legacy in her will (witnessed in London in 1662) to her sister, Mrs. Jane Hammond of Virginia, who was mother of Capt. Laurance Hammond, the third

husband of Margaret, widow of Deputy Governor Willoughby, of Massachusetts, son of Col. William Willoughby. She also left a legacy to her sister, Mrs. Anna Griffin, of Portsmouth, England, wife of William Griffin. Are any of the descendants of Mrs. Jane Hammond living?

In 1677 Mrs. Rebecca Saintbury (perhaps Sainsbury), of St. Olave, Southwark, Co. Surrey, left a bequest to her niece, Elizabeth Griffin, in Virginia. Among early grants of land in Virginia

is one of December 9, 1662, to William Griffin. Was he the same person as the brother-in-law of Mrs. Elizabeth Willoughby? Are any of his descendants living? Can the family name of Mrs. Elizabeth Willoughby and her sisters, Mrs. Jane Hammond and Mrs. Anna Griffin, be ascertained?

Information is needed for the large historical and genealogical work now being printed by

MR. and MRS. EDWARD E. SALISBURY.
NEW HAVEN, CONNECTICUT.

REPLIES

EAST TENNESSEE ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO [xx. p. 43]—A correspondent in the *Magazine of American History* of July, 1888, has some notes on "East Tennessee One Hundred Years Ago," and the following may be of service in establishing facts respecting the story of the first settlements west of the Alleghany Mountains, after the capture of Fort Du Quesne.

In 1768 a considerable settlement was made within the limits of the present Fayette and Greene counties, Pennsylvania, then supposed to be in Virginia. On the south fork of Ten Mile there was a Presbyterian meeting-house and school in 1769. This is in the present Greene county. Mount Moriah Presbyterian Church and school were founded in 1773; Forks meeting-house and school in 1775. James Power, pastor and schoolmaster Vanies-fort, 1774, Bedford county. *Presbytery of Red Stone* was formed in 1781; also a pastor and schoolmaster established at Mount Pleasant, Bedford county, 1776 to 1779. Joseph Smith was pastor and

schoolmaster at Cross Roads, Bedford county, 1780; of Buffalo, 1781.

Washington Academy was opened in 1783, and chartered September 24, 1787.

Copies of the first newspaper, *The Pittsburg Gazette*, published west of the mountain, are to be found in many public libraries.

The government of Pennsylvania has been a free representative one from 1750 to the present day.

A. BOYD HAMILTON
HARRISBURG, PA.

WASHINGTON'S PORTRAIT BY PINE [xx. 335]—I refer your correspondent from Montreal to an interesting account of that artist and his works, in a volume, —now somewhat rare—entitled "The Character and Portraits of Washington," by the late Henry T. Tuckerman, published by G. P. Putnam, New York, in 1850, of which copies may be found in the principal libraries.

Robert Edge Pine went from England to the United States with the grand project in view of producing a series of his-

torical paintings illustrative of the American Revolution, embracing original portraits of the leaders in that achievement. Although this project was not fully carried out, he did some work towards it, and, as my brother writes in his book, "by his vivid tints and correct resemblance attested the ability of the painter. Washington sat to him at Mount Vernon in 1785, where the artist remained three weeks." Although the tone of this picture is cold and its effect unimpressive beside the more bold and glowing pencil of Stuart, artists find in it certain merits not discoverable in those of a later date; and the late venerable widow of Alexander Hamilton declared that it revived to her mind the image of Washington more satisfactorily than any other portrait."

An engraving from this picture appears in Mr. Tuckerman's volume. The original painting was, a few years since, in the possession of the late J. Carson Brevoort, of Brooklyn. It is a two-third portrait in uniform, and is probably the original of the "full size" picture referred to by your correspondent.

C. K. T.

FLORENCE, ITALY, *October*, 1888.

WASHINGTON'S PORTRAIT BY PINE [xx. 335]—Washington Irving and Justin Winsor are authorities for the statement that such a picture, painted in 1785, was sold in 1817, in Montreal, to Henry Brevoort. A copy of the picture appears in the Mt. Vernon edition of Irving's works, and also in Irving's Washington. The original picture is now said to be in the estate of the late

James Carson Brevoort, of Brooklyn, a son of Henry Brevoort. Another picture which Pine painted at the same time is said to be in Independence Hall.

J. A. B.

BELOIT COLLEGE, WISCONSIN.

THIRTEEN NOT AN UNLUCKY NUMBER [xx. 424].—Da Vinci, in his fresco of The Last Supper in the refectory by the church of S. Maria delle Grazie in Milan, represents Christ sitting at table with the twelve disciples. As I was once standing before this picture, the thought occurred to me that, from the historical fact there represented and the death of Christ soon after, arose the superstition of the thirteen sitting at table together. This explanation has the merit of plausibility, and I therefore offer it in answer to the query of your correspondent.

GEO. W. ROLLINS

PUBLIC LATIN SCHOOL, BOSTON, MASS.

THIRTEEN NOT AN UNLUCKY NUMBER [xx. 424]—The following curious story serves as an illustration: "A soldier in the time of William and Mary was tried by a court-martial on a charge of having fallen asleep at midnight when on duty upon the terrace at Windsor. He denied the charge, and solemnly declared (as a proof of his having been awake at the time) that he heard St. Paul's clock strike thirteen. While under sentence of death affidavits were made by several persons that the clock actually did strike thirteen instead of twelve: whereupon he received his Majesty's pardon." This statement was engraved upon the coffin-plate of the old soldier.

V. W.

SOCIETIES

NEW YORK HISTORICAL SOCIETY—A stated meeting of this society was held at its rooms on the evening of November 6, the Hon. John A. King presiding. The librarian reported several important additions to the collections. Mr. Edward J. Lowell, a member, read the paper of the evening entitled "German Bibliography of the Revolution," describing the printed and manuscript sources of information relating to the operations of the Hessian troops hired by England, and closing with an account of the capture of Fort Lee from the diary of a Hessian officer. The thanks of the society were voted Mr. Lowell, and a copy of his paper requested for the archives. The society then adjourned.

THE CHICAGO HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its regular quarterly meeting at its rooms, October 16, 1888, President Edward G. Mason in the chair. Valuable accessions to the library were reported by the librarian. The secretary, John Moses, reported that, in response to the invitation for the society from the committee of arrangements for the centennial celebration at Marietta, Ohio, in July last, he attended the great gathering in a representative capacity, and on the day set apart for Illinois, addressed the assemblage in Centennial Hall in regard to the early history of his own state.

Miss Marie A. Brown then read a paper on "the Norse Discovery of America," which was illustrated by stereopticon views; for which the thanks of the society were returned.

ONEIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its

monthly meeting at Utica on the evening of October 29, President Ellis H. Roberts in the chair. The secretary reported important gifts to the society, and a resolution was passed looking towards securing a permanent building in which to deposit its possessions.

In answer to an inquiry the president stated that invitations had been given to a number of gentlemen to prepare papers on the early settlers of the different nationalities in the Mohawk valley. J. C. Schreiber had promised a paper on German settlers, and at the next meeting of the society Rev. Erasmus W. Jones would read a paper on "The early Welsh settlers of the Mohawk valley." The annual address on the second Tuesday in January will be given by Dr. Willis J. Beecher of Auburn Theological Seminary.

THE RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY held its quarterly meeting on the evening of October 2, the president, Professor William Gammell in the chair. Much of the evening was occupied in matters of business. President Gammell spoke of the death of Rowland G. Hazard as affecting both the society and the University, and suggested that the president of each institution pronounce a eulogy on October 30, at Manning Hall. Allusion was also made to the recent death of Dr. William Grosvenor.

The memorial meeting of the society was held October 30 in honor of Mr. Hazard. President Gammell read a brief paper touching upon the salient points of Mr. Hazard's business and social life. He was the senior member of the Historical Society, a Fellow of the

University, and the founder of one of its leading professorships. More than that, he was a votary of that divine philosophy, which seeks to probe into the human mind. His life was spent in private, but with ennobling studies and of a beneficent character. The family of Hazard was settled in the state as early as 1640, on the island of Rhode Island, but soon after they removed to Narragansett, where they became farmers. At the end of a century the family name belonged to more of the inhabitants of that section than any other, and they were noted for their remarkable longevity and strict integrity.

Dr. Robinson spoke of Mr. Hazard as a philosopher and a metaphysician. He said that the philosophical writings of Mr. Hazard are contained in four duodecimo volumes. The last three are metaphysical, while the first, published twenty-eight years before the others, is not strictly so, yet it contains the principles of his later philosophies. This volume was entitled "Language" and referred to the present condition of man. It was mainly thought out at odd moments when riding in stage coaches, and written out in fragments in such times as could be taken from his pressing business. He divided his subject into two classes, the language of ideality and the language of the abstract. The former is the language of poetry, the latter the language of prose. His writings are free from the thoughts of others; he relied wholly upon himself. Through many a tangled path he cut his way where others had been lost. His mind

could untangle the knottiest skeins and most intricate questions in philosophy or metaphysics, in political economy or finance. His mind had a peculiar faculty for clear thinking. Ordinarily he reached his ideas by intuition, and then by a strict analysis he led up to his thought, making the foundation sure. If he had not been the greatest of metaphysicians he could have been the greatest of mathematicians.

THE NEW YORK GENEALOGICAL AND BIOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY has removed its quarters, and is holding its regular fortnightly meetings in the new hall of the Berkeley Lyceum building in 44th street. Its first meeting was on the 12th of October; its second on the 26th of the same month, when the Rev. F. F. Buermyer read a paper on "The Lutheran Church among the Dutch in the New Netherlands." At the meeting on the 9th of November, a paper was read by Hon. L. Bradford Prince on "The Pueblo Indians."

THE HUGUENOT SOCIETY OF AMERICA held its first monthly meeting for the season on the evening of November 15, at Columbia College—its new home. President John Jay occupied the chair, and a very intellectual and appreciative audience were assembled to listen to a scholarly and uncommonly interesting paper by Professor Henry M. Baird, of the University of the city, on "The Huguenots of the Desert," the term "Desert" being a figurative designation used by the French Protestants during the period of persecution.

HISTORIC AND SOCIAL JOTTINGS

As the year 1888 draws to a close, the antique fashions of a century ago, which are not so very different, after all, from those of the present, are being suddenly investigated and studied by gentlemen as well as ladies, and chiefly by those who cannot properly be accused of having any hand in the shaping and making of costumes. There is a peculiar significance in the questions that are asked by those engaged in these mysterious researches. We must wait, however, for developments, before we venture to predict the wholesale adoption of the fashions of 1789, prior to the celebration of the anniversary of Washington's first inauguration, in April next. Perhaps it would be well and wise to take a glimpse backward at our leisure, and see what those fashions were like. We are told by a contemporary writer that at the great Inauguration ball, May 7, 1789, "the collection of ladies was numerous and brilliant, and they were dressed with consummate taste and elegance."

A very unique feature of that historic ball, and a most agreeable surprise to the ladies, was the presentation to each of a beautiful fan, made in Paris, which displayed, as it was opened, between the hinges and the elegant paper covering, an admirably executed medallion portrait of Washington, in profile. These fans were courteously presented to each one with the compliments of the managers, pages being appointed for their distribution.

Before attempting any description of the toilets of the ladies on that memorable occasion, we should observe the appearance of the gentlemen, one of whom, a few years afterward, left on permanent record a pen-picture of his evening dress for 1789. He said: "I remember going one night, with Sir John Temple and Henry Remsen, to a party. . . . I was dressed in a light French blue coat, with a high collar, broad lappels, and large gilt buttons, a double-breasted Marseilles vest, nankeen-colored cassimere breeches, with white silk stockings, shining pumps, and full ruffles on my breast and at my wrists, together with a ponderous white cravat, with a pudding in it, as we then called it; and I was considered the best dressed gentleman in the room."

A favorite ball costume of the fashionable belles of New York at that period, was a plain celestial blue satin gown, with a white satin petticoat; an Italian gauze handkerchief—which is noticeable in the portraits of Stuart and the Peales—with border stripes of satin, for the neck; hair arranged in detached curls, with a *pouf* of gauze in the form of a globe for a head-dress, usually adorned with wreaths of flowers. The court hoop was in vogue, and shoes were of celestial blue, with rose-colored rosettes. There were many variations and modifications then, as now, to suit individual tastes, and nearly all colors were harmonized and worn—more particularly dark gray, yellow, and a bright green, as well as celestial blue,—but the general character and style may be gleaned from the above.

The English and French fashions ruled New York with as much arbitrary force in 1789 as in 1889. Nothing could be more to the point than the account of Mrs. John Adams, in one of her letters recently published in Stedman's *Library of American Literature*, of the Ambassadors' Ball, in London, in the spring of 1786. "I am sure," she writes, "I never saw an assembly room in America which did not exceed that at St. James's in point of elegance and decoration; and as to its fair visitors, not all in their blaze of diamonds, set off with Parisian rouge, can match the blooming health, the sparkling eye, and modest deportment of the dear girls of my native land. As to the dancing, the space they had to move in gave them no opportunity to display the grace of a minuet, and the full dress of long court trains and enormous hoops. . . . Silk waists, gauze or white or painted tiffany coats decorated with ribbon, beads, or flowers as fancy directed, were chiefly worn by the young ladies. Hat turned up at the sides with diamond loops and buttons of steel, large bows of ribbons and wreaths of flowers, displayed themselves to much advantage upon the heads of some of the prettiest girls England can boast. . . . There was as great a variety of pretty dresses borrowed wholly from France, as I have ever seen; and among the rest, some with sapphire blue satin waists, spangled with silver and laced down the backs and seams with silver stripes; white satin petticoats, trimmed with black and blue velvet ribbon; and an odd kind of head-dress which they term the 'helmet of Minerva.' I did not observe the bird of wisdom, however, nor do I know whether those who wore the dress had suitable pretensions to it."

Of far greater interest than the above, is the exact information of what Mrs. Adams herself wore on that particular evening. She is writing to her niece, Miss Lucy Cranch, and says: "If it will gratify you to know, you shall hear. Your aunt, then, wore a full-dress court cap, without the lappets, in which was a wreath of white flowers, and blue sheafs, two black and blue flat feathers (which cost her half a guinea apiece, but that you need not tell of); three pearl pins, bought for court, and a pair of pearl earrings, the cost of them—no matter what; less than diamonds, however. A sapphire-blue *demi-saison*, with a satin stripe, sack and petticoat trimmed with a broad black lace; crape flounces, etc.; leaves made of blue ribbon, and trimmed with white floss; wreaths of black velvet ribbon, spotted with steel beads, which are much in fashion, and brought to such perfection as to resemble diamonds; white ribbon also, in the Vandyke style, made up of the trimming, which looked very elegant; a full-dress handkerchief and a bouquet of roses. 'Full gay, I think, for my aunt.' That is true, Lucy, but nobody is old in Europe. I was seated next the Duchess of Bedford, who had a scarlet satin sack and coat, with a cushion full of diamonds—for hair she has none, and is *but seventy-six*, neither."

Mrs. Adams goes on to describe further how her daughter was dressed. "Well, now for your cousin: a small white Leghorn hat, bound with pink satin ribbon; a steel buckle and band which turned up at the side and confined a large pink bow; a large bow of the same kind of ribbon behind; a wreath of full-blown roses round the crown, and another of buds and roses withinside the hat, which, being placed at the back of the hair, brought the roses to the edge—you see it clearly; one red and black feather, with two white ones, completed the head-dress. A gown and coat of Chamberi gauze, with a red satin stripe over a pink waist, and coat flounced with crape, trimmed with broad point and pink ribbon; wreaths of roses across the coat; gauze sleeves and ruffles. But the poor girl was so sick with a cold, that she could not enjoy herself, and we retired about

one o'clock, without waiting supper, by which you have lost half a sheet of paper, I dare say; but I can not close without describing to you Lady North and her daughter. She is as large as Captain C——'s wife, and much such a made woman, with a much fuller face, and looks as if porter and beef stood no chance before her: add to this that it is covered with large red pimples, over which, to help the natural redness, a coat of rouge is spread; and, to assist her shape, she was dressed in white satin, trimmed with scarlet ribbon. Miss North is not so large, nor quite so red, but has a very small eye, with the most impudent face you can possibly form an idea of. . . . Thus, my dear girl, you have an account which perhaps may amuse you not a little."

It will be remembered that both Mrs. Adams and her daughter had returned to America, and were in New York in 1789, fresh from their novel and instructive experiences among the society magnates of the Old World. History does not kindly inform us, however, concerning the wardrobes they brought home. Mrs. John Jay, Mrs. Ralph Izard, and others who might be mentioned here, had also resided abroad under circumstances where they had enjoyed the highest social advantages, and grown familiar with courts and court etiquette. Now that they were moving in the honored circle of the most illustrious character in modern history—our first President—and were recognized social leaders in the new America, and before the eyes of the world, we can readily see how naturally their dress, especially on public occasions, would be governed by the prevailing fashions in the French and English capitals.

At the inauguration ball on the 7th of May, 1789, it is said that the company numbered over three hundred. President Washington was the star of the evening. He danced in two cotillions. His partners were Mrs. Peter Van Brugh Livingston, who was a sister of Lord Stirling, and Mrs. Alexander Hamilton. He also danced a minuet with Mrs. James Homer Maxwell, who, as the beautiful Miss Van Zandt, had repeatedly danced with him while the army was stationed at Morristown during the Revolutionary war. The following Thursday the French Minister gave a magnificent ball, in honor of the President, at his house in lower Broadway. His sister, Madame de Brehan, said she "exhausted every resource to produce an entertainment worthy of France." Two sets of cotillion dancers in complete military costume, one in that of France, the other in the buff and blue of America, represented our alliance with that country. Four of the ladies wore blue ribbons round their heads, with American flowers, and four were adorned with red ribbons and the flowers of France. Even the style of the dance was uniquely arranged to show the happy union between the two nations. One large apartment was devoted to refreshments, in which the whole wall was covered with shelves and filled with fruits, ices, and wines, supplied to the guests by servants standing behind a table in the center of the room.

BOOK NOTICES

MEN AND MEASURES OF HALF A CENTURY. Sketches and comments. By HUGH McCULLOCH. Royal 8vo, pp. 542. New York: 1888. Charles Scribner's Sons.

The period which this delightful work covers dates backward to 1833, at which time its distinguished author left his home in Maine to make his fortunes in the West. Since then, nearly all the mechanical inventions, now so indispensable, such as railroads, iron ships, telegraphs, agricultural implements, and labor-saving machinery of all kinds, have come into use, and the population of the United States has been more than twice doubled. Sixteen states have been added to the Union, which is twenty times richer than it was half a century ago. Mr. McCulloch has passed along the highway of the decades with clear, observant eyes, and in the pages before us tells in easy, graceful diction, of much that he has seen and heard. Concerned, as he has been, in public affairs, and for a considerable time holding one of the most responsible positions in the government, he has naturally been brought in contact, more or less, with nearly all the leading public men of the country. The first part of the work relates to that period of his life prior to his official duties under Mr. Chase, and it is most entertaining and instructive reading. He then goes on to discuss the events of the late war, with character studies of the men whose names are familiar to every American. He says: "I was not among those who supposed that the war would be a short one." He writes at considerable length of the state and national bank systems, and contributes valuable material to the financial history of the country. But his personal sketches are the life and charm of the book. "Mr. Chase," he says, "was one of the most extraordinary men our country has produced;" and of Mr. Lincoln, "that in knowledge of men, in strong common sense, in sound judgment, in sagacity, he had no superior."

His characterization of Andrew Johnson is, that he has been more imperfectly understood than other public men in the United States, that he was brave, bold, and honest. When Mr. Johnson was inaugurated as Vice-President, he was under the influence of liquor, but Mr. McCulloch says that that was by no means customary with him. Meeting Mr. Lincoln a day or two after the inauguration, Mr. McCulloch said to him that the country, in view of the Vice-President's appearance on that occasion, had a deeper stake than ever in his life. He hesitated for a moment, and then remarked, with unusual seriousness: "I have known Andy Johnson for many years; he made a bad slip the other day,

but you need not be scared; Andy ain't a drunkard."

Mr. McCulloch, among his interesting anecdotes with which the volume abounds, relates, that when "the question 'What shall be done to the Confederate leaders?' was referred to, but not discussed, at Mr. Lincoln's last meeting with his Cabinet, Mr. Lincoln merely remarked, in his humorous manner: 'I am a good deal like the Irishman who had joined a temperance society, but thought that he might take a drink now and then, if he drank unbeknown to himself. A good many people think that all of the big Confederates ought to be arrested and tried as traitors. Perhaps they ought to be; but I should be right glad if they would get out of the country unbeknown to me.'"

OMITTED CHAPTERS OF HISTORY, disclosed in the life and papers of Edmund Randolph. By MONCURE DANIEL CONWAY. Octavo, pp. 401. New York and London: 1888. G. P. Putnam's Sons.

"This work," the author tells us, "has been a labor of love and justice." He has discovered fresh, unpublished material in the archives of families with whom he is more or less intimately acquainted, where it has been buried for more than a century, and has condensed and used it, after careful examination, to vindicate the memory of Edmund Randolph. The book he has produced is marvelously interesting, whether the reader accepts the theories and interpretations of the author or otherwise. It is written in Mr. Conway's best style, graphic, rapidly flowing, and incisive, and possesses all the elements of a tragic romance.

The history of the Randolph family, which it includes, is particularly acceptable. Mr. Conway says: "Colonel William Randolph, of Turkey Island, though founder of the famous race of Virginia Randolphs, was not the first of the family in that colony. His uncle, Henry, came in 1643, and left a widow, who married Peter Field, an ancestor of Jefferson. Colonel William arrived in Virginia in 1674, the year after his uncle's death. He was taken by Governor Sir William Berkeley to his heart, was the particular friend of Lady Berkeley, and at once took high position in the colony. He endeared himself to the worthy Colonel William Byrd, whose letters show Randolph a gentleman of high character. He became the possessor of vast plantations; was active in the work of civilizing the Indians; a founder of William and Mary College."

We should quote further, if space permitted. Aside from the main purpose of the book,

to show that Edmund Randolph was not guilty of corruption while in Washington's Cabinet—a case which needs no expression of opinion from us, but must be judged by each intelligent reader—there is an immense amount of historical information worth twice the price of the volume. The early life of Edmund Randolph reads like a fairy tale. "Never was happier home than Tazewell Hall, on its green terrace beyond the town." Here Edmund Randolph was born, in 1753.

John Randolph (Edmund's father) is described by William Wirt as a gentleman of most courtly elegance of person and manners, a polished wit and a profound lawyer. A characteristic anecdote is told of Patrick Henry's application to him for admission to the bar. At first he was so much shocked by Henry's ungainly figure and address that he refused to examine him. Understanding, however, that he had already obtained two signatures, he entered with reluctance into the business. A very short time was sufficient to satisfy him of the erroneous conclusion which he had drawn from the exterior of the candidate. With evident marks of increasing surprise, he continued the examination for several hours. . . . "Mr. Henry (said he at last), if your industry be only half equal to your genius, I augur that you will do well and become an ornament and an honor to your profession."

The ninth chapter contains Randolph's draft of a constitution, which we cordially commend to the attention of historical scholars. Mr. Conway gives a very handsome portrait of Randolph, as a frontispiece to the volume, and there is a picturesque sketch of Tazewell Hall at the opening of the second chapter.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY OF NEWFOUNDLAND. By the Very Reverend M. F. HOWLEY, D.D., Prefect Apostolic of St. George's, West Newfoundland. 8vo, pp. 426. Boston: Doyle & Whittle.

It must be confessed that Americans, those of us at least who live to the southward of the Canadian line, know but little of the great triangular island that lies off the Gulf of St. Lawrence. To its own inhabitants, indeed, it is in some degree an unknown land, for its interior can hardly be said as yet to have been thoroughly explored, and there are solitudes among the lakes and rivers of its remote wilderness that have probably never yet been seen by the eye of civilized man. Its rugged and picturesque coast is touched only at widely separated points by passenger steamers, and but one short railway line has as yet penetrated the forests or disturbed the silence of the rocky fastnesses with its noisy evidence of civilization. Yet these inhospitable shores were early visited by missionaries from the Mother Church, and the opening

of the sixteenth century saw the symbol of the Christian religion reared at several points along the coast.

Dr. Howley has been engaged in collecting material for the present history during the greater part of his life, having at an early age developed a taste for accumulating notes bearing upon the history of Newfoundland. The actual work of preparation, however, has occupied rather more than a year. The learned author has had only one predecessor in the field, the Rt. Rev. Dr. Mullock, whose history was never published, though it formed the basis of a lecture on the subject that has found its way into print. To this unfinished manuscript Dr. Howley acknowledges his indebtedness as well as to other less extended sources of information. He has brought to the work all the enthusiasm and zeal of a life devoted to labors among the scenes of which his history treats, and the result is without question the standard work on the subject that has thus far been produced. While strictly ecclesiastical, in the technical sense, the work possesses a local interest that renders it also in effect a general history of the colony in the early days of its development, and down to the year 1850, closing with the episcopate of the Rt. Rev. Dr. Fleming.

A HISTORY OF OHIO, with biographical sketches of her Governors, and the Ordinance of 1787. By DANIEL J. RYAN. 12mo, pp. 205. A. H. Smythe, Columbus, Ohio, 1888.

During the last two or more years the country has been constantly learning lessons of value in relation to Ohio, which comes to the front as an uncommonly interesting, as well as a powerful, patriotic and wealthy state. The author of this volume says: "The pioneer blood of Ohio was the bravest and truest that New England, Pennsylvania and Virginia could give," and the material growth of Ohio "represents in a stronger degree than that of any other state in the Union the development of the American people." He then proceeds to trace the history of the first settlements on Ohio soil, the movement for statehood, the early governors, the progress of the state in agriculture, education and politics. The events of the war of 1812 are told in a concise but graphic manner, and we find that at the census of 1820 "Ohio had a population of 581,295," although within the decade "she had contributed a half million dollars and sacrificed some of her best blood to preserve the young Republic from invasion and conquest." The biographical sketches of Ohio's governors are brief and to the point, and form a most instructive feature of the book. There are thirty-three of these, beginning with a sketch of Edward Tiffin, who was elected to the governorship in 1803, and whose handsome portrait serves as the frontis-

piece to the volume. The work is well written, and contains more solid information than many larger histories in which the art of condensation has not been brought to such perfection.

INSTITUTION OF THE SOCIETY OF THE CINCINNATI. Formed by the American Army of the Revolution, 1783, with extracts from the Proceedings of its general meetings, and from the Transactions of the New York State Society. By JOHN SCHUYLER, secretary. 8vo, pp. 369. New York: 1886. Printed for the society by Douglas Taylor. Limited edition. A few copies for sale by Brentano, 5 Union Square, New York.

This important work will be of surpassing value in the near future, when there are no longer any copies to be obtained. For a long time the original roll of the Cincinnati Society was lost, but it has been finally discovered in a trunk of old papers belonging to Dr. Marcellin, the former secretary, and which since his decease has been in the possession of his daughter, living in Illinois. This has been reproduced in facsimile, and forms a supplementary volume, showing the original copy of the institution, together with all the signatures of the members. It would hardly be possible to look over these names, without desiring also to examine their portraits in the larger volume, of which forty-four, handsomely engraved, chiefly on steel, are presented to the reader. Many of these pictures have been made from paintings in possession of descendants specially for this excellent publication. The biographical sketches, alphabetically arranged, are an important feature, and occupy nearly two-thirds of the volume. The rank affixed to the original members is that given by them at the time they subscribed their respective names to the institution.

A list of the eldest descendants of original members of the other state societies, who have been admitted in the succession by the New York state society; also a list of those who have been admitted, as members for life, under the rule adopted by this state society in 1857, will be found of great interest. The work also includes a list of the French officers who were made members of the Cincinnati, copied from the pamphlet published in Paris by Baron de Girardot. The value of such a work as this is apparent at a glance, and we need only add that it has been admirably edited and superbly printed.

THE CENTENNIAL OF A REVOLUTION: An address by a Revolutionist, 16mo, pp. 171, New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons.

It is not altogether easy to understand the motive underlying this address. It is based

upon the centennial anniversary of "an event which we choose to call the Adoption of the Constitution of the United States," and the author begins by remarking that all true anniversaries look backward upon something which, having once been, has ever since continued to be: "not on anything which once was, but is now no longer." His idea seems to be that the government of the United States as it existed at its inception in 1787, exists no longer—and that the long succession of congresses, elections, wars, and the rest, have constituted a revolution far greater than that effected by the war for independence, and he does not seem to be altogether satisfied with the result. His concluding paragraph summarizes as well as may be the somewhat inconsequential sentiments of the volume itself:—"By rushing onward in the battles of ideas we place ourselves in the solidarity with revolutionists everywhere: with those who in Europe call themselves the international—the party of revolution—revolution anywhere and everywhere. We are of them: they are of us. Let them come along: the communist, the anarchist the socialist, or whatever else! We are all in the swim! *Vogue la galère!* Let her go Gallagher! *Vive la Commune!*"

JOHN ANDERSON AND I. By MARY E. CRAIGIE. 16mo, pp. 177. Moulton, Wborne & Co.: Buffalo.

This cleverly written and conceived tale, contains a deal of wholesome material for the consideration of young couples not overburdened with this world's riches, but who have rural tastes and are willing to tempt the inconveniences of country life. The author has a happy way of describing experiences which must have had some basis more substantial than fancy, and the good sense and pluck with which many trials are overcome, maintains the reader's interest to the end.

JANSSEN'S AMERICAN AMATEUR ATHLETIC AND AQUATIC HISTORY, 1829-1888. Square, 12mo, pp. 262. New York: Outing Company (limited).

This publication, No. 2 of the Outing Sports, is edited by Frederick William Janssen, of the Staten Island Athletic Club, with the assistance of numerous experts in the various departments of athletics. It forms the best and only approximately correct record of American athletics that has been published, and must prove a convenient hand-book of reference for all lovers of recreation. We notice that canoeing and yachting are omitted from the list, and conclude that they are to be given a separate publication, as they are too important to be ignored. The book is

largely historical, and contains many illustrations of club houses and the like.

A LIBRARY OF AMERICAN LITERATURE. From the earliest settlement to the present time. Compiled and edited by EDMUND CLARENCE STEDMAN and ELEN MAC-KAY HUTCHINSON. In ten volumes. Vols. I., II., III., IV. 8vo, pp. 500, 502, 506, 502. New York, 1888: Charles L. Webster & Co.

This work is neither a history nor an encyclopædia, although it partakes largely of the character of both. It is true to its title, a library. The cultivated reader need only turn its handsomely printed pages to become thoroughly impressed with the magnitude of the enterprise, and the literary acumen and exceptional good taste with which it has thus far been achieved. The purpose, to give distinctive, reading examples of the writings of every class in each successive period from the settlement of America to the present time, without note or comment, has resulted more successfully than the public, or even the accomplished editors (we presume), ever dared to hope. It is an original work in its scope as well as in its execution, and occupies a hitherto vacant field. It opens with the earliest public expressions of thought and feeling among the heroic pioneers of Virginia and New England. We have Captain John Smith's story of Pocahontas, John Rolfe's reasons for marrying her, Thomas Hooker's "Sinner at the King's Court," Roger Williams on Persecution, William Bradford on various themes, John Winthrop's Puritan Schoolmaster, and John Cotton's Psalm-singing. It is interesting to scrutinize an argument, in this age of the world, as to "Whether carnal men and pagans may be permitted to sing with us Christians alone and church members." The second scruple "about singers," which John Cotton advances is, however, more noteworthy than the first, "Whether women may sing as well as men?" He thinks that if there must be singing "with lively voice," it should be the men only and not the women. "Because it is not permitted to women to speak in the church. How then shall they sing? Much less is it permitted to women to prophesy in the church. And singing of Psalms is a kind of prophesying."

The early narratives are flavored with adventure—voyaging, shipwreck, discovery—while religion, law, and quaint fancies in prose and verse stand out conspicuously. The period embraced by the first volume is 1607–1675. The second volume reaches to 1764, and the difference in the literature is very marked. Theology predominates. The divines were still the ruling class. Writings of such men as Increase Mather,

Cotton Mather, David Brainard and Jonathan Edwards occupy considerable space. But we may here also study the methods of Judge Sewall when he courted Madam Winthrop, the travels of Jonathan Dickinson to St. Augustine, the piquant journal of Sarah Kemble Knight, Robert Beverley on the history of Virginia, William Byrd's account of the first survey in the dismal swamp, Cadwallader Colden's descriptions and William Smith's sketches of New York, William Livingston's satirical pen-picture of the "Career of a Colonial Dictator," and a rich variety of other selections. The third volume presents characteristic extracts from the literature of 1765–1789, which embraces the speeches and writings of patriots and statesmen—a marvelous wealth of political wisdom, eloquence and legal lore. Franklin, Washington, John Adams, John Jay, Hamilton, Jefferson, Madison, Timothy Dwight, Josiah Quincy, Gouverneur Morris, Hopkinson, Freneau, and scores of others are among the brilliant contributors. The fourth volume includes the period from 1788–1820, and exhibits again a striking difference from its predecessors. The people were, in a certain sense, at rest after the great struggle, and their energies were applied to the maintenance and comprehension of the new liberty. Thus letters and the liberal arts received comparatively little attention. Yet the choice, made with much tact and felicity from the literature of even that somewhat unproductive period, inclines us to read the volume through from cover to cover. We cordially commend it for entertainment as well as instruction. The work is illustrated with many portraits, and is issued in elegant style. It is an imposing record of American progress, and one that will find favor everywhere—particularly in all the libraries of the land.

DAYS SERENE. Illustrated from the original Designs of Margaret MacDonald Pullman. Engraved on wood and printed under the direction of George T. Andrew. Oblong folio. Boston: Lee & Shepard. New York: Chas. T. Dillingham. Chicago: S. A. Maxwell & Co. Price, \$5.00.

We are reminded that Christmas time is drawing near by this beautiful book from the enterprising Boston publishers, Lee & Shepard, who have long been noted for their holiday gems, with its brief passages from favorite American and English poets, descriptive of summer scenery, each of which is accompanied by an illustrative picture that has been conceived and executed in a similar artistic spirit as the poetic selections. The work is superior in every feature, the designs are appropriate in theme, and the felicity in the ruling idea of picture and expression is such that one never tires of turning its fascinating

pages. It is a gift book of unusual beauty and artistic value. The same house issues a variety of attractions for the approaching season. Nothing could be more bewitching to the child than Dinah Maria Mulock's illustrated Christmas Carol, or the illustrated "Psalm for the New Year," by the same artist.

FAVORITE BIRDS, and what the poets sing of them. Illustrated by FIDELIA BRIDGES. Edited by JOSEPHINE POLLARD, square folio. pp. 103. **BITS OF DISTANT LAND AND SEA**. Edited and illustrated by SUSIE BARSTOW SKELDING, with fac-similes of water-color drawings by Harry Fenn and Susie Barstow Skelding. Square folio. pp. 111. **BABES OF THE YEAR**. Illustrated in colors and monotint by MAUD HUMPHREY. Verses by EDITH M. THOMAS. Square octavo. New York, 1888: Frederick A. Stokes & Brother.

These dainty volumes do not lend themselves easily for purposes of description; they must be seen to be fully appreciated. The illustrations of favorite American birds are exquisite, as all who know the artistic work of Miss Bridges will readily understand, and the selections of song are in harmony and excellent taste. An entirely different production, and quite as charming from another point of view, is the "Bits of Distant Land and Sea." The frontispiece represents the "Sea of Galilee from Tiberias," and "Alexandria." "The Bay of Naples and Vesuvius," and "The Mount of Olives from Jerusalem," are among the choice illustrations. The book is printed handsomely, and bound in the most artistic style. The "Babes of the Year" is another treasure that will captivate all gift-buyers, of every age and class, for who does not know of some sweet child who will delight in these bright pictures far more than in all the toys of the season. The publishing house of Frederick A. Stokes & Brother is to New York what Lee & Shepard is to Boston in the production of novelties for the holidays. One of its oddest and most charming fancies in bookmaking is in the shape of an attempt to reproduce with all possible exactness a Roman book of the classic period. This fac-simile of old Latin MSS. is in the form of a scroll of heavy parchment paper wound about a wooden

cylinder, with a white enameled knob at each end and tied with a leathern thong. When the whole strip is unrolled it is several feet long, but can all be contained in the little imitation cylindrical wooden case which accompanies it. The first half of the roll contains the Latin title, a rude colored lithograph of Horace—such as adorned the MSS. of that time—and eight of the Augustan poet's songs printed in old Latin text, the other half containing the translations, from various hands. It is edited by George E. Vincent, who has spared no pains to obtain complete accuracy in imitation.

APPLETON'S CYCLOPÆDIA OF AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY. Edited by JAMES GRANT WILSON and JOHN FISKE. Vol. V. Pickering—Sumpter, 8vo, pp. 752. New York, 1888: D. Appleton & Co.

The prominent biographical sketches in the fifth volume of this work include those of General W. T. Sherman, President Polk, Secretary William Henry Seward, General Sheridan, Harriet Beecher Stowe, General Scott, Charles Sumner, William Gilmore Simms, David D. Porter, and President Pierce. The article on Charles Sumner is from the pen of George William Curtis, who says: "Sumner's first interest in public questions was awakened by the anti-masonic movement, which he held to be 'a great and good cause,' two adjectives that were always associated in his estimate of causes and of men." At the time Sumner entered the Harvard Law School in 1831, he was "not personally attractive. He was never ill, and was an untiring walker; his voice was strong and clear, his smile quick and sincere, his laugh loud, and his intellectual industry and his memory were extraordinary." Portraits of the above characters are given in steel. Among the many distinguished Americans who are represented by the smaller portraits, and with more brief biographies, are Benjamin Rush, signer of the Declaration of Independence; Count Rumford, the scientist; Samuel B. Ruggles, Thomas Buchanan Read, E. P. Roe, Henry W. Shaw, Governor Horatio Seymour, Catharine Sedgwick, General Philip Schuyler, Miles Standish, Secretary Edwin M. Stanton, Rev. Dr. Schaff, Robert C. Schenck, Professor Goldwin Smith, Edmund Clarence Stedman, and Nathaniel Rochester, founder of the city of Rochester. New York.

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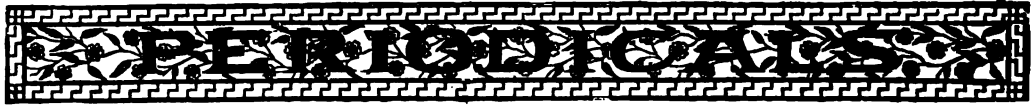
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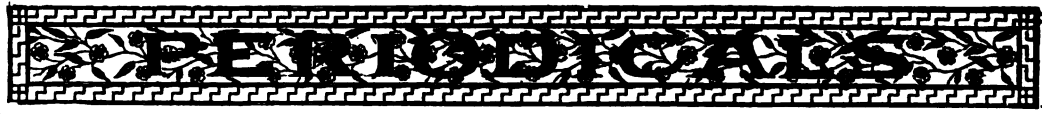
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STATEMENT OF The Mutual Life Insurance Company of New York,

RICHARD A. McCURDY, President.

For the year ending December 31st, 1887.

ASSETS \$118,806,851 88.

Insurance and Annuity Account.

	No.	Amount.		No.	Amount.
Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1887	123,027	\$393,900,302 88	Policies and Annuities in force, Jan. 1st, 1888...	140,943	\$427,628,932 51
Risks Assumed.....	23,305	69,457,468 37	Risks Terminated.....	11,889	35,637,708 74
	152,239	\$463,357,771 25		152,239	\$463,357,771 25

Dr.	Revenue Account.	Cr.	
To Balance from last account ...	\$104,719,734 81	By Endowments, Purchased Insurances, Dividends, Annuities and Death Claims.	14,128,423 60
" Premiums.....	17,110,901 62	" Commissions, Commutations, Taxes and all other Expenses	3,649,514 49
" Interest, Rents and Premium on Securities Sold.....	6,009,020 84	" Balance to new account.	110,061,718 63
	\$127,839,656 77		\$127,839,656 77

Dr.	Balance Sheet.	Cr.	
To Reserve for Policies in force and for risks terminated . . .	\$112,430,006 00	By Bonds Secured by Mortgages on Real Estate	\$49,615,398 06
" Premiums received in advance . . .	82,814 36	" United States and other Bonds.	43,439,877 51
" Surplus at four per cent.	6,294,441 82	" Real Estate and Loans on Col- laterals	20,180,173 27
		" Cash in Banks and Trust Com- panies at interest	2,619,302 68
		" Interest accrued, Premiums de- ferred and in transit and Sun- dries	2,973,169 38
	\$118,806,851 88		\$118,806,851 88

I have carefully examined the foregoing statement and find the same to be correct.

A. N. WATERHOUSE, Auditor.

From the Surplus above stated a dividend will be apportioned as usual.

Year.	Risks Assumed.	Risks Outstanding.	Surplus.
1884	\$34,631,430.	\$351,789,235.	\$4,743,771
1885	46,507,139	368,981,441	5,012,634
1886	56,832,719	393,909,333	5,643,523
1887	69,457,468	427,628,932	6,294,442

New York, January 25, 1888.

ROBERT A. GRANNISS, Vice-President.

ISAAC F. LLOYD, 2d Vice-President.

WILLIAM J. EASTON, Secretary.

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Here are a few sample loans:

	Value.	Amount Loaned.
No. 1515. Farm of 80 acres,	\$2,700	\$500
No. 1517. Two lots, with buildings,	1,030	275
No. 1521. Two lots, with buildings,	1,200	400
No. 1534. Farm 160 acres,	1,800	360
No. 1504. Farm 160 acres,	3,600	1,150
No. 1534. Farm 155 acres,	6,900	2,200
No. 1503. Farm 160 acres,	4,000	1,600

There is no charge to the purchaser for the Company's services. Principal and interest (semi-annually) are paid on the day of maturity at any bank designated by the holder. The New York offices of the Company are in the Morse Building, 140 Nassau street. Charles R. Otis is President, G. Livingston Morse Vice-President, Sidney E. Morse Treasurer, and Matt. H. Ellis Secretary.

The little book contains a great deal of valuable information regarding Western mortgages as a form of investment, together with the editorial comment of leading religious and other papers.



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